

DOMES OF HEAVEN:
THE DOMED BASILICAS OF CYPRUS

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fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy.

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Charles Anthony Stewart

DOMES OF HEAVEN: THE DOMED BASILICAS OF CYPRUS

The Church of Cyprus became an independent exarchy in the fifth century. This cultural autonomy provided Cypriots with a sense of pride and freedom that was not shared by other Byzantine provinces. Since the late fourth century, the Church built many wooden roofed basilicas on the island. Then in 649 AD Arabs invaded and destroyed many of its Early Christian buildings. From that time until 965, the Byzantine Empire and the Arab Caliphate of Damascus divided tribute from the population. During these centuries five churches were rebuilt, but with a radically different design than the previous structures—they were vaulted with a series of multiple domes. This dissertation is a comprehensive study of these monuments with three objectives: (1) to provide a complete architectural analysis; (2) to place these monuments in their cultural and historical context by assessing primary and secondary literature, and archaeological reports; and (3) to explain the symbolic importance that this new design conveyed. It proposes that the three-domed basilica was peculiar to Cyprus. The architecture was a manifestation of the Cypriots' unique political situation and their ideological concerns. By adopting three domes along the nave, church officials combined the Dome of Heaven motif with mystification of the liturgy promoted by Maximus the Confessor.

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Chapter I: Introduction

“Sailing from there, they reached the island of Cyprus, which lies between the Greeks and the Saracens...” This is how the nun Huneberc of Heidenheim described the eighth century pilgrimage of the English bishop Willibald to Jerusalem. She recorded how Cyprus was caught in between two worlds—the eastern world with its new Arab empire and the western world with its Hellenistic roots. She continued:

Those Cypriots dwell between the Greeks and the Saracens, and were disarmed, because a great peace and friendship was then in force between the Saracens and the Greeks.¹

However, the “great peace and friendship” was often interspersed with conflict and destruction. Cyprus continued to be a land distinguished by bi-communal harmony or torn by cultural and political strife. During the tenth century Byzantine reoccupation, the island struggled between the mandates of Byzantine government and the decrees of its independent (*αυτοκέφαλους*) Orthodox Church. Then starting in the twelfth century and for the next four hundred years, Cyprus was divided between the native Greek-speaking peasantry and the French (and later Venetian) aristocracy; and further divided by the local Greek Orthodox tradition and “foreign” Latin Roman Catholicism. Today, the division remains between Islam and Christianity, and linguistically between Turkish and Greek—a product of the Ottoman Empire.

Strife between different ethnicities and religious beliefs resulted in the destruction of many Cypriot monuments. Ever since the eighth century its cultural heritage was continually looted and its antiquities dispersed throughout the world.² One treasure that its invaders could not carry away, though they repeatedly pillaged, has been its architecture. Cyprus’s visitors are at once confronted with pristine examples of Byzantine, French Gothic, Venetian Renaissance, Ottoman and British colonial architecture. While this dissertation concentrates on the development of multiple-domed basilicas from the seven to the tenth century, it is but a small slice of Cyprus’s rich architectural history. The island’s well-defined boundaries and well-preserved monuments provide the ideal setting to conduct a broad analysis of architectural change over time. This dissertation provides an overview of the transition between Early Christian and Middle Byzantine churches on Cyprus.

I. 1. Problems and Methods

Early Christian churches on Cyprus (fourth to sixth centuries) were similar to constructions in the surrounding regions, such as Palestine, Anatolia, and Syria. Dozens of early basilicas have been excavated, and much is known concerning their superstructure and design. They usually featured a rectangular ground plan divided into aisles with three apses on the eastern end, covered by a wooden roof. For three centuries this type of church proliferated throughout Cyprus. Then beginning in 649, the succession of Arab raids into the island caused economic decline and interrupted church-building. The Byzantine Empire resumed complete control of the island again in 965. Exactly when church building recommenced remains debatable. Yet when the basilicas were restructured they were covered with a series of domes—a design previously unknown to Cyprus.

There were at least five multiple-domed basilicas on Cyprus, none of which display a “typical” quincunx plan (single dome in the center of the nave, with smaller domes in the corners) found elsewhere in the Byzantine Empire (**figures I.2-5**). Four of these buildings are standing monuments and function as churches today; another is known only through its excavated foundations. Most were built over earlier wooden-roofed churches. While the transition from wooden-roofed to domed vaulting is not particular to Cyprus, the island’s well defined geography can assist in understanding this process more clearly.

Past scholarship categorized multiple-domed basilicas into two varieties. The first group consists of three churches: Agios Epifanios (Salamis-Constantia), Agios Lazaros (Larnaka), and Agios Varnavas Monastery (near Salamis-Constantia). They all are three-aisled, three-apsed basilicas, with three domes of roughly equal size down the nave. The side aisles are barrel-vaulted, either continuously or with alternate vaults perpendicular to each other. The second group includes two churches: Agia Paraskevi (Geroskipou) and Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion (Peristerona). They have three domes along their nave of roughly the same size and two smaller domes in the middle of the side aisles. The rest of the spaces are barrel-vaulted. Since all these churches share more similarities than differences, the entire group should be studied as one type of architectural development.³

Given the importance of liturgical tradition and the precedence of building wooden-roof basilicas, the multiple-domed churches present a significant shift in architectural design. *What was the catalyst for the change in the design of Cypriot churches, and why did a new type develop?* Several

scholars noticed this same problem with Byzantine architecture built between the reign of Justinian I (565) and Basil I (867). Richard Krautheimer wrote:

Any attempt at clarifying Byzantine church buildings between 600 and 850 invariably brings to mind the architectural types and concepts of the age of Justinian. At present, however, it is next to impossible to trace a development either from one church type to another, or between types within a single group...Rather than attempting rash answers to such questions, it seems preferable for the time being simply to present the material...⁴

In regards to Cyprus, A.H.S. Megaw posed the seemingly rhetorical question: “Where but in Constantinople, one may ask, did impoverished Cyprus find the resources and the inspiration for this massive reconstruction in a style alien to the local basilica tradition?”⁵ And then he ambiguously concludes,

...domes proliferated on structures which, basically, are basilicas covered by the masonry vaults which had often replaced wooden roofs during the Dark Ages. Such treatments, which could well have been inspired by the improvisations of the time of Leo VI, are perhaps *best credited to local invention...*⁶

Slobodan Ćurčić continued along the same lines: “This phenomenon [wooden roofs replaced by domes] may be witnessed in many Middle Byzantine churches, though the exact reasons which motivated their occurrence have not been adequately illuminated.”⁷ And darkness continues to pervade the field.

A few scholars have attempted an answer. In regards to Cyprus, functional explanations dominated the discussion. Nineteenth and twentieth century architectural historians and archaeologists have been influenced by modern architectural theory and scientific processes. The locution “form follows function” sums up their basic approach. For example, Megaw argued that the development of stone vaulting was recourse against fire—a response to the Arab invasions which burned the earlier wooden-roof basilicas.⁸ Another theory, proposed by Ćurčić, recognized that domed structures tend to withstand earthquakes better than timber-trussed buildings.⁹ Though these arguments provided a “common sense” explanation, they assumed that function was the primary reason for architectural design. Furthermore they overlooked stylistic changes and iconographic evidence. Megaw and Ćurčić’s hypotheses were noble attempts to account for Cypriot architectural history. However, most scholars who have

studied the Cypriot examples have not been interested in them apart from some other research aim, as discussed below (§I.3.).

It should be noted that an earlier type of multiple-domed basilica developed in Anatolia, including Agia Irene and the Holy Apostles in Constantinople, St. John's in Ephesus, and St. John in Alasehir.¹⁰ The relationship between the capital (center) and the province of Cyprus (periphery) has been a sticking point in scholarship.¹¹ However, this dissertation proposes that there are sufficient reasons to date the Cypriot examples between 649 and 965 (when Cyprus was an independent tributary of the Byzantine Empire), thereby mitigating the need to show dependence on Constantinople. As discussed in Chapter Six, Cypriot churches were built in their own distinct historical context, in a different aesthetic style, with different local materials, and on a much smaller scale. While it is impossible to completely rule out influence from earlier Justinianic models, it is also evident that the domed churches of Cyprus belong to a separate tradition and developed along different lines.

Recent archaeological excavations have shed light on these monuments, providing information unknown to previous scholars. And so, reevaluation of the development and significance of these churches is possible. Three factors are emphasized in this thesis: the dating, the architectural theory (why a building was designed in such a way), and the iconography of architecture. Since the dating of these churches is controversial, I analyze the current evidence and provide a succinct, but relative chronology. Instead of merely compiling and synthesizing previous theories, this dissertation unites form and function with associated symbolism and/or iconography. It puts forward the argument that the Cypriot multiple-domed basilica design was affiliated with the so-called “dome of heaven”—the idea that the church building was a microcosm of the cosmos. Heaven, which was both above and spiritually everywhere (*παντού*), remained the domain of God (*παντοκράτωρ*); whereas, the earth below was primarily the domain of His Church (*αυτοχθών*), and secondarily, the emperor (*αυτοκράτωρ*). In other words, the spiritual “kingdom of heaven,” with its “King of kings,” was inextricably linked to the Eastern Roman Empire and its motto “the King of Kings Reigning over Kings.”¹² However, when Cyprus became subject to the Arab Caliphate *and* the Byzantine Emperor—during the crucial time of Iconoclasm—the Cypriot church acted independently from its overlords. It is argued here that its architecture was primarily a physical manifestation of cultural ideologies held by the Cypriot population. And secondarily, the multiple-domed basilica became a reference to Cypriot identity apart from Constantinople and Damascus.

I.1.1. The Approach

Though the goal of interpreting the “iconography of medieval architecture” continues to be a common approach to architectural history, it necessitates an apologia. Since the seventeenth century architectural historians, influenced by Renaissance humanism, have explained medieval buildings as inferior to the classical constructions. Scholars during the Romantic period understood medieval churches as emulating caves or forests due to the uncouth disposition of northern Europeans.¹³ These incorrect and fanciful interpretations caused later nineteenth century art historians, like Jules-Etienne Quicherat, to distance themselves from iconography and concentrate on form and function. By the beginning of the twentieth century, novelist Joris-Karl Huysmans eloquently summed up the tension between formalism and idealism:

I reserve my opinion, indeed, as to the accuracy of Quicherat's declaration that ‘the history of architecture in the Middle Ages is no more than the history of the struggle of architects against the thrust and weight of vaulting,’ for there is something in this art beyond material industry and a problem of practice; at the same time he is certainly right on almost every point.”¹⁴

Later twentieth century works such as Baldwin Smith’s *The Dome: A Study in the History of Ideas* (1950) and Oleg Grabar’s *The Alhambra* (1978) exemplify the iconographic approach to buildings.¹⁵ Such studies owe much to Richard Krautheimer’s persuasive article “Introduction to the Iconography of Architecture” (1942).¹⁶ Krautheimer provided the *raison d'être* for this approach by showing how ideas correlate with architecture, even if a one-to-one correspondence does not exist. He argued that “the content and the significance of the buildings” were the most important elements of medieval design and construction.¹⁷ Such signification was historical and theological rather than aesthetic or technological.¹⁸ Therefore interpretations could only be ascertained and then corroborated with textual evidence.

Any “iconography of architecture” apart from textual evidence would result in mere speculation. Herein lies the rub. The vast majority of medieval monuments have no corresponding texts. While there is consensus that medieval architecture was designed and constructed to carry symbolic meaning, there is also disagreement in regards to how symbolism can be understood without texts. Some scholars viewed buildings as “mute,” and apart from structural analysis, having no signification. Other scholars argued that form and design inherently contain meaning, and if so, the absence of text does not necessarily forestall our understanding.¹⁹ Concerning the Byzantine architecture of Cyprus, very few historical

documents survive. Depending on the predisposition of the architectural historian, either these buildings have no signification or their surviving form communicates significance.

In the course of studying the Cypriot domed basilicas, the limits of “the iconography of architecture” were recognized. “Direct evidence” (like a radio-carbon date) and “eye-witness testimony” are not available, leaving only “circumstantial evidence” on which to base my interpretations. This dissertation therefore does not pretend to offer a definitive or absolute interpretation of any church building. It simply provides a history that includes all the best available data. Like a mirror, the architectural historian attempts to reflect objective, actual history in his writings. The amount of light varies in relation to how much data exists, whether textual or archaeological. When considering all the information at hand, the historian is able to tell a story that is honest and erudite, and reflects an objective, actual history, even if the resulting image is dim or distorted or based on the subjective perspective of the historian. Such an image is nevertheless meaningful and informative, substituting knowledge where there was ignorance. As one should never mistake a reflection in a mirror for an actual thing, one should never confuse any *subjective* history with an *objective* history. With that being said, this dissertation does not advocate post-modernism or relativism. Instead, it assumes that there is a hierarchy of theories, and ultimately, one theory may explain the existing data better than all others. There are many facets or perspectives and, strategically, some points of view are more advantageous than others; but when various scholarly views are examined together, we are able to grasp the “larger picture.” Such a history is useful for appreciating, valuing, and understanding the past.

With these purposes in mind, this dissertation combines “the iconography of architecture” with the archaeological theory of post-processualism (also known as “contextualism”). In regards to iconography, the lack of contemporary documentation concerning when domed basilicas were built does deter the author from providing historical evidence to support this thesis. It is assumed that within Christianity the tendency towards tradition is stronger than the tendency towards heterodoxy. Being a cult founded on a static document, the Bible, Christianity continually refashioned itself in the light (or in the shadow) of its sacred scriptures.²⁰ Through the ever-changing contexts of society, its primary text did not change, and so Christian history consists of re-births, revivals, renaissances, and reformations simply because of this objective standard. The Book, along with its ecclesiastical hierarchy, limited the parameters from which localized Christianity could depart from traditional ideology and practice. If this is true, then two approaches can be applied. First, in periods where no

contemporary documents exist, one can presuppose the use of the Bible and its influence. Second, gaps in the textual evidence can be “stretched” over using theological and hagiographic material predating and postdating the periods of silence. In other words, if literature exists that pertains to the start and the end of a particular phenomenon, reconstructing the silence in between can be achieved *within reason*.²¹ Admittedly such inferences can lead to both anachronisms and *post hoc* fallacies, and so it is carefully applied here.

Two methods of analysis were applied to the archaeological remains. First, the standing buildings were examined based on the techniques outlined in Warwick Rodwell’s *The Archaeology of Churches* (2005). Although that book concerns British medieval churches, its principles and techniques are easily transferable to Cypriot and Byzantine structures. First-hand examination coupled with previous scholars’ work, allowed me to produce study plans, elevations, and reconstructions. Much effort was spent to have these diagrams conform to the exact proportions of the monuments. Unfortunately, the lack of time and equipment forced me to leave these illustrations as mere sketches. Yet by scrutinizing the fabric of the churches, it was possible to discern repairs and modifications, which indicated a stratigraphy, or relative chronology. Second, in regards to the interpretation of the archaeological material, my approach incorporated contextualism as outlined in Ian Hodder’s *Reading the Past* (2003).²² Though the term is of recent date, the principles are based on traditional dialectics and hermeneutics combined with analysis of material culture (and in this case, architecture). In other words, after identifying a group of buildings with similar construction techniques, materials, and design, I drafted a series of *questions*, starting with those posed above. By weighing the evidence for and against possible *answers* I arrived at the best possible solution. This inquiry started as a deductive exercise, when I gathered data (historical, visual, and archaeological) on the domed churches of Cyprus; with that information I was able to fashion a reasonable thesis. Subsequently, this thesis has been inductively “tested” by affirming (or rejecting) supporting evidence, based on historical texts and secondary scholarship.

Data concerning the multiple-domed churches of Cyprus can be grouped into three categories: archaeological, textual, and visual. Archaeological materials include form, design, construction, associated artifacts, location, environment, size, material, and style, etc.—characteristics that can be observed visually or quantified. Textual data concerns written accounts: chronologies, hagiographies, inscriptions, histories, theology, scripture, etc. This thesis is not concerned with the historical accuracies or philosophical truths contained in such texts,

but whether such ideas or histories were believed by the Cypriot population. Visual data includes images or symbols which exist in Cypriot churches and associated artifacts; for example, the frescos in the domes of Agia Paraskevi (Geroskipou), as well as at Agios Antonios (Kellia).

I.1.2. Organization

This dissertation has two volumes. The first volume contains the text of the thesis divided into seven chapters. Chapter One introduces and defines the subject, the approach, the terms, and aims of this thesis. It also offers a general overview of the scholarship and historiography of Cypriot Byzantine churches. The next three chapters are arranged chronologically in the order of the presumed architectural development. Chapter Two provides a summary of the Early Christian churches on the island prior to the multiple-domed basilicas. Chapter Three analyzes the historical context and architectural development of Agios Epifanios Cathedral (Salamis-Constantia). It argues that this church was the archetype for the other multiple-domed churches. Then, Chapter Four examines the five-domed churches Agia Paraskevi (Geroskipou) and Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion (Peristeronna). Chapter Five discusses the larger three-domed basilicas, Agios Lazaros (Larnaka) and Agios Varnavas (Salamis-Constantia). These chapters contain an underlying argument: that the multiple-domed basilicas were built after the Arab raids in the mid-sixth century and prior to the island's reconquest by the Byzantine Empire in 965. The reconquest arrested the development of these churches, and instead, ushered in a new phase of architectural building characterized by a single-domed, centralized design. Chapter Six draws from preceding material and explains the catalysts for the transition in Cypriot architectural design, the significance of this change, and why this has ramifications for Christian architectural history as a whole. Chapter Seven provides a brief summary and scope for future research.

Such a study could not have been attempted without the work of previous scholars. In order to keep the referencing system manageable and convenient for the reader, this dissertation has slightly modified *The Chicago Manual of Style*. Repeatedly referenced publications are included in the bibliography. Other works which are cited once are fully referenced within the endnotes section. When the endnotes contain only a name and date, the reader should consult the bibliography. References pertaining to primary source bibliography are preceded by the abbreviation "PS" in the notes. Furthermore, the text is organized in sections (e.g. § II.2.2): the

first digit in Roman numerals refers to the chapter, the second digit refers to the part, and the third refers to the subsection.

I.2.Terms and History

Considering the aim of this thesis to describe and analyze the historical context and architectural iconography, it is important to discuss the ideas encapsulated within the usage of terms. Part of the problem with Cypriot studies is the lack of consistency in how Greek names are transliterated into English. Therefore to distinguish the churches and place-names from their titular saints, this dissertation uses the official toponyms provided by the Republic of Cyprus for buildings and place-names, while the common English usage designates the historical figure.²³ Hence, *Agios Epifanios* designates the church, while *St. Epiphanius* designates the historical person. Turkish toponyms are now used in the Turkish Cypriot-occupied north areas and have replaced Greek names on maps and road signs. However, this thesis continues to use Greek place-names and only provides Turkish names for clarification. The Turkish toponym indicates that the town is currently in the northern occupied areas—no attempt has been made to hide the current political realities on the island. Also this dissertation uses some terms differently than other art historical texts. Terms and periods such as *Early Christian*, *Early Byzantine*, *Middle Byzantine*, *Cypriot Neutrality*, *basilica*, and *domed basilica* have complex associations. They are defined below to aid the reader at the outset.

I.2.1. Periods

The method of dating used here was adopted for clarity. The abbreviations AD (Anno Domini) or CE (Common Era) are avoided, and therefore, all dating refers to the time centuries after the life of Christ (AD) unless specified BC (Before Christ) denoting the centuries beforehand. For the sake of convenience, I have grouped chronological periods into four broad phases. The term *Early Christian* designates the time period from the advent of Constantine the Great to the first Arab invasion of Cyprus, from 312 to 648. Every known Cypriot church built at this time was a rectangular wooden-roofed basilica. I do not apply the term *Early Byzantine* to Cypriot architecture. Instead, it is used to designate the period, beginning with Justinian the Great (527) and lasting until the end of Iconoclasm (843) in the rest of the Byzantine Empire. Thanks to Procopius' *De Aedificiis* we have solid dates for Justinian I's building campaign which led to clear changes in architectural design—but this is not evident in Cyprus.

The period after Iconoclasm to 1204 (when the Latin Crusaders sacked Constantinople) is called *Middle Byzantine*. At this time, the Empire encountered economic pressures from external forces, such as wars with Arabs and Bulgars, and cultural pressures within, such as Monotheletism and Iconoclasm. The decline in literature and inscriptions during this period led Cyril Mango to classify this period as “The Dark Centuries.”²⁴ The situation changed with Basil the Great in 867 who initiated the so-called “Macedonian Renaissance”—though architecture by no means conforms to classical types.²⁵ The *Middle Byzantine* period coincides with the *Period of Cypriot Neutrality*, consisting of the years between 648 (when the first Arab raid began) and 965 (when the Byzantine Empire reconquered the island). At that time Cyprus was a unique “independent tributary,” paying taxes to both the Arab Caliphate of Damascus and the Byzantine Empire. The more common label “The Condominium Period” is avoided here because it conveys an incorrect political situation.²⁶ Since Cyprus revolted from the Byzantine Empire in 1182 under the usurper Isaac Comnenus and subsequently was governed by Latin Crusaders, the *Middle Byzantine* period ended on Cyprus at that time. Therefore, *Middle Byzantine* technically applies to Cyprus only from 965 to 1182.

I.2.2. The Basilica

Because this dissertation focuses on the meaning and significance of the basilica throughout, it is important to explain how the terms *basilica* and *domed basilica* are used and the author’s theoretical assumptions. Cypriots (whether patrons or architects) consciously retained the basilica form long after centralized churches became the norm in the Byzantine Empire. In fact, there are no known centrally-planned churches on the island until the eleventh century. This is rather remarkable since nearby Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Anatolia all have significant numbers of centrally-planned churches and martyria. While it seems unwarranted to have an excursus on the word *basilica*, a brief summary of the term is essential to understanding this dissertation and its aims.²⁷

The Greek word for king is *basileus* (βασιλεὺς) and its adjective form is βασιλικός (kingly, royal). Naturally, the later noun *basilica* is derived from the adjective form, and therefore, *basilica* initially qualified *affiliation* rather than *form* or *function*. More telling is the earliest surviving Greek use of the architectural term (Βασιλικὴ στοά) from Strabo (63 BC—ca. 24 AD)—it was applied to Roman and Latin buildings.²⁸ From this evidence we can assume that the use of *basilica* and its corresponding building type was coined in a Roman milieu based on the resemblance

between Forum basilicas and Greek royal halls rather than Greek stoas.²⁹ The adoption of the Greek word by the Romans indicates the power of association and culture.

The use of *basilica* resulted in the Roman disdain for the word *king* (*rex*) or anything associated with royalty (*regius*). In other words, it would have been natural for the Romans to call their basilicas *regiae*, but such a label would recall the earlier traditional government that would, in effect, undermine the later republican status quo. Since 509 BC when Roman citizens shook off the yoke of their last king Lucius Tarquinius, Latin identity became inextricably linked with republicanism.³⁰ The Roman government was legislated by an elected senate led by two consuls rather than a king. However, the persistence of tradition within their culture and religious practices were continually at odds with this new government. Administrative policies systematically removed royal associations and related terms from public offices, while religious officials modified their ceremonies in order to retain their traditions within the new regime. When basilicas were built in the second century BC, their patrons/builders coined a foreign Greek word true to the building's associations without indicating to the common Latin-speaker the idea of monarchy.

While Roman secular society disassociated itself from monarchism, its religious culture held on to its royal traditions. On the one hand, Rome had no king; on the other, Romans needed kings for placating their gods.³¹ One monument that testified to the old kingdom of Rome was the *regia* (also known to the Greeks as the *Baσιλείων*), standing in the heart of the Forum Romanum, near the House of the Vestal Virgins.³² According to Plutarch this was the house of Numa Pompilius (753- 674 BC), second king of Rome after Romulus, who is also credited as founder of the pontifical college.³³ Before the establishment of the republic, the king of Rome functioned mainly as the high priest. After the abolition of the monarchy, the priestly role of the king was divided into two functionaries, the *pontifex maximus* and *rex sacrorum*, both of whom carried out their duties in the *regia*.³⁴ Simply put, before the republic, the state and religion were a unified phenomenon—the hierarchy of heaven was mirrored in the hierarchy on earth. In order to retain the cults, and therefore, the culture, the offices of the king necessarily continued after the founding of the republic. The position of high priest, due to its cultural importance, was usually held by one of the consuls, and later, the emperor. Yet the emperor would never dare assume the title “king.”³⁵

The Roman stigma towards royal affiliation paralleled earlier developments in Greece. The ancient Greek term for royal hall was *megaron* (μεγάρων), a term that Homer seemingly

borrowed from an eastern Anatolian language.³⁶ And not unlike the term *domed basilica* “the megaron has come to mean all things to all men” as Baldwin Smith lamented.³⁷ The plethora of scholarly speculation is based on ancient stigmas which were neither scientific nor candidly explained in historical texts. As the Romans adopted the term *basilica* to replace *regia*, the ancient Greek writers borrowed the term *μεγάλων* to replace *βασιλείων*. The former terms would be alien or ambiguous to the common masses. Even before the ubiquitous establishment of democracy, we read the early Greek poet Archilochus (mid-7th century BC) using the term *tyrant* (*τύραννος*) as a synonym for *basileus*, while Herodotus (ca. 484—425 BC) does the same, followed later by Eusebius of Caesarea (275 – May 30, 339).³⁸ So it is not surprising that Athenian democracy erased, sometimes literally, the royal attributions of their public buildings. However, to serve the gods, the priesthood of the *basileus* was still needed.³⁹ Even after the reforms of Solon (638–558 BC), the agora retained its *royal stoa*, but the *basileus* was replaced by (or renamed) the *archon*, who continued the royal cult without the political associations—much like the later Roman *pontifex maximus*. Only with the advent of Philip of Macedonia (382–336 BC) and his son Alexander was the term *basileus* used with pride and authority again. But when Rome assimilated the Hellenistic kingdoms, the term once again became obsolete and applied strictly to barbarian leaders.

This is the point: the Athenians had a *βασιλείων* without a *basileus*; the Romans had a *regia* without a *rex*. There was an incoherency within ancient societies, manifested with the *term* and monumentalized with a certain *type* of building—the *basilica*. It is at this crux where Greco-Roman religion was at odds with their politics that early Christian cults were able to exploit and find their place.⁴⁰ Eventually Constantine, with his desire for a new Roman dynasty, with a new capital, and a new cult, popularized the use of the basilica as the chief building type for Christian churches.⁴¹ His biographer, Eusebius of Caesarea, called the basilica of the Holy Sepulcher a “king’s palace” (*βασιλεῖος*).⁴² Likewise, the golden half-dome of St. Peter’s contained an inscription, describing it as a “kingsly house.”⁴³ The association between the basilica and the King of kings (*Βασιλεῖς βασιλέων* or *Rex regnum*) would not be forgotten in subsequent centuries, but rather became the paramount idea behind Early Christian architecture.⁴⁴ Yet Jocelyn Toynbee challenged this thesis by asking a series of questions: “But did the Christians really adopt the term *basilica* because they thought of their *eccliae* as palaces or “royal structures”? Why could not the term have been derived from the civil basilicas, the colonnaded and often apsed halls, with which the earliest churches shared these basic elements?”⁴⁵ The answer to these questions can be found by studying the etymology of the term through medieval history.

Isidore of Seville (560—636) recorded that the term *basilica* “initially was the name of the king’s residence, which is how it got the name, for *Basileus* means *king* and *Basilica* the king’s house.”⁴⁶ This definition is repeated two hundred years later in Hrabanus Maurus’ *De rerum naturis* (14.21). All subsequent European languages adopt Isidore’s meaning; for example, in the English language *basilica* first appears in 1563 and imports the ambiguity of the term: “Called Basilicæ, eyther [sic] for that the Greeks used to call all great and goodly places Basilicas, or for that the high and everlasting King.”⁴⁷ Much later the French added to this definition “une edifice civil rectangulaire”—influenced by Renaissance concerns and an emphasis on Vitruvius.⁴⁸ Therefore, to the medieval scholar the *basilica* could have meant any great building, any Christian church, or any rectangular hall—but the association with royalty was inherent in all these connotations. These ideas must be understood as we analyze the buildings known as *domed basilicas*.

I.2.3. The Domed Basilica

The term *domed basilica* in this dissertation designates a group of buildings that are rectangular in plan and surmounted by a series of domes. It is defined more narrowly than the commonly accepted usage supplied by Krautheimer: “A church type on a square or short rectangular plan with a vaulted nave, aisles, and galleries; a dome surmounts the nave in its center bay.”⁴⁹ Under his definition, various types of building can be grouped together having as many differences as similarities. For example, Agia Sophia (Constantinople) is a *domed basilica* as well as Michelangelo’s St. Peters (Vatican). As such, this broad concept designates little and is rather confusing. Yet, with that being said, I intentionally use the term’s ambiguity to flesh out the problems of Byzantine architectural history, and to illustrate how the domed basilicas of Cyprus can shed light on the matter.

The term *domed basilica* (*Kuppelbasilika*) was supposedly first used by Josef Strzygowski (1862-1941).⁵⁰ He designated the fifth century churches of Cilicia (Anatolia), such as Alahan and Meriamlik, as domed basilicas, because they had a rectangular plan, and included a square bay before the chancel.⁵¹ Though the roofing had long disappeared, Strzygowski proposed that the bay was surmounted by a dome.⁵² Naturally these churches were viewed as transitional types bridging the gap between early Christian basilicas and later centralized domed churches, exemplified by Justinian’s Agia Sophia. However, Strzygowski and his followers, in their eagerness to prove the “origins” of Byzantine architecture, classified many buildings as *domed*

basilicas which were neither domed nor basilicas. Further complicating the situation, these early churches, including the examples of Alahan and Meriamlik, could have been roofed with wooden pyramidal gables, *not* domes.⁵³ As a result, Byzantine architectural historians were left with an important but loosely defined concept.

While it is true that Strzygowski popularized the *domed basilica* term, he did not coin it. The concept can be traced further back to Walter Lowrie's *Monuments of the Early Church* (1901). He wrote:

The vault had a subordinate importance in early Christian architecture, but it became the essential feature of the Romanesque, and was developed under a new inspiration into the Gothic. The dome, on the other hand, was the most characteristic feature of Byzantine architecture, and the *domed basilica* represents the crowning and unsurpassed achievement of the early Christian period.⁵⁴

Lowrie argued that the Greek cross-and-square and the cruciform churches solved the tension between symbolic centralized memoria/martyriums and the functional longitudinal basilica. He admitted that the “oblong plan” of Agia Sophia in Constantinople was “undoubtedly the culminating triumph of the Classical age of Byzantine architecture” but had little influence on the subsequent buildings. Instead he argued that the domed basilica design, like the Holy Apostles, had a more lasting influence on subsequent Christian architecture.

Unlike Strzygowski, who advocated a new typology, Lowrie coined the term to describe a type already documented by previous scholars.⁵⁵ To Lowrie, the emergence of a new building that combined the dome’s “central type” verticality with the basilica’s horizontality necessitated a new term. He believed that the *domed basilica* not only united the traditions of western and eastern architecture, but also united the *practice* (liturgy) with *veneration* (i.e., cult of martyrs). At some point the martyrium gave way to the incorporation of relics within churches—churches such as the domed basilicas. Even with the additional data uncovered through archaeology many years later, Lowrie’s theoretical framework remains useful.

Lowrie was drawing his thesis from French scholarship rather than the specific line of inquiry proposed by Strzygowski.⁵⁶ By the nineteenth century the terms *églises* and *basilique* were used interchangeably to convey a difference of *degree* rather than *type*. In other words, large churches were called *basilicas* to indicate a building larger than a typical parish church.⁵⁷ Therefore, the term *basilique à coupole* (domed basilica) could be synonymous with *église à coupole* (domed church). By 1960, scholarship continued to be divided over how this term should be applied. For example, Armen Khatchatrian employed the term *basiliques à coupoles* to describe the

Katapoliani (Hekatontapyliani) on Paros, while his German contemporary Eduard Syndicus used the term *Kuppelbasilika*, following Strzygowski, to describe Alahan and Meriamlik.⁵⁸ These churches have very little in common, and most scholars would agree that they do not belong to the same type. Ultimately the usage of *églises à coupole*s can be traced to Felix De Verneilh's *L'architecture byzantine en France* (1851). This monumental tome is one of the earliest studies on the relationship between medieval architecture in the Roman Catholic west and in the Greek Orthodox east. The historiography of the domed basilica begins at this point (discussed below § I.3.1).

I.3. Historiography

In writing *A history of Cyprus* (1940), the celebrated director of the British Museum, Sir George Hill cautioned

...Cyprus has had no continuous history of its own...What light we have on it is chiefly a pale and shifting reflection from the activities of the great powers which from age to age have found it necessary to *deal with* it on their way to some *more important objective*. Any picture of its fortunes must therefore be patchy and ill-composed, its lights and shadows forced and perhaps often misleading. For the same reason, to set its history in true perspective one would need a mastery of the history of all the peoples who came into contact with it whether as colonists or as conquerors.⁵⁹

Hill realized that if surviving sources are accepted at face value, one risks propagating an inaccurate and relative viewpoint. He encouraged careful scholarship since “history is written by the victors.”⁶⁰ Likewise, in his chapter “Byzantium and Islam,” Hill wrote that the surviving “references to the history of Cyprus during this period are merely incidental to the history of the [Byzantine] Empire as a whole.”⁶¹ Therefore, in studying the historiography of the Cypriot domed basilicas one must keep in mind Hill’s advice and how past scholars have analyzed the surviving sources.

Nineteenth and twentieth century architectural historians were motivated by specific questions which shaped the thrust of their research. Since art history was dominated by Western European scholars, their questions were usually Eurocentric. Around the turn of the twentieth century, the domed basilicas of Cyprus were at the periphery of what was considered “European” and referenced by scholars as curiosities or means to some other end. The monuments interested two distinct groups of scholars. The first group was concerned mostly

with French Romanesque and Gothic art. The second group consisted of Byzantinists who usually studied Cypriot architecture in relation to monuments in Constantinople. Both sets of scholars fashioned the parameters and research questions that today's architectural historians have followed.

I.3.1. Romanesque Historiography

Nineteenth century French architectural historians were preoccupied with tracing the origins of “Gothic” style. Since the Romanesque period led to the Gothic, much ink was spilt theorizing its sources. Scholars debated whether Romanesque characteristics were developed autochthonously (locally) or imported from abroad. They introduced Aristotelian dichotomies in their analysis that are still found in scholarship today. For example, their research was driven by questions like “Did Romanesque architecture generate from ‘Spain or Toulouse,’ ‘Cluny or Lombardy,’ or ‘Orient oder Rom’”?⁶² The study of Romanesque architecture led to the first analysis of Cypriot churches.

Two pioneers of Romanesque architectural history were Albert Lenoir (1801-1891) and Félix de Verneilh (-Puyrasseau) (1820-1864).⁶³ Lenoir is known today as the architect and founder of the Musée de Cluny in Paris, built between 1832 and 1844 (which continues to be France’s foremost museum dedicated to medieval art). He turned his interests from architectural design to architectural history after he traveled throughout Greece. When he returned to France he gave a series of public lectures concerning the similarities of the churches at Cahors, Souliac and Saint-Front with Byzantine churches in the East.⁶⁴ Lenoir developed the idea that “western architecture” could be characterized by longitudinal vaulting, which ultimately developed into the Gothic ribbed vault, whereas “eastern architecture” was characterized by centrally-planned domed structures. The same typological models were adopted Lenoir’s most famous student, Félix de Verneilh.

Verneilh’s main focus was the study of the multiple-domed basilica of Saint-Front at Périgueux (**figs. I.6-7**). He believed it was the most important Romanesque monument, and dated it to the late tenth century.⁶⁵ In 1841 he published his first accounts of Saint-Front in the *Bulletin Archéologique du Comité historique des arts et monuments* (vol. 1. no. 4) providing a ground plan with his preliminary research. Six years later he published his excavation report in *Bulletin Monumental* which ultimately led to his 1851 book, *L’architecture byzantine en France*. The book was one of the first monumental studies devoted to Romanesque architecture at the

apex of neoclassicism—perhaps serving as the catalyst to the subsequent medieval revival under Eugène Viollet-le-Duc (1814–1879).

Verneilh's work was significant for both its content and its explanatory power. It identified the influence of “Byzantine style” in medieval France, while discussing surviving buildings dateable through historical accounts. For example, in discussing the relationship between Charlemagne's Palatine Chapel and Justinian's San Vitale, Verneilh developed a model based on family relationships. He wrote that the former eighth century building at Aachen was a “daughter” of the earlier sixth century church at Ravenna. Likewise, he discovered a parallel rapport between Saint-Front at Périgueux and Saint-Mark at Venice. He reasoned that their relationship could be ascertained by measuring proportion, scale, and comparing engineering, style, and design. These similar traits indicated that Saint-Front and Saint-Mark were contemporaneous “sisters.”⁶⁶ Continuing the analogy, he ascertained that the “mother” was the Holy Apostles church at Constantinople and Agia Sophia was the archetypal “grandmother” from which all other domed basilicas originated.⁶⁷ Moreover, Verneilh argued that the family line replicated itself in two hundred domed basilicas of Aquitaine, all of which were descended from Saint-Front. In another metaphor, he imagined that Saint-Front's influence was like a stone tossed in water, causing a rippling effect; one finds many domed basilicas nearer to Saint-Front, and the further away, fewer examples.⁶⁸

Verneilh's theory of outside influences on French architecture was challenged rigorously by Ludovic Vitet (1802-1873), Jean-Auguste Brutails (1859-1926), Auguste Choisy (1841-1909), and Emile Bertaux (1869-1917).⁶⁹ These scholars claimed that the domed basilicas of France were local developments of domed vernacular architecture, and therefore did not need any influence from abroad. This “autochthonous school” gradually gained momentum in political circles, since it enhanced the prestige of France. It was further strengthened when the “objective” Englishman Richard Phené Spiers (1838-1916) proved that Saint-Front at Périgueux could not have been built before the early twelfth century, thus repudiating Verneilh's chronology and the thrust of his argument.⁷⁰ As a result, Saint-Front was seen as an exception in Romanesque history, rather than as an exemplar. Even so, another group of scholars, including Jules Quicherat and Camille Enlart, were not convinced that medieval architectural development in France could be isolated from the rest of Christendom.

Enlart (1862-1927) was a student of the notable art historian, Robert de Lasteyrie (1848-1921), and later became the director of the Musée de Sculpture Comparée. Enlart mainly interested himself in discovering the “pure” expressions of Gothic style.⁷¹ He believed that crusader architecture in Palestine, Syria, and Cyprus offered pristine examples of French Gothic, simply because they were never restored like those in France.⁷² On a 1895-97 field trip to study thirteenth century Gothic architecture in Cyprus, he encountered churches that reminded him of the domed churches of Aquitaine.⁷³ Enlart theorized that the French examples could be considered derivatives of particular Cypriot exemplars. He concluded his book *L'Art Gothique et la Renaissance en Chypre* (1899) with this idea:

It is known that there were relations between Cyprus and those regions in which Romanesque architecture was subject to Byzantine elements, such as Périgord, Venice and Apulia; furthermore, the domed churches in these three regions, for instance Saint-Étienne and the later Saint-Front (Périgueux), Cahors Cathedral, Saint-Mark (Venice), and Angoulême and Molfetta Cathedrals, are all similar to particular churches in Cyprus which were certainly visited by pilgrims before the establishment of the Latin Kingdom. Unfortunately, the dates of these churches are unknown—churches, such as St. Lazarus at Larnaka and St. Barnabas near Famagusta, both of which were at or near the shrines on the pilgrimage routes and contained highly venerated relics; and the church at Yeroskipou, which is quite close to Paphos where pilgrims often landed. The first two have domes on drums on pointed arches, and massive square piers pierced by arcades; the third is cruciform, roofed with a series of domes on drums. So all the features of Saint-Front at Périgueux can be found in Cyprus in churches where they were certainly visited by many people from the West. These facts could provide matter for a book.⁷⁴

Since this passage was contained in a book on Gothic and Renaissance architecture, it was overlooked by the majority of Byzantine scholars.

It was Charles Diehl (1859-1944), Professor of Art History at the University of Paris, who made Enlart’s observations known to Byzantinists in his two-volume *Manuel d’art byzantin* (1926). At the time, Diehl was one of the few scholars who acknowledged Byzantine influence on French Romanesque architecture. He concurred with Enlart and proposed that there was a “certain similarity” between the pilgrimage churches of Cyprus and France; and posited that the domed-churches found along the Italian Adriatic and Spain demonstrated parallel examples. By condemning the “highly impossible [and]...rash” hypothesis of Jean-Auguste Brutails’ “autochthonous school,” he left the discussion open-ended:

Certainly it still is a mystery that these Romanesque domes are located far removed from the harbors that were in constant relations with the East: but the loans seem so

characteristic, that it is necessary to accept the fact without being able to furnish a certain explanation.⁷⁵

Diehl's pupil, Reymond Rey (b. 1890), later argued against his mentor. Rey believed that "influence," in theory, spreads gradually from one geographical point to another, and that architectural designs could not "leap frog" over vast distances. It seemed unreasonable that Aquitaine would be influenced by Cyprus, while in-between provinces like Provence and Burgundy were not.⁷⁶

In defense of his original theory, Camille Enlart expanded his argument in his essay "Les Églises à coupole d'Aquitaine et de Chypre" published in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1926).⁷⁷ Enlart's reasoning was simple. There was a historical connection between Cyprus and Aquitaine immediately after the First Crusade. Documents described Géraud III de Cardaillac (1083-1113), the bishop and count of Quercy, spending three years in the East. Geraud traveled with Bertrand of Saint-Gilles (1065-1112). The latter expected to receive Cyprus as a dominion by the Byzantine Emperor Alexius Comnenos. Afterwards history recorded Geraud returning to Cahors with the Holy Shroud of Christ in 1113. He deposited the relic in his newly constructed multiple-domed basilica, which was consecrated by Pope Calixtus II in 1119 (**fig. VII.10**).⁷⁸ Though documents do not mention Geraud in Cyprus, one could assume that he and Bertrand visited lands coming into French possession.⁷⁹ Moreover, a now lost medieval chronicle recorded Greek master-masons in France.⁸⁰ Besides this historical relationship, Enlart described the similar building techniques in both Cyprus and France, as well as the common material of oolithic limestone. In addition, the ground plans of the Cypriot churches seemed to echo designs of Aquitaine. Like French churches, those of Cyprus were *basiliques* as well as *églises à coupole* having domed-naves, unlike the central-plan of most Byzantine churches.

Enlart promised to return to Cyprus to undertake a more complete study, but he died unexpectedly a year later. Though his study was inconclusive, many scholars have repeated his assertions, especially those in English-speaking countries. Thus from Verneilh's hypothesis to Enlart we have a continuity of French literature on domed basilicas. Enlart seemed to have had the last word on the subject, when his ideas about Cyprus were disseminated in popular survey textbooks.⁸¹

In summary, the domed basilicas of Cyprus first appeared in scholarly publication as a means to solve questions concerning Romanesque architecture. This superficial study, based on sketchy plans and broadly defined characteristics, fueled the cross-cultural comparisons between

Cypriot and French architecture. Unfortunately the Cypriot churches were not studied as monuments in their own right. Both the “autochthonous school” and those who favored Byzantine influence used the Cypriot examples as a means to some other end, and so their specific place in architectural history was not completely ascertained.

I.3.2 Byzantine Architectural Historiography

Though situated in a Near Eastern context and having a general “Byzantine style,” the Cypriot domed basilica has been insufficiently studied by Byzantine architectural historians. The foremost publications on Byzantine architecture, such as Richard Krautheimer’s *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (1965, 1986) and Cyril Mango’s *Byzantine Architecture* (1976), hardly mention Cypriot churches.⁸² Two deeply held assumptions account for Cyprus’ minor position in Byzantine architectural history. First, it was believed that Byzantine architecture could be explained solely by studying developments in the capital.⁸³ Constantinople was seen as *the* cultural center, where designs developed and new technologies originated; from there successful types were exported to peripheral regions of the Empire—provinces like Cyprus.⁸⁴ Second, architectural historians tend to assume that the larger the building, the greater its contribution to history.⁸⁵ The churches of Cyprus are minuscule compared with architecture in the capital. The lack of historical documentation and long periods of political strife in the twentieth century further hindered studies on Cypriot Byzantine monuments.⁸⁶

Like their Romanesque colleagues, Byzantine architectural historians of the nineteenth and twentieth century had specific research interests which shaped the discipline. As mentioned above, Charles Diehl was one of the few Byzantinists to classify the Romanesque domed basilicas within an eastern context, and here we find the two fields inextricably connected. With that being said, it should be emphasized that Byzantine researchers in Cyprus had different aims than French Romanesque scholars.

The first scholarly study of Cypriot Byzantine monuments was carried out in 1895 by Jakov Smirnov (1869-1918), a young teacher who later became one of the most influential Russian art historians.⁸⁷ At that time, Smirnov traveled to Cyprus in search of early Byzantine mosaics. Though his account was more descriptive than explanatory, he provided valuable information on the Middle Byzantine churches of the Panagia Angeloktistos (Kiti) and Panagia Kanakariá (Lythrakomi) with original ground plans and photographs. Smirnov

was not interested in Byzantine architecture, but rather in sixth century mosaics. Later a more systematic survey of the domed basilicas was provided by the Englishman George Jeffery (d. 1939).

Jeffery came to the Near East as an architect for St. George's Anglican Cathedral in British-controlled Jerusalem. He moved to Cyprus as a Government Architect in 1903 and, though perhaps unqualified for such a position, became Curator of Ancient Monuments.⁸⁸ In 1916 he presented a lengthy paper at the Society of Antiquaries in London entitled "The Earlier Byzantine Churches of Cyprus."⁸⁹ Unfortunately, his survey was accompanied by erroneous opinions, which belied his understanding of the Orthodox religion, Byzantine architecture, and the dating of historic buildings. For example, concerning the sixth century mosaics at Kiti and Lythrankomi, he declared, "[they] doubtless belong to the same series and age as the great school of mosaic art at Bethlehem and Jerusalem of the eleventh—twelfth centuries." Furthermore, his imperial snobbishness colored his scholarship; for instance, he wrote about medieval Cypriots as "half-savage peasantry" and their Byzantine frescos as "all this rude decoration in crude primary colours...such primitive attempts at pictorial art," and their architecture "betraying a clumsy unscientific idea of construction."⁹⁰ Nevertheless, his work was important because it led to his 1918 survey and catalogue *A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus* that recorded many churches for the first time.

Jeffery's publications brought Byzantine Cyprus to the attention of English-speaking scholars, just as Enlart's work notified the French community. However, few specialists found time to substantiate or disprove his theories. What was needed was a more systematic catalogue of plans and photographs with an architectural survey. Georgios M. Soteriou (1880-1965), a professor of history of the University of Athens and director of the Byzantine and Christian Museum, promised to publish such a book. At the invitation of the Cypriot archbishop in 1931, Soteriou hired Cypriot architects J. Pericleous and Theophilus Mogabgab to draw elevations and plans, along with C. Papaioannou to photograph Byzantine monuments throughout Cyprus.⁹¹ His preliminary report was published in a 1931 article "The Early Christian and Byzantine Remains of Cyprus" in the *Report of the Athens Academy*.⁹² This brief account surveyed Cypriot architecture and argued against Jeffery and Enlart. He proposed that the domed basilicas dated from the Early Byzantine period and only appeared "crude" in construction because of their antiquity. He also wrote,

Though the type is not known from other Byzantine monuments, they are however of great importance, because they show us that the so-called Cypriot concept with five adjoining domes [is based on earlier] Byzantine churches. This group of Early Christian monuments of Cyprus indicates the greatest development on the island up until the Arab raids and sheds light on many problems of Early Christian architecture.⁹³

Soteriou believed that the remains of Cyprus held the key to understanding the development of Byzantine architecture as a whole. Therefore he planned a more comprehensive two-volume study. The first tome would contain plans and photographs, while the second volume would consist of texts on history and dating. In 1935 the first volume *The Byzantine Remains of Cyprus* (*Ta Βυζαντινά Μνήματα της Κύπρου*) was published. It included well-drawn architectural plans and high-quality photographs for the time (though several photographs were mislabeled).⁹⁴ Scholars anticipated the second volume but were disappointed when Soteriou died in 1965 leaving no trace of a manuscript. It seems that such unfulfilled promises are all too common within Byzantine studies concerning Cyprus.⁹⁵

Soteriou did publish two other works on the Cypriot domed basilicas. In 1937 he wrote an article on the church of Agios Varnavas near Salamis.⁹⁶ In this article, he provided a reconstruction claiming that it originally had three domes, and that its three transept-arms held galleries, like St. Mark at Venice, dating it between the sixth and seventh century. As Chapter Five explains, he misinterpreted the archaeology—yet his work remains the only major study on this church.⁹⁷ Soteriou also suggested that this particular church influenced later Byzantine churches in Apulia (Italy) and Anatolia, such as St. John the Theologian (Philadelphia).⁹⁸ His later 1940 survey of the domed basilicas is, at best, a general study of the churches. He rehashed his previous arguments concerning their Early Byzantine date, while proposing that the domed basilicas of Apulia and France ultimately derive from an “eastern Hellenistic” type which survived only in Cyprus, just as Enlart and Diehl suggested. Just how this type was transmitted throughout Christendom he did not explain.⁹⁹ Though Soteriou’s work is ambiguous and outdated, his theories have not been completely refuted or substantiated by his successors.

One successor was A.H.S. (Peter) Megaw, who committed his life to the study of Byzantine archaeology on the island. Megaw (1910-2006) was trained as an architect and moved to Cyprus in the 1930s after receiving a post in the British government. He was later appointed to the Director of the Department of Antiquities from 1936 to 1960. He began excavating and restoring the island’s Christian monuments and followed Soteriou by hiring both J. Pericleous and Theophilus Mogabgab. Though Megaw was neither trained in archaeology nor

educated in Byzantine studies, he focused on medieval monuments, much like his predecessor, Jeffery. Megaw lost his position at the Department of Antiquities during Cyprus' revolutionary war in 1959, when the British government was ousted. He subsequently became the Director of the British School at Athens, where he continued to study Cypriot and Byzantine architecture.¹⁰⁰ Unlike Soteriou's work, Megaw's scholarship was archaeological and more descriptive. The next section (§ I.3.3) evaluates one of his enduring contributions to the domed churches of Cyprus—the idea of provincialism.

Perhaps Megaw's most gifted protégé was Dr. Andreas Dikigoropoulos. He was a native Cypriot who was Assistant Curator of Ancient monuments at the Department of Antiquities from 1947 to 1960. His main studies focused on the period of the Arabic raids on Cyprus. In 1954 he was appointed by Megaw to excavate the cathedral of Agios Epifanios in Salamis. As coincidence would have it, he discovered the important remains of a multiple-domed basilica in its annex. Like Megaw, in 1959 Dikigoropoulos was forced out of the Department of Antiquities, accused of being a British sympathizer—which he was later exonerated.¹⁰¹ He subsequently studied Byzantine history under Professor Joan Hussey (1902-2006) at Oxford University, where he received his doctorate in 1962. Later he worked at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington DC, on its Byzantine coin collection.¹⁰² His main contribution to Cypriot architectural history is found in his dissertation “Cyprus ‘betwixt Greeks and Saracens,’ A.D. 647-965,” the seminal work on the subject. As described in the subsequent chapters, Dikigoropoulos argued that the multiple-domed basilicas belonged to this period (i.e. the years between 647 and 965).

After Dikigoropoulos left Cyprus, his excavations at Salamis and other medieval sites were discontinued. Two years later, the Department of Antiquities hired Athanasius Papageorghiou to continue his work. Papageorghiou studied theology at the University of Athens, and later undertook coursework with André Grabar at the University of Paris. However, before earning a degree, he left to join the Department of Antiquities in 1962, where he worked until 1991.¹⁰³ He quickly became the island's specialist in Early Christian and Byzantine architecture, excavating and restoring the domed basilicas. His initial findings were published in the ecclesiastical journal *Απόστολος Βαρνάβας*. Unfortunately, this periodical was not widely circulated outside Cyprus, and largely ignored by the international community.¹⁰⁴ Nevertheless Papageorghiou was convinced, along with Dikigoropoulos, that the domed basilicas were built between the initial Arab invasions (beginning in 649) and the

Byzantine reconquest (965), when influence from Constantinople was reestablished.¹⁰⁵ Since 1988 Papageorghiou has promised to write a monograph for each domed basilica.¹⁰⁶

I.3.3. Current Research

Specialists like Papageorghiou were known but less influential than art historians who wrote general survey texts. Scholars such as Richard Krautheimer (1897-1994) and Cyril Mango (b. 1928) have had a profound impact on subsequent students of Byzantine architectural history. As mentioned above, the Cypriot domed basilicas were seemingly built sometime in the Middle Byzantine period. Commonly known as the “Dark Ages,” the period has been problematic for architectural historians.¹⁰⁷ For example, Mango emphatically declared that “one cannot speak with any assurance of the development of Byzantine architecture in the period between about 610 and 850.”¹⁰⁸ It was assumed that any new information on this period would come from Constantinople. The capital, with its extraordinary monuments and secular power, naturally has been the focus of Byzantine architectural historians. Since the Cypriot churches were neither large, nor “original,” nor technologically innovative, they were overshadowed by Constantinopolitan monuments.

Recent studies on this subject have generally compared the Cypriot churches to imperially funded buildings. For example, Megaw asked the fundamental question in his article title: “Byzantine Architecture and Decoration in Cyprus: Metropolitan or Provincial?” (1974). He was playing on the word *metropolitan*, which means both “urban” and, in an Eastern Orthodox context, *a bishop [or archbishop] below the rank of a patriarch*. If Cyprus was “metropolitan” it could mean two things: either it was subject to the patriarch of Constantinople, or that it was an urban center (which it clearly was not). If Cyprus was “provincial” it would mean that it was subject to the emperor of Constantinople. Such a limited question necessarily left Cyprus marginalized, regardless of the answer given. The aforementioned passage underscores this limitation:

Where but in Constantinople, one may ask, did impoverished Cyprus find the resources and the inspiration for this massive reconstruction in a style alien to the local basilica tradition?...Such treatments, which could well have been inspired by the improvisations of the time of Leo VI, are perhaps *best credited to local invention...*¹⁰⁹

While at first glance, it seemed that Megaw “best credited” the domed basilica to Cypriot invention, he qualified this with two ideas: “alien style” and Constantinopolitan “inspiration.”

This elusive conclusion left “impovertished Cyprus” dependant on the wealthy capital by default.¹¹⁰

In reference to Megaw, Professor Slobodan Ćurčić asked a slightly different question in his published lecture: *Middle Byzantine Architecture on Cyprus: Provincial or Regional?* (2002).¹¹¹ He wrote, “The label ‘provincial’ has stuck to these monuments with such tenacity that at times they appear to have been physically neglected...[Was] Cyprus...such a ‘backwater’ place, beyond the reach of Constantinopolitan architectural influence...?” In his answer Ćurčić claimed that the Cypriot churches were not “provincial,” while he admitted that they demonstrate qualities less technically or aesthetically sophisticated than those of the capital. Therefore, in order to reconcile this contradiction, he shifted the labeling. He proposed that Cyprus should be classified as *regional*, rather than *provincial*. But inherent in his question is the assumption that without “Constantinopolitan architectural influence” Cyprus would be a “backwater.” And even with influence from the capital, its achievements in architecture would still be derivative. His resolution retained the focus on Constantinople, while explaining away the idiosyncrasies of Cyprus as a “regional” development—whatever that might mean.¹¹² In actuality, Ćurčić asked the same question as Megaw. Both scholars phrase their question in a dichotomy—assuming that Cypriot architecture must somehow hold a relationship with Constantinople—even at a time when Cyprus was an independent state.¹¹³ Their titles do not even allow for the independent development of architecture on the island, since being “regional” or “provincial” is to be measured by Constantinopolitan standards. Regardless of their different phrasing, the answer remained the same: Cyprus’s Byzantine architecture was subpar with the capital, and therefore marginal, derivative, peripheral, provincial, regional, etc.

Along with the publications of Megaw and Ćurčić, there have been five other relevant works, briefly introduced here. As mentioned above, a central theme runs throughout these, comparing Constantinopolitan architecture with Cypriot examples. As a result, it would seem that there is a consensus that Cypriot “Byzantine” architecture is heavily dependant on Constantinople and incapable of independent development. These include Annabel Wharton’s *Art of Empire: Painting and Architecture of the Byzantine Periphery* (1988); Evangelia Hadjityphonos’ “An approach to the typology of churches with five domes in Byzantine architecture” (1991)¹¹⁴; Vincenzo Ruggieri’s published dissertation on *Byzantine Religious Architecture (582-867)* (1991). Tassos Papacostas’ theses “Medieval Byzantine urban churches in Cyprus” (1995) and

“Byzantine Cyprus: the testimony of its churches, 650-1200” (1999); and the *History of Cyprus*, volume 4: “Byzantine Architecture and Art in Cyprus” (2005) by Charalampos Chotzakoglou.¹¹⁵

Annabel Wharton earned her doctorate from the Courtauld Institute of Art, and is currently Professor of Early Christian and Byzantine art at Duke University. Her study explored the relationship between “center” and “periphery” or “Constantinople” and “its provinces”—a relationship that, as stated above, Megaw brought to the forefront. The study was important because it highlighted differences between architecture prior to the 965 Byzantine reconquest and those constructed afterwards in Cyprus. Since her intent was a general survey of Cyprus, the architectural analysis of the multiple-domed basilicas was brief.¹¹⁶ She followed Soteriou in theorizing that the five-domed Cypriot churches were influenced by the design of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople. She suggested that rural Cyprus tried to emulate the sophisticated architecture of the urban capital. As explained in Chapter Six, I am not persuaded by this hypothesis since the Cypriot churches are chiefly three-domed basilicas, rather than five-domed cruciform structures.¹¹⁷

Evangelia Hadjityphonos, director of the European Center of Byzantine and Post Byzantine Monuments (Thessaloniki), sought to find the common denominator behind five-domed Byzantine churches. As in Professor Wharton’s study, Hadjityphonos argued that the Holy Apostles influenced the myriad of multiple-domed churches that were built after its construction. Her work, written in Serbian, illustrated the problem with analyzing churches solely based on their ground plans. While it is clear that two Cypriot churches, Agia Paraskevi (Geroskipou) and Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion (Peristerona), share the basic traits of multiple-domes and cross-shape with the Holy Apostles, they diverge in many other characteristics. These differences are noted by Dr. Hadjityphonos, who classifies the Cypriot examples “as a separate group.”¹¹⁸ The question still remains after her study—just how different are the Cypriot churches from those in other regions? By including the Cypriot examples in her study, she necessarily connected the island’s multiple-domes with the developments of Constantinopolitan architecture. Yet she failed to consider the other Cypriot three-domed churches, resulting in a misconception of Cypriot architectural development.

In contrast Vincenzo Ruggieri, professor of Byzantine History and Archaeology at the Pontifical Oriental Institute (Rome), sought to abandon such typologies. His thesis had three distinct components: the first part described changes in liturgy; the second, concerned the change in Byzantine laws concerning church property; and the third, proposed that earthquakes

led to the redesign of churches to absorb aftershocks.¹¹⁹ The value of this work rests in the analysis on the historical sources, both legal and hagiographical documents. However, Ruggieri did not make specific correlations between legislation and church design. He further argued that “a connection between liturgy and architectural form was no longer maintained”—a rather unsupported and sweeping assumption.¹²⁰ Concerning the multiple-domed churches of Cyprus he wrote: “Yeroskipos and Peristerona show five domes over a basilical plan...One should perhaps look at St. Barnabus’ and St. Lazarus’ for a closer comparison.” Chapter Five of this dissertation offers this closer comparison.

A different approach was adopted by Tassos Papacostas, now a lecturer at the University of London, who concentrated on the archaeological evidence to reconstruct the economic and settlement patterns of Cyprus.¹²¹ Objectives for his 1995 and 1999 research were basically the same: “The main aim...is to investigate the Byzantine buildings of Cyprus in an attempt to reconstruct aspects of the island’s cultural and economic history which the written record fails to elucidate...”¹²² His main argument was that Cyprus during the Period of Neutrality did not witness a widespread collapse as other scholars have noted. He also suggested that the Byzantine reconquest of 965 did not bring about a radical change, nor did it usher in a new age of architectural building. Unfortunately, he neither explained how undocumented buildings could aid in reconstructing economic history, nor did he supply a formal analysis of the buildings. While his broad survey of over 500 years of Cypriot history is exhaustive and well referenced, it was perhaps, stretched too thin. In effect, Papacostas attempted to explain the Middle Byzantine history of Cyprus through the “testimony” of the buildings, without defining how such testimonials could be extracted in the absence of historical documentation. Moreover, he neither provided the reasoning behind his dating methods nor the particular evidence he drew from, leaving the reader unconvinced by conclusions.¹²³ Nevertheless his work remains an invaluable reference and gazetteer.¹²⁴

The fifth relevant study by Charalambos Chotzakoglou, a research scholar at Kykko Monastery, was an up-to-date synthesis of previous research, published with a volume containing high-quality photographs. Unfortunately, the author uncritically accepted past scholarship and rehashed outdated theories rather than reassessing the current evidence. He wrote “[the domed basilicas] appear to have been erected in the early 10th century and they testify to the interest the capital had for Cyprus, denying older opinions concerning the imperial indifference for the island.”¹²⁵ Therefore we come full circle, from Cyprus being “provincial” or

“regional” to being “Constantinopolitan”? While Dr. Chotzakoglou seemed to indicate that his opinions were new, they were actually consistent with the scholars which he has chosen to highlight. This sums up the current state of the field.

Conclusion

In outlining the historiography of the domed churches, this section has highlighted three lines of inquiry. The first research goal, developed by French art historians, tried to ascertain whether the form and style of Romanesque churches were derived from Byzantium, and later, Cyprus. The second type of research, sought to describe classify and categorize Cypriot monuments, as characterized by the work of Jeffery, Soteriou and Megaw. The third type of inquiry, which stemmed from the second, positioned Cypriot monuments in relation to Constantinople. Ultimately, these goals resulted in the marginalization of Cyprus. Since the “more important objective” was the understanding of French Aquitaine or Constantinople, Cyprus was only “dealt with” when necessary.¹²⁶ Even in studies where scholars purposely argued against marginalization (e.g., Megaw, Ćurčić, and Papageorghiou), comparisons with Constantinople were unavoidable.

Likewise this dissertation cannot completely dismiss research questions that previous scholars asked. However, as I will discuss in Chapter Six, if we consider recent studies from other disciplines (Arab history, Cypriot archaeology, seismic studies, liturgical studies, etc.) two deeply held assumptions are no longer tenable: (1) that Cyprus should be studied as a “typical” province of the Byzantine Empire between 688 and 965, (2) and that each dome on the basilica had a purely functional purpose. This leads to two important questions not addressed in previous research: *What would be the significance of these buildings if they developed independently from Constantinopolitan control?* and *What would the multiple domes signify to the independent Church of Cyprus?* Before these questions can be answered, I will present an overview of Early Christian churches on the island, and a survey of earlier multiple-domed basilicas in the next chapter.

Chapter II: Prior Developments

The multiple-domed basilicas were transitional buildings that belong to the era spanning the Early Christian and Middle Byzantine periods. Most of them were built on previous Early Christian churches. As a result, they conformed to the original ground plans and incorporated the earlier foundations. It is important, therefore, to understand Early Christian basilicas on the island and their demise in the mid-seventh century. There were three significant developments in architecture at the end of Late Antiquity: the first took place in the sixth century, when local limestone was first used instead of imported marble; the second change was the transition from round columns to square piers; and the third was the change from wooden roofs to barrel-vaulting.

This chapter discusses Early Christianity on Cyprus and the development of church architecture. Since significant studies have already been made concerning the Early Christian churches, only general considerations are provided here.¹ Concerning the destruction of the Early Christian basilica, this chapter explores two theses: the Arab conquest of the island in 649 and seismic activity. It will be argued that our current knowledge favors the former hypothesis. The Arab conquest caused much destruction of Early Christian buildings, and therefore, was a catalyst to the subsequent change in architecture. In regards to the square-pier and barrel-vaulted basilicas, less has been written, and so a complete formal analysis is provided.

II.1. Early Christianity

Cyprus was one of the first places where Christians brought their message after the crucifixion of Christ. Around the year 40, the apostles Paul, Barnabas, and the gospel writer, John Mark traveled from Antioch to Salamis, and then on to the capital of the island, Paphos. There, they encountered a wizard named Elymas who was the advisor of the Roman proconsul (governor) Sergius Paulus. After Paul's "magic" proved greater than the sorcerer's, the proconsul converted to Christianity. If this account is historical, then Cyprus is the first province to be ruled by a Christian.² Past scholars have doubted the historicity of this governor, but recent studies have reconsidered the Chytroi inscription, which recorded an actual Roman proconsul who ruled Cyprus during the reign of Tiberius. It contains the name Sergius Paulus and dates to about the same period as the biblical account.³ This is significant for three reasons: it established

Christianity at an early date on Cyprus; it provided an apostolic foundation for the church; and it illustrated an early fusion between church and state.

II.1.1. Earliest Evidence of Christian worship

Though Christianity was established early on the island, there is no evidence of Christian art or architecture prior to fourth century. Due to the strongly pagan institutions of the island, from the worship of Aphrodite to Apollo, Christianity remained an underground movement until Constantine's Edict of Milan (313). Textual sources testify to a Christian church in Cyprus before that time, recording the martyrdoms of natives during the Roman Period.⁴ However any artworks or buildings made or commissioned by Christians prior to the fourth century are rather difficult to identify due to the careful and cryptic nature of the persecuted cult.⁵ Today many grottos and shrines dot the Cypriot landscape but their original dating cannot be ascertained.⁶ Recently, two excavations have provided the earliest archaeological evidence for Christianity on Cyprus.

In 1988 a team of Italian archaeologists uncovered foundations of a basilica-chapel built above a subterranean shrine, near the Temple of Apollo Toumballos (at "Garrison's Camp," Paphos). The ruins consisted of a rectangular, single-aisled, apsed building with a small narthex, a cistern, and a subterranean chamber (perhaps used earlier for Mithraic rites) (**figure II.1**). Among the artifacts uncovered were inscriptions on two ceramic shards with the name of St. Paul and St. Hilarion.⁷ The excavators associated this shrine with Hilarion (291-371) who, according to Jerome, preached near the ruins of a great temple in Paphos.⁸ A second discovery was made nearby in 2001, when a painted tomb was excavated about 100 yards from "Garrison's Camp." The tomb was a barrel-vaulted structure, first built at the end of the Hellenistic period. During the Late Roman Period, the tomb was repainted with uncommon symbols, such as gourds, fish, and bread. The Cypriot and Australian excavators associated the reuse of the tomb and the painted symbols with Early Christianity.⁹

II.1.2. The First Phase: Early Christian Basilicas

Besides the chapel at "Garrison's Camp," the earliest Christian basilicas on the island have been discovered at Tremithus, Soloi, and Salamis-Constantia.¹⁰ Agios Spyridon at Tremithus was originally a modest three-aisle columnar basilica with a wooden roof (**figs. II.2-**

6). Its date was ascertained during the course of excavations in the early 1960s.¹¹ Athanasios Papageorghiou discovered the original mosaic floor that contained this inscription:

ΨΗ ΦΙ [ΔΙ ΓΡΑ ΠΤΗ] ΠΟΙΚΙΑΗΤΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΧΡΟΑΝ
ΤΟΠΟΝ ΚΟΣΜΗΣΑΙ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΩΝ
ΚΑΡΤΑΙΡΙΟΥ ΧΕΡΨΙΝ ΠΡΟΣΕΤΑΞΕΝ ΑΓΑΘΕΣ
ΜΝΗΜΗΣ ΣΦΥΡΙΔΩΝ ΜΕΤΑΙΧΩΝ ΑΓΙΑΣ
ΙCOC ΟΜΟΙΩ ΔΥΝΑΜΙ ΠΙΝΕΥΜΑΤΙΚΗ +

Multicolored tesserae adorn as decoration
The Church of the Holy Bishops, by the hands of
Karterios who instructed,
and by Spyridon who, being equal and endowed
with similar vigor, shares their pious memory +.¹²

Spyridon (270–348) was one of the most renowned church fathers of Cyprus.¹³ The date of the inscription is clearly fourth century, based on the epigraphy and the style of the mosaics, and it probably referred to the historical Spyridon. In terms of size, we can only be certain about the width of the original church's nave, which was about 22 feet (7 m). This was the approximate size of the Soloi basilica nave, which was also constructed in the fourth century.

The basilica at Soloi was uncovered in 1967 by the University of Laval (Québec) (**figs. II.7-13**). It was the cathedral of the city, probably dedicated to St. Auxibios.¹⁴ Initially, the excavators discovered a fourth century building with four aisles which contained mosaics chiefly of geometric patterns with animals. These mosaics seemed to be associated with a brick building to the east which contained two small apses of the same size flanking a straight wall (**fig.II.9**). The excavators proposed that this was part of the earliest Christian church on the site. However, Mr. Megaw doubted that the original structure was Christian because of the ambiguous mosaics and the strange double-apse arrangement.¹⁵ During subsequent excavations, it became clear that the original structure was a five-aisled basilica. Furthermore a mosaic inscription was discovered in the apse, stating “ΧΡΙΣΤΕ ΒΟΗΘΕΙ ΤΟ ΨΥΦΩΣΑΝΤΕΙ” (“Christ Bless the donors of this mosaic.”).¹⁶ This is, in fact, the best evidence we have for a *domus ecclesia* on Cyprus, which was later turned into a five-aisled basilica in the late fourth or early fifth century. In the sixth century the entire cathedral was rebuilt and expanded, and opus sectile was laid on top the earlier mosaics. In some sections, the mosaics were replaced by a range of simple patterns to complex interlacing (**fig.II.12**). This later building was a three-apsed, three-aisled, wooden-roofed basilica. To this was added an ancillary chapel on the north side. The sixth

century renovation was clearly modeled after the archbishop's cathedral at Salamis-Constantia, which also contained lateral passages in the main apse leading to the side aisle apses.

Agios Epifanios cathedral at Salamis-Constantia was the most influential building on the island (**figs. III.1-7**).¹⁷ A full account of its construction was recorded in the *Vita Epiphani* by Epiphanius's disciple Bishop Polybius of Rhinocouda.¹⁸ It was a wooden-roof, seven-aisled basilica—the largest church ever built on Cyprus.¹⁹ Elements of the church, such as the embedded side apses in the eastern wall, point to an affinity with the churches of Palestine.²⁰ Other characteristics, such as the lateral passages in the apse and the side corridors flanking the aisles, are unique traits of Cypriot ecclesiastic architecture.

All of the 65 known Early Christian churches on Cyprus, from the late fourth to mid-seventh century, display the same traits—at least three aisles and wooden-roofs.²¹ There are no known examples of centrally-planned, domed, or vaulted buildings. Apparently, the Cypriot church was staunchly conservative and resistant to the building innovations popularized by Justinian I.²² Therefore the fifth and sixth century churches maintained the form and style of Agios Spyridon, Agios Auxibios, and Agios Epifanios. They also continued to display rich marble adornments, such as opus sectile and mosaics, incorporating motifs and styles similar to Palestine and Syria.²³ Their unique Cypriot characteristics, as mentioned above with Agios Epifanios, continued to be implemented. Also these Early Christian churches incorporated many rooms east of the apse, which seems particular to Cyprus.²⁴ As at Agios Epifanios, these rooms were sometimes associated with baptisteries, while other chambers could be residential or catechistical.

The churches excavated at Kalavasos-Kopetra/Sirmata exemplify the last stage of development of the Cypriot Early Christian basilica.²⁵ From 1987 to 1991, excavators uncovered an area of about 547 square yards (500 square meters) in southern Cyprus (**fig.II.14**). Included in this area were a monastic complex and two village churches. The Monastery at Kopetra-Sirmata was a three-aisled, three-apsed basilica, with a narthex and embedded side apses (as at Agios Epifanios), having five round piers separating the aisles which were built with local stone (**fig.II.15-16**). Flanking the main basilica was an exonarthex, courtyard, cistern, crypt (martyrium), with about ten other adjacent rooms. It had *marmara* (local schist) and gypsum slabs for flooring. Evidence exists that the church was destroyed by fire, providing a date of use between 600 and 650. The second church (in Area 2) was a three-aisled, three-apsed wooden roofed basilica, with embedded side apses, having five round piers separating each aisle, built

with local stone (**fig.II.17**). It also had gypsum floors, a narthex and an additional chapel flanking the southern aisle. Unlike the monastery church, it had gypsum plaster-cast architectural moldings, floor mosaics in the bema, and semi-dome mosaics in the apse. Evidence points to a date between 600 and the late seventh century. The third church (in Area 5) was not completely excavated, but was clearly a three-aisled, three-apsed, wooden roofed basilica, containing opus sectile, an apse mosaic, and gypsum moldings like the church in Area 2. The general difference between these seventh century churches and their fourth century predecessors was the use of local limestone for the pier-arcades, gypsum plaster moldings, and local marmara flooring.

Starting in the sixth century it seems that Cypriot architects preferred local limestone over imported marble. Excavations at the small village of Marathovouno revealed a single-apsed basilica with three-aisles divided by five piers on each side (**fig.II.18**).²⁶ These unfluted piers were round, consisting of ashlar blocks, rather than the classical shaft or drums. Their capitals were also made from local gypsum plaster rather than the typical imported marble. The churches at Kalavasos apparently belong to the same late development. It is important to emphasize that the substitution of local stone and plaster for traditional marble was not necessarily a sign of economic decline or a disruption of trade in the Eastern Mediterranean. Since the churches of Kalavasos and Marathovouno were highly decorated and well-built, they did not suffer from economic shortfalls. The transition to local stone piers was due, perhaps, to local tastes and other aesthetic priorities. It also signaled that the Cypriots could exploit their own resources instead of depending on foreign supplies.

Furthermore, the systematic excavation of the Kalavasos-Kopetra/Sirmata churches contributed to our understanding of Cypriot architectural history in other ways. They exemplify that even in the inland countryside, Cypriot churches by the mid-seventh century continued, for the most part, in the same building tradition which was initiated three centuries earlier, sharing the same basic characteristics: three aisles divided by a colonnade, three apses at the east, and a narthex or forecourt in the west, and covered with a wooden-roofed. Rural churches could also be lavishly decorated with imported marble opus sectile and mosaics. In terms of typology, the only difference between them and the cathedrals at Soloi and Salamis-Constantia is their small scale. Yet, the close proximity of three congregations at Kalavasos indicates that by the seventh century, the Cypriot Church preferred to have many small churches rather than one large “mega” church. This scaling down of congregations would be the hallmark of Middle Byzantine architecture. Moreover, the excavations clearly provided evidence for sudden abandonment or

destruction of the Early Christian churches by the end of the seventh century—a watershed for Cypriot architectural development.

II.1.3. The Demise of Early Christian Basilicas

The traditional view, as argued by the A.H.S. Megaw and Papageorghiou, explained that the Arabs destroyed many churches as they systematically pillaged the island in a series of raids—the most devastating occurred in 650.²⁷ This theory was first formulated by Megaw in 1948, concerning the barrel-vaulted basilicas of Afentrika:

No doubt the [Early Christian] churches remained in use in approximately their original form until the Arab raids obliged the inhabitants of the coastal settlements which they served to withdraw to the relative security of the hinterland. The churches must then have fallen into disuse and ruin, if they were not actually burnt by the invaders.²⁸

According to this hypothesis, the wooden-roofed Early Christian basilicas could not withstand the firebrands and pillaging of the zealous Muslim warrior. Of course, wooden-roofs were easy targets and flammable. Moreover, numerous historical accounts describe the Arabs desecrating or converting churches into mosques.²⁹

These records have been substantiated by archaeological evidence. Excavations at Paphos uncovered evidence regarding how the Arabs systematically destroyed two churches—the Panagia Limeniotissa and the cathedral (known as the Chrysopolitissa). Their adjacent chambers were reused as workshops and/or mosques. At the Panagia Limeniotissa, a tower was constructed in its narthex which could have served as a watchtower, lighthouse, or a minaret (**figs.II.19-21**).³⁰ Furthermore, several Arabic inscriptions and tombstones were also discovered in both churches.³¹ (**figs.II.22.a-e**) These findings coincided with the discovery of the best preserved documentation regarding the Arab invasion—the Soloi Cathedral inscriptions (**figs.II.13.a & b.**). The first inscription stated:

...in the year 7 of the Indiction, 365th year of the era of Diocletian, there was, because of our sins, an attack against the island. Many people were killed and about 120,000 were taken as prisoners. And again the island underwent a second more catastrophic “invasion of mercy” than the proceeding year. An even larger number (of people) than before were slain by the sword and were taken prisoners...

The date of the first invasion here is calculated to 649 and the second raid to 650. This matter corresponds to Byzantine and Arabic sources that described the well-planned Arab invasion on

the island.³² The contemporary second inscription, though more fragmented, contained more clues about the destruction of the architecture:

...except fifty...destroyed by the fire...the entire episcopal palace...in the other places...of the island...at a place...other fires...the fervor of John...and in great haste...rebuilt buildings that were destroyed, renovated roofs, they have decorations and have finished the work for the Glory of the Father of the Son and Holy Spirit the year 13 of the Indiction, 371st year of the Era of Diocletian.³³

Here we have conclusive historical and archaeological evidence that the Arab raids caused destruction to Christian architecture. Moreover, archaeological evidence for the destruction of another cathedral was found at Agios Epifanios, when it was first excavated by the British Museum. The excavators found large quantities of “black earth” and burnt material and a human skull in one of the drains.³⁴ Later excavation uncovered evidence pointing to a mid-seventh century date for destruction.³⁵

Even with this overwhelming “smoking gun” evidence Andreas Dikigoropoulos questioned whether the Arabs were completely to blame for the destruction of Early Christian churches. He believed that both earthquakes and plagues could account for depopulation and economic decline during the period of Cypriot Neutrality (649-965). He wrote:

It would not be difficult for the Arabs to set fire to a wooden-roofed basilica, but, on the other hand, it is difficult to see either why they should—the purpose of the Arab raiders could be achieved without setting fire to religious buildings—or, if they did, why the new church erected did not reuse the columns of the burned building. It seems to me more probable that the church and the columns were destroyed in an unrecorded violent earthquake.³⁶

The acceptance of earthquakes rather than Arab raids has gradually gained momentum. In 1991 Vincenzo Ruggieri explained how the Early Christian churches were systematically destroyed by earthquakes throughout the Mediterranean, which led to square centralized domed churches. He argued that the centrally-planned churches were more earthquake-proof.³⁷ Historical documents seemed to substantiate this theory, recording violent earthquakes throughout the Eastern Mediterranean region in the Early and Middle Byzantine period, while few earthquakes were reported in the West, where the wooden-roof basilica tradition continued.³⁸ Following Ruggieri, in 1995/1999 Tassos Papacostas argued that the rural sites of Cyprus were abandoned peacefully in the early seventh century, thus exonerating the Arabs.³⁹ This led Slobodan Ćurčić to conclude that “...the principal cause of the destruction of early basilicas in Cyprus was not the Arabs, but

earthquakes.”⁴⁰ He argued that the transition from wooden-roof basilicas on Cyprus to the multiple-domed basilicas was purely practical. He further suggested that earthquakes forced the church to adopt an earthquake-proof building from the capital, the so-called “cross-in-square” type of church. Ćurčić castigated the excavators of Kalavasos-Kopetra/Sirmata, saying that “[They] uncritically accept Megaw’s hypothesis regarding the Arab raids.”⁴¹ As a consequence, many scholars have adopted this “new” earthquake theory in explaining the demise of Early Christian churches on Cyprus.⁴² However, I would argue that the acceptance of the earthquake hypothesis was premature based on historical, scientific, and archaeological grounds.

Concerning the historical grounds, sources are silent about earthquakes and quite clear concerning the Arab subjugation of the entire island. Historical records omit any references to earthquakes in Cyprus between 370 and 1114.⁴³ On the other hand, it is mentioned that the dome of Agia Sophia (Constantinople) fell to the ground because of earthquakes in 558, 879, 989, and 1348.⁴⁴ Why would Byzantine (and Cypriot) architects have associated domed vaulting with “earthquake resistance”—if the perfect example of this type, Agia Sophia was not? Furthermore, Ćurčić assumed that the Arabs could not have destroyed churches inland. However, according to Paul the Deacon (720-799) “the whole island” was “captured” by the Arabs.⁴⁵ This is affirmed by another account that stated “when the Arabs reached the coast, they dropped anchor, moored their ships...came ashore...they scattered *throughout* the island, spoiling, enslaving, killing without pity.”⁴⁶ Indeed it would have been strange if the Arabs left their best warriors—the cavalry—back on the continent or on their ships. Further evidence for inland raiding was confirmed by the excavations at Kalavasos (discussed below).

Second, in terms of scientific evidence, the Getty Institute and Macedonian scholars tested the seismic strength of Middle Byzantine churches in a series of experiments in the 1990s.⁴⁷ Engineers built a miniature model of a cross-in-square church upon a shake-table (**fig.II.23**). The table could simulate various seismic waves and also monitor the structure’s stability. In summary, their experiments showed that the dome was the most structurally unsound part of this type of church. In fact, the swaying of the dome exerted much force on the rest of the otherwise stable structure (**figs.II.24-25**). Therefore *if* such churches were designed to be “earthquake proof,” they would have omitted the dome completely, and used a more stable vaulting technique, such as a groin vault. In the case of Cyprus, the development of domed structures from Early Christian churches was not a direct one. As explained in the

sections below, two forms of churches were built prior to domed basilicas, which are just as technically susceptible to earthquake damage as wood-roof churches.

Third, in terms of archaeology, the excavations at Kalavassos-Kopetra/Sirmata provide the best evidence for the Arab raids causing the abandonment of Cypriot villages in the mid-seventh century. Within the courtyard of the monastery, less than seven feet from the basilica, the water cistern contained the corpses of ten individuals (men, women, and children) (**fig. II.15.**)

Apparently this evidence was either unknown or unconsidered by Ćurčić. Their deposition into the cistern coincided with the destruction and abandonment of this monastery. Though the forensic analysis was not conclusive, needless to say, it was clear that an earthquake was not the “principal cause.” While two people could have fallen into a cistern during an earthquake, ten people falling at the same time is rather unlikely. Therefore, there are only two viable explanations for the presence of these individuals in the cistern—plague and war.⁴⁸

At first thought, plague seems to be a valid explanation. The Byzantine chronicler Theophanes recorded a plague and earthquake in Constantinople in 745, and when

...suburban cemeteries had been filled as well as empty *cisterns* and ditches, and many vineyards had been dug up and even the orchards within the old walls to make room for the burial of human bodies, only then was the need satisfied.⁴⁹

So here we have an account that cisterns were used as graves of plague and earthquake victims. In fact, Dikigoropoulos favored this plague hypothesis in explaining the depopulation of the island during the Period of Cypriot Neutrality.⁵⁰ However, as the text clearly explained, this situation was specific only to Constantinople, where land was limited, cemeteries filled, and cisterns were empty. These conditions cannot be applied to arid Cyprus where wastelands are plentiful and cisterns are not so quickly condemned or contaminated. It stretches the imagination beyond reason to picture: monks depositing plague victims in their water supply; devout Cypriots burying their loved ones in an abandoned cistern instead of providing a proper Christian burial, or abandoning a cistern, which could provide precious water during the annual summer drought.

Therefore, the excavators were correct in associating the abandonment of Kalavasos-Kopetra/Sirmata with the best possible explanation—the Arab campaigns of the mid-seventh century.⁵¹ The demolition of the monastery coincided with the deaths of this family, who probably fled to the monastery for refuge. The brutality of the Arab armies in Cyprus is affirmed

by the Soloi inscription (mentioned above), and in Syrian and Islamic sources.⁵² With that being said, while the majority of evidence supports this thesis, we cannot completely rule out unrecorded earthquakes for this time period. Instead scholars must keep both factors *in tandem*, especially since more data becomes available every year through archaeology.⁵³ Whatever caused the destruction of the Early Christian churches, it is apparent that it was sudden, but not continuous, since the same churches were immediately repaired and rebuilt.

II.2. The Second Phase: Square-Pier Basilicas

While the churches at Kalavasos-Kopetra/Sirmata were abandoned, there is evidence of rebuilding at other churches after their destruction in the mid-seventh century. As mentioned above, the Soloi inscription stated that reconstruction of buildings was performed immediately after their destruction. Perhaps that is why the subsequent square-pier, barrel-vaulted, or multiple-domed basilicas utilize so much of the previous Early Christian fabric. The church authorities desired to hastily rebuild on top of their beloved churches rather than abandon them. With their wooden roofs destroyed by fire, it was much faster to build on the solid foundations than to build from scratch. Moreover, the change in aesthetics was not radical. The subsequent treaties with the Arabs allowed the Cypriot church to rebuild and plan for the future. With the solid date of 649/650, the transition from columnar to square-pier basilicas can be analyzed.

The square-pier basilicas constitute the second phase of church building on Cyprus. These new churches closely resembled the previous Early Christian buildings they replaced, having three-aisles and three-apses, covered with wooden roofs. The only significant change was that their aisles were divided by a square-pier arcade built with local stone, rather than imported marble columns. As mentioned above, this continued a trend seen previously at Marathovouno and Kalavasos. Seven Early Christian churches were rebuilt as square-pier basilicas: Agios Mamas (Morphou), Panagia Angeloktisti (Kiti), Agios Heracleidos (Tamassos-Polikitico), Agios Spyridon (Tremithus), the Southwest basilica at Amathous, and Agios Epifanios (Salamis-Constantia).

In 1958, Megaw partially excavated Agios Mamas (the Cathedral of Morphou) (**fig.II.26**). He discovered the Early Christian apse in the western end of the present church, which he dated to the fifth or sixth century. Superimposed on this was a square-pier basilica built to the east of the previous structure (**fig.II.27**). This church was much bigger than the original,

and is one of the few square-pier churches that did not utilize the earlier foundations. Megaw suggested that this second phase was initiated immediately after the Arab raids.⁵⁴

In 1959 Dikigoropoulos performed preliminary sondages within the fabric of the Panagia Angeloktisti (Kiti) (fig. II.28).⁵⁵ The church's name means "Our Lady, built by the angels" and perhaps refers to its unique apse mosaic of the Virgin Hodegetria flanked by two angels (fig. II.29). Dikigoropoulos discovered remains of a square-pier basilica which also contained capitals made from gypsum plaster, which he believed was contemporary with the apse mosaic. He did not detect an earlier structure. Assuming that the square-pier basilicas and gypsum capitals were only current after the Arab raids, Dikigoropoulos dated this church to the second half of the seventh century. Megaw, on the other hand, argued that the original undecorated apse dated to the fifth century. He believed that this Early Christian church was burnt by the Arabs, and a later square-pier basilica replaced it. Though reluctantly, Megaw dated the mosaic as belonging to the second phase (square-pier) after the mid-seventh century.⁵⁶ We now know that the Cypriots were placing round-piers with gypsum plaster capitals in churches prior to the Arab raids, illustrated by the churches at Kalavasos and Marathovouno. Therefore, the original church and its apse mosaic, resembling the types of churches at Kalavasos (which also had apse mosaics), probably were constructed in the first half the seventh century. The rebuilding of the church with square-piers occurred, as Megaw and Dikigoropoulos suggested, immediately after the Arab raids.

The cathedral of Agios Heracleidos (Tamassos-Polikitico) was excavated in 1963 by Papageorghiou.⁵⁷ The church was associated with the first bishop of Tamassos, Heracleidos, who was a disciple of the Apostle Barnabas.⁵⁸ The earliest parts of the church, dating from the fourth century, centered around the titular saint's shrine in the southeast corner, while a fifth century atrium was discovered to the west (fig. II.30). Papageorghiou believed that the original structure was a columnar basilica, which was destroyed in the seventh century. He suggested that it was then reconstructed as a three-aisled square-pier basilica later in the eighth century. The surviving piers have remains of fresco decoration underneath the eleventh-century layers, indicating a long lifespan for this second phase. Unfortunately, the earlier frescos have not been uncovered, leaving us to speculate on their style and subject matter.

The Early Christian cathedral of Agios Spyridon at Tremithus (mentioned above) also had seventh century fresco paintings. According to Bishop Theodore of Paphos, there were paintings in the cathedral when he visited Tremithus on December 14th, 655—the feast day of

the titular saint.⁵⁹ Since Theodore does not mention any reconstruction or destruction, the church probably escaped the fury of the first two Arab raids. Nevertheless, by the eighth century, its columns were replaced by square-piers, while the rest of the Early Christian church was reused, including the north and south walls, and the apse and floor mosaics (**fig. II.5.**). This church and Agios Heracleidos are the only square-pier basilicas that still have some of their elevation intact (**figs. II.4, 6**). In both churches the arcade arches were carried by simple square imposts. They both have similar proportions; each pier is separated by 6 feet, while each pier is approximately 3.2 square feet (1 square meter).

Unlike Agios Spyridon and Agios Heracleidos, only the foundations survive of the southwest basilica at Amathous. It was first excavated in 1965 by Pierre Aupert who, unfortunately, failed to publish it completely.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, the original church dated from the fifth century and at some point (probably in the late seventh century) some of the round columns were replaced by square-piers (**figs. II.31-32**). Later the basilica fell into disrepair and a small barrel-vaulted chapel was built in the north aisle.

Likewise, the Saraya chapel at Episkopi has not been published by Papageorghiou, who excavated it in the late 1980s. It appears to have been a modest three-aisle, three-apse basilica, built as either with a square-pier basilica or, more likely, a barrel-vaulted structure (**fig. II.33**).⁶¹ In 1991, Megaw persuasively argued that this church was built after the Arabs destroyed the Kourion cathedral.⁶² The congregation removed much ornamentation from the Early Christian cathedral to this new location, including parts of the floor and champlevé decoration. Megaw suggested that this new square-pier basilica church was the new, but humble, cathedral of the bishop of Kourion.

The same developments we find at Kourion were also detected at the archbishop's cathedral Agios Epifanios (Salamis-Constantia), which was reduced to about 10% of its original size (**fig. III.14**). As mentioned above, the church was burned down in the mid-seventh century, probably by the Arabs. In the 1950s Dikigoropoulos excavated the eastern areas of the cathedral. He suggested that the Arab raids did not destroy the northern and eastern parts of the church, which continued to be used afterwards. However, Dikigoropoulos also discovered a small square-pier basilica built within the annex of the original church (**fig. III.14-15**). The masonry construction was similar to Agios Spyridon and Agios Heracleidos, consisting of moderately-sized rectangular ashlars with pieces of ceramic and tile for infill. He argued that this new sanctuary was built in the late seventh century.⁶³

In analyzing these square-pier basilicas, three important factors emerge. First, the major Early Christian churches were destroyed by the end of the seventh century, due to the Arabs, and perhaps later, as in the case of Agios Spyridon, by earthquakes. Second, these churches were then immediately rebuilt with square-piers, replacing their earlier marble columns. Third, that all these churches were repaired in a similar fashion and technique, indicating that there was a dominating architectural principle, either disseminated by the church hierarchy (patrons) or the architects (designers) on the island.

II.3. The Third Phase: Barrel-Vaulted Basilicas

The next stage of development is characterized by the barrel-vaulted churches of Afentrika. These too, are rectangular-pier basilicas, but they are designed to hold up barrel-vaulting rather than wooden roofs. Since stone vaulting is much heavier than wood, the walls and piers were thickened. The piers were cross-shaped in order to hold up the springings, which carried the transverse arches. As a result of this scheme, a new aesthetic was formulated consisting of rectangular piers, multiple levels of springing corbels, round transverse arches carried by engaged pilasters, and recessed niches. Moreover, they depart from the Early Christian scheme, lacking windows in the clerestory and, in some cases, narthexes. Only six barrel-vaulted churches are known on the island. Five are concentrated in the Karpas peninsula: the Panagia Chrysotissa (Afentrika), Asomatos Church (Afentrika), Agia Varvara (Koroveia), Panagia Afentrika (Sykhada), and Panagia Kanakariá (Lythrakomi). One is known on the opposite side of the island, the Panagia Limeniotissa (Paphos) (discussed above §II.1.3). In this section, each of these churches will be analyzed.

II. 3.1. Afentrika

Before discussing the two barrel-vaulted churches at Afentrika, it is important to describe the geography and significance of this area (**fig.II.34 map**). Located on the Karpas peninsula, about one mile from the north coast, the site of Afentrika is built on an ancient settlement (**fig.II.35**). Perched over the churches is a rocky crag, from which some ancient building was carved, either a temple or a citadel (**fig.II.36-37**).⁶⁴ Vast amounts of pottery shards spread from the coast to the ridge, testifying to a large population during the Hellenistic and Roman period.⁶⁵ Seven feet northeast from the Panagia Chrysotissa church is a rock-cut

necropolis, which was still frequented during the Early Byzantine/Late Antique period, based on the African red-slip pottery shards littering the floor, and the large sixth-century arch that leads into the entrance (**figs.38-39**). The church was built here because of this ancient cemetery, which became a Christian shrine.⁶⁶ Three other churches also stood in this area, which remain unexcavated: Agios Georgios, Prophitis Elias, and another unnamed chapel.⁶⁷ Such a concentration of churches in this small area indicates it was a major cult center in the Early Middles Ages.

A large settlement known as “Afentrika” is not mentioned by classical writers, and in fact, the place-name was not recorded until the nineteenth century.⁶⁸ The meaning of the term *aphendrika* (αφέντρικα) is uncertain and occurs only in Cyprus. Besides the area in question, two other settlements in Cyprus bear this name: one is a village between Galinoporni and Sykhada, and another near Mavoroli. Four churches are also known by this toponym: Agia Afentrika (near Phasli, in ruins), Panayia Afentrika (located in the same place mentioned near Sykhada), Panagia Afentrika (near Syngrosis, an eighteenth century church built on older remains), and Christos kai Panayia Afentrika (near the Monastery of Saint John Chrysostomos, in ruins). Since all these place-names are associated with a church, the place-name was probably developed in a post-classical context.⁶⁹

In 1889 David Hogarth proposed that Afentrika was built on the remains of the ancient city Urania (Ουράνια) (**fig.II.34 map**). The latter city was mentioned by Diodorus of Sicily (1st century BC) as a port near Carpasia (five miles to the west).⁷⁰ Preliminary surveys show that the ancient town had an extensive harbor. Urania, of course, is the feminine form of the ancient sky god Uranus and was the older name of Aphrodite (Αφροδίτη Ουράνια). Hesiod described the popular goddess washing up on Cyprus’ beach riding a half-shell, while Homer calls her “Kypris”—the ancient name of Cyprus.⁷¹ Her cult was inextricably linked to Cyprus.⁷² In fact the term *cyprus* (κύπρος) was synonymous with erotic love (ἔρως).⁷³ In other words, there was a distinction between sensual love (ἔρως/ κύπρος) and a spiritual love (αγάπες/ οὐράνια). This was related to the distinction of cults *Aphrodite Pandemos* (πάνδημος, “for the common folk) and the *Aphrodite Urania* (for philosophers).⁷⁴ The latter kind of love, being identified with divine love (αγάπη), was championed by the new cult of Christianity. Therefore, there is a slight possibility that the name *Afentrika-Urania* is a diminutive corruption of *Aphrodite Ourania*.

The only buildings left standing at Afentrika-Urania are the churches of the Panagia Chrysiotissa, Asomatos, and Agios Georgios. They were first visited by Richard Pococke in 1738

and later, by Alexander Drummond in 1750.⁷⁵ They were first brought to the attention of the scholarly community by Hogarth in 1889 who wrote

'Three large Byzantine churches are prominent objects, the principal one, dedicated to the Panagia Chrysotissa, having a threefold apse, and being much larger than modern village churches. In the precinct of a second, that of Agios Demetrios [Asomatos?], lie fragments of granite columns of Roman period and a marble cippus uninscribed; and the sites of three other churches can be traced, proving that Urania (if so it be) was a place of considerable importance in the Byzantine period. East of the town may be seen the large quarry from which it was built, now called the 'Phylakes'....⁷⁶

These barrel-vaulted churches have caused debates among scholars concerning their dating (see below II.3.7). Nevertheless, it is clear that they were built after the Arab raids in the mid-seventh century.

II.3.1.1 The Panagia Chrysotissa (Afentrika)

The Panagia Chrysotissa (Afentrika) today is a small single aisled chapel, probably built in the sixteenth century, based on its pointed arches and vaulting, and rounded springing corbels (**fig.II.40**). Its name means "The Virgin of Gold," but what it refers to is unknown. Surrounding this chapel are the ruins of a previous Early Christian and a later barrel-vaulted church (**fig.II.41**). The original nave apse and southern aisle wall still stands to a height of over seven feet (2 m). In Soteriou's 1935 photograph portions of the southern aisle's barrel-vaulting remained intact (**fig.II.42**); however by 1948, this had fallen according to Megaw's photograph.

The original Early Christian church was a three-aisled, three apse, wooden-roof basilica, without an atrium (**fig.II.43**).⁷⁷ It was probably built in the sixth century. From its external wall surface, its ground plan was approximately 55 by 75 feet (17 x 23 m, not including the apses). It had the same layout as the Early Christian churches of Agias Trias (Yialousa), Agios Philon (Karpasia), and the Panagia Kanakariá (Lythrakomi), with apses that were circular on the interior and exterior. It was also like Agios Epifanios (Salamis-Constantia) with engaged columns flanking the nave apse and side passages connecting the three apses. Aisles were divided by seven columns with two engaged half-columns at each end. The colonnade was built with local limestone. The original church's southern wall survives, constructed with alternating "stretchers" (horizontal slabs of stone) and "headers" (vertical ashlar) which conforms to the apse masonry (**fig.II.44**). This type of stone construction is not uncommon in the Late Antique Mediterranean, and indicates a possible relationship between the Panagia at Afentrika and the

fifth century church of the Campanopetra (Salamis-Constantia) which was built in a similar fashion.⁷⁸ In the middle of its south wall, was a door with a straight lintel (perhaps of a later period); in the bay to the west was a square window. Three large windows pierced the apse, with rounded lintels, and below this was a synthronon (now buried and covered in weeds). Many mounds surround this church concealing, no doubt, remains of adjacent buildings, perhaps connecting the basilica to the rock-cut shrine to the northeast. There are no indications in the ruins concerning how or when this church was destroyed.

When this church was rebuilt as a barrel-vaulted basilica, the original walls and apse were reused (**fig.II.45**). The builders replaced the two colonnades with a pier arcade, consisting of four cross-shaped piers and two engaged square-piers at each end. The transverse arches formed five bays. Apparently the south-westernmost column was left to bolster the new archway (**fig.II.46**).⁷⁹ Alongside the southern wall, a pier arcade was built to support the barrel-vaulting in the southern aisle, forming recess niches (**fig.II.47**). These recess niches mimic the repetition of the internal pier-arcade. The northern aisle does not survive, but it was clearly barrel-vaulted in the same fashion, except for the omission of the recess niches.⁸⁰ Apparently the northern wall did not need a blind arcade, since it was originally thicker than the southern wall. The stress caused by the new barrel-vault is indicated by the fact that the apse also needed to be thickened by an encasing wall on its interior side, in addition to the minimizing of the windows (**figs.II.48**). The door and window in the south wall were left intact. An adjoining square building was placed near the southern apse, probably a parekklesia.⁸¹

Megaw observed that the curvature of the nave vault stopped at the start of the second bay (from the apse) and transitioned to a vertical clerestory. This caused him to hypothesize a barrel-vaulted transept running perpendicular to the nave.⁸² However this suggestion is highly unlikely. Since this feature begins in the second bay—not the easternmost bay—it does not conform to any known transept designs. Papageorghiou further casted doubt on a transept when he supervised the cleaning of the site in the 1960s. He partially exposed the eastern bay's northern wall and established that it neither had a transept arm nor recess niches. So if the church did not have a transept, how should we interpret the vertical clerestory? The only reasonable explanation is that the Panagia Chrysotissa's bema carried a higher barrel-vault than the rest of the nave. As discussed below, the Panagia Kanakariá also had a barrel-vault over the bema which was taller or thicker than the other vaulting.

The Panagia Chrysiotissa also contains put-log holes in the wall surface of the nave, used for centering. In terms of construction, the builders used stones of varying sizes, the majority of which are rectangular limestone ashlars measuring about 35 cm in width. Smaller rectangular stones were used for the vaulting. A quarry nearby, as noted by Hogarth, supplied these materials. To fill in the gaps between the ashlars, pieces of ceramic and tile were used within the lime mortar—as in the square-pier churches of Agios Epifanios and Agios Spyridon (**fig.II.49**). The ashlars used for the spring corbels and transverse arches appear to have been carved especially for the church.

Concerning the internal decoration of the two phases, little is known. The floor surface has not been uncovered and there are no indications of mosaics or opus sectile. Inside the sixteenth century chapel there is a marble step that runs along the bema, which was a chamfered cornice from the original church. A similar bevel cornice also ran along the apse, separating the semi-domes and the walls. Gypsum plaster was added to the surface along with frescos. Today pigments can still be seen, but are too faded and worn to discern form or style.⁸³ Moreover, there was no trace of windows above the arcades in the nave. It was essentially a clerestory without windows, leaving the whole sanctuary dark.

II.3.1.2. Asomatos Church (Afentrika)

The Asomatos church (which means “incorporeal”) lies less than 30 meters south of the Panagia Chrysiotissa.⁸⁴ The two churches were built at the same time, having the same layout and construction, and building technique. From its external wall surface, the Asomatos’ ground plan is 11 x 16 m. (not including the apses). Therefore it was quite smaller than the Panagia. The original church had three-aisles divided by a six-column arcade, three rounded apses, and a wooden roof (**figs.II.50-51**).

Like the Panagia, similar modifications were made to this church when it was converted into a barrel-vaulted basilica (**fig.II.53-56, 58**). All three apses, the opus sectile flooring, and the four-stepped synthronon were reused, while the single apse window was narrowed. And like the Panagia, the builders used put-log holes to center the vault and left the clerestory windowless. However, unlike the Panagia, the northern, southern, and western walls were completely rebuilt. Two pier-arcades divided the aisles, consisting of three cross-shaped piers and two engaged square-piers at each end. The transverse arches formed four bays. Unlike the Panagia, both the northern and southern walls were built with recess niches (blind arcades) in order to carry the

aisle vaults. The southern wall also had a door in the westernmost bay (now filled). Three entrances on the western wall led into the three aisles (**fig.II.57**); the surviving entrance in the south-aisle had a horse-shoe shaped arch. Enlart believed that these did not have any doors, because there are no traces of hinges or latches; implying that the church was enclosed by a narthex. However, he did not recognize that there were two phases to this church, and assumed it was a Romanesque structure (**fig.II.53b**). Yet there is no evidence of a narthex. It is possible the whole complex was not used for very long before it was abandoned. The southern aisle door does not show any wear associated with human activity. Portions of plaster do survive but have no traces of fresco.

II.3.2. Agia Varvara (Koroveia)

The church of Agia Varvara (St. Barbara) lies near the southern coast of the Karpas Peninsula, about 24 kilometers (15 miles) southwest of the Afentrika churches. Neither the church nor town is documented prior to the late nineteenth century. The nearest modern day town of Koroveia (about 4 km/2.5 miles north), however, can be seen on earlier 1570 map of the Venetian Iacomo Franco as “Corouio.”⁸⁵ Agia Varvara was first recorded by David Hogarth in 1887:

The ruins extend for half a mile westward of the ruined church of Agia Varvára (miscalled Agios Giorgios in the Survey), and cover the slope inland for some three hundred yards. At the western extremity, overlooking the sea, is a knoll which appears to have been the citadel: a low cliff falls to the beach, and inland another cliff walls in the site. Here...I could find neither columns nor mouldings of any description: only very large blocks of stone, a carefully built water channel, some large ‘oil-stones,’ and rough red pottery. The church has a double apse, and seems to have been built from the débris of the town: were it in any way connected with the latter in point of date, we should have expected to find remains of other churches in so large a ruin. I could see no trace of any harbour. Such an entire absence of architectural features might equally argue an early site, or a ruined modern village: the size of the building material is against the latter alternative...”⁸⁶

Of the town Agia Varvara, nothing is recorded. Like the port of Afentrika-Urania, this harbor town was once heavily populated, based on the vast number of Hellenistic and Roman shards which litter the ground from the church to the beach.⁸⁷ Today the land is deserted, except for a large goat farm 21 yards (19 m) from the church. Agia Varvara lies in ruins with much of its vaulting still piled on the aisle floors (**figs.II.62-63**). A reasonable reconstruction is possible

because the surviving elevations of the north aisle and north pier arcade are above ground (**fig.II.61**). While Hogarth only saw two apses, the third apse has been uncovered, but obscured by wild shrubbery.

The church is a three-aisled, three-apse, barrel-vaulted basilica. Its dimensions are comparable with the Asomatos church (Afentrika), but slightly smaller, with only three bays and two-pier arcades. Like the Panagia Chrysotissa there are no recessed niches (i.e. blind arcades, along the north aisle), but simple engaged square-piers (which have been robbed out). And there is no sign of clerestory windows. While the plan and design are similar to those at Afentrika, there are some differences. For example, there is no evidence for put-log holes. Also the type of masonry used was less refined—rectangular large ashlar blocks were mixed with irregular small stones and large pebbles, as well as shards of ceramics and tile. Perhaps it is best to categorize it as rubble masonry. Even the cornices and voussoirs appear to have been salvaged from previous buildings.

Nevertheless, this is a very significant church for the architectural history of the island. On the eastern arch's intrados (soffits) a heavily faded and damaged fresco survives (**fig.II.64**). Since the form and style consists of a repeating geometrical pattern, reconstruction is possible (**fig.II.65**). The interlace pattern contains four ribbons. Each ribbon has five or six bands, with two alternating designs. The first design consists of a heavy blue or black border, followed by a red band, and then a white band with a thinner black line in the center. The second design consists of a black outline, followed by a blue band, then a red band followed by a white band with black dashes in the center. These ribbons alternate, allowing both patterns to appear on each side, opposite each other, forming alternating circles. In the areas where the larger circles overlap, delineating a diamond, another pattern is created by two red tear-drop shapes; over this was painted a series of curved lines. This style and pattern (which will be called a “wheel interlace” for the purposes of this dissertation) is a crucial component for dating the barrel-vaulted basilicas of Cyprus, as discussed below (§ II.3.7).

II.3.3. Panagia Afentrika (Sykhada)

The Panagia Afentrika at Sykhada is similar in scale and construction to Agia Varvara (**figs. II.66-68,71**). Little is known concerning both the town and the church. The toponym “Sykhada” means “fig” (*σύκα*) and could, possibly, be the town where St. Demetrius (fl. 9th c.), bishop of Chytroi, was born.⁸⁸ The site was passed over by Hogarth, but visited by Enlart in

1897. He said that the locals simply called it “the Panagia.” However, the name “Aphendrika (ruins)” is marked on Kitchener’s 1885 map where the church is located, northwest of the town.⁸⁹ Today traces of an ancient settlement are evidenced by the pottery and ashlar scattered in the adjacent fields.

Like the churches at Afentrika, the Panagia at Sykhada has traces of an earlier sixth century church (**fig.II.72**). This was a three-aisled, three-apsed, columnar basilica, with two arcades consisting of four columns and two engaged half-columns, made of local stone. A three-stepped synthronon was placed in the main apse. Cleaning within the church in 1931 exposed the synthronon, the original floor, and remains of a marble ambo and chancel screen (**fig.II.77**). Unfortunately, the floor today is covered by dirt and weeds, making it unobservable.

Like the churches at Afentrika, similar modifications were made to this church when it was converted into a barrel-vaulted basilica. All three apses and the three-stepped synthronon were reused and the central nave had a windowless clerestory. And like the Asomatos church only parts of the western wall were utilized, while the northern and southern walls were completely rebuilt over the previous foundations. Two pier arcades divided the aisles (as at Agia Varvara), consisting of two cross-shaped piers and two engaged square-piers at each end. The transverse arches formed three bays.

Recess niches (blind arcades) were not used for the side aisle walls. Instead, the transverse arches were carried by square corbels “hanging” from the wall (**fig.II.69**).⁹⁰ In other words, they did not rest on pilasters (as they did at the north walls of the Agia Varvara and the Panagia Chrysotissa). However, recess niches can be found in the narthex (**fig.II.73**) which belongs to the same phase of construction. Three entrances led from the narthex into the three aisles—these do not show signs of hinges or latches. The surviving door in the south aisle has a massive stone lintel (**fig.76**). Near this door was an entrance in the south aisle with a horse-shoe shaped arch, similar to the doorway at the Asomatos church (**figs.II.57, II.70**). This doorway led to a subsidiary chapel with an apse, perhaps similar to the “martyrium” or parekklesia of the Panagia Chrysotissa. Furthermore, according to Enlart this church had an external staircase attached to the north wall; he explained that this led to the “flat roof” of the church. This suggestion is rather odd, since the church was clearly barrel-vaulted and not flat. Perhaps this stairway led to a later bell tower or, like so many converted churches on Cyprus, a minaret.⁹¹

In terms of decoration little survives, except for traces of fresco painting. In the soffits of the south easternmost arch in the pier-arcade is a line drawing of a nimbed saint (**fig. II.74**),

probably dating to the tenth century.⁹² Nearby on the south wall are faint traces of other nimbed saints. Unfortunately the colors are too faded to make out any details. In the northwest corner are more vibrant colors, ultramarine and scarlet, belonging to a border (**fig.II.75**). All these painted layers do not belong to the earliest layers of plaster, which can be seen underneath.

II.3.4. Panagia Kanakariá (Lythrakomi)

Much has been written about the Panagia Kanakariá at Lythrakomi, and so, this section only comments on the problems introduced by earlier scholarship.⁹³ As Enlart first noted, the Kanakariá church belongs to the same group as barrel-vaulted churches of Afentrika. They have similar pier supports, recess niches, and horseshoe-arch doors.

The Panagia Kanakariá has several phases of building (**fig.II.78**). Remains of the original sixth century church are clearly visible in the apse, where the famous mosaic of the enthroned Virgin and child still remain, though partly damaged. Classical marble capitals lie around the church, probably belonging to this Early Christian building. When the church was converted into a barrel-vaulted basilica, at least five engaged piers were placed in each arcade. Unlike the churches at Afentrika the piers were close together, perhaps following the intercolumniation of the previous church (as at Agios Spyridon). The pier-arcade stopped at the bema, where the wall was thickened, probably to support a narrower barrel-vault (**fig.II.79**). The barrel-vaulted church incorporated the side passages of the earlier apses and marble furnishings from the sixth century structure.

The conversion of this church into a barrel-vaulted structure was slightly different than the Afentrika examples. First its aisle vaulting was built on top the Early Christian foundations. The inner span of the aisle was supported by a pier-arcade. When the nave vaulting was constructed an additional pier arcade was built abutting the aisle arcade. By building the two arcades side by side, the heavy piers could bolster the wide barrel-vaulting of the nave.

Admittedly this arrangement is rather awkward, especially, since the piers are not precisely flush with each other (**fig.II.80**). In contrast, Megaw believed that the two pier arcades forming the nave and adjacent north aisle characterized two building phases. At first glance this seems reasonable, since both arcades do not align. Megaw assumed that the engaged piers supported a wooden roof in the nave. However, there is no evidence for this. The nave arcade is thick enough to support a barrel vault at the outset and is comparable with the other barrel-vaulted churches. Also upon closer examination, there is no evidence of frescos or plaster between the

two arcades. While the north aisle arcade has lost virtually all of its plaster, the nave arcade has not—this difference contributes to the deceptively divergent appearance of the two arcades. Moreover, the masonry technique between the two pier-arcades is the same and the piers do not overlap into the passageway. While the narthex too appears to be of a later phase of construction, it was certainly built within the same period, since its masonry and design are similar to the north aisle.

There are also three characteristics shared by the Panagia Kanakariá and the Panagia at Sykhada that further strengthen their relationship. First, the transverse arches in the side-aisles spring from square corbels jutting out from the wall, not resting on engaged piers (**fig.II.81**). Second, like the Sykhada church, the narthex was rebuilt with recess niches (blind arcades) to hold the barrel-vaulting (**fig.II.82**). Third, the door leading in to the nave from the south aisle is identical to the horse-shoe arched door in the south aisle (leading south) at the Panagia at Sykhada and the Asomatos Church (**figs.II.60, 70, 83**).

II.3.5. Panagia Limeniotissa (Paphos)

If we exclude the Serayia Chapel (Episkopi), then the Panagia Limeniotissa is the only known barrel-vaulted church that lies outside the Karpas peninsula (**figs.II.19-21**). It was constructed just 22 yards from the south beach of Paphos. The original church resembled the sixth century basilica at Marathovouno—three aisles but having only one apse. Originally the church was decorated with mosaics on the walls and floors; at some later point, probably in the fifth century, opus sectile covered part of the floor mosaics. The church was destroyed in the mid-seventh century and rebuilt sometime later.⁹⁴

The Panagia Limeniotissa was first excavated by Dikigoropoulos in 1959; he dated its destruction to the seventh century, and contended that it was rebuilt immediately afterwards as a barrel vaulted basilica.⁹⁵ This was confirmed by the 1960s excavations of Papageorghiou, who wrote:

The first Arabic raids of seventh century destroyed many basilicas, particularly in the cities and they ushered in the abandonment, at least gradually, of the entire city [Paphos]. In Paphos much of Agia Kyriaki and the Panagia Limeniotissa were destroyed in the raid of 653. The Arabs also established themselves in these two basilicas, as indicated by the Arabic writings that were found at the duration of excavations, as well as their transformation of chambers into stables and workshops. The Greek Christian residents of Paphos were compelled to leave the city when the Arabic garrison (653-681) was stationed at the Paphos. After the Arabic garrison and settlement were recalled and transported to the region of Baalbek [in 688], the Greek residents of Paphos returned in

their city. The basilica the Limeniotissa was then rebuilt in a lighter, smaller scale, and probably barrel-vaulted...The period of Arabic Raids presented a serious change in the architectural history. Already in the late seventh or the beginning of eighth century, the church of the Limeniotissa was rebuilt as three-aisled barrel-vaulted basilica, in smaller scale.⁹⁶

Unfortunately, the barrel-vaulted church was demolished by an earthquake in 1159, as recorded by St. Neophytos.⁹⁷ From the foundations it cannot be ascertained if this barrel-vaulted basilica was similar to the churches of Afentrika.

II.3.6. The Dating of the Barrel-vaulted Group

Until the 1960s, scholars disagreed on the date of the barrel-vaulted basilicas. Camille Enlart examined the Afentrika and Sykhada churches during his research trip to Cyprus in 1895-97, and concluded that they were “Romanesque” and that the Panagia Chrysotissa had “nothing Byzantine about it.”⁹⁸ He hypothesized that crusader architecture built in Syria and Palestine inspired the design of these churches. This was understandable, since low and heavy, three-aisled churches were quite common in France during the twelfth century. The aesthetic scheme of cross-pier arcades, transverse arches, recess niches (blind arcades), and square springing corbels can be found in many churches, such as Saint-Lazarus (Autun, begun in 1120). However, it is rather curious that during the process of photographing, drafting ground plans, and illustrating these churches, Enlart did not realize that the Asomatos and Sykhada churches had two separate building phases.

Later in 1931 George Soteriou argued against Enlart, suggesting that the churches actually dated to the Justinianic period in the sixth or seventh century, similar to the Early Christian churches of Syria.⁹⁹ The fact that they were basilical in shape and used square-piers convinced him that they pre-dated the Middle Byzantine period. Even so, Enlart’s opinion would continue to hold sway, with scholars such as George Jeffery and Rupert Gunnis repeating his ideas.¹⁰⁰

Then in 1946 Megaw wrote the next major study, providing new plans and photographs. He identified the two different building phases. He tried to find a compromise between the extreme dates held by Enlart and Soteriou, hypothesizing that they were built in the tenth century, when Cyprus was reconquered by the Byzantine Empire.¹⁰¹ Such an argument was unconvincing, however, since there are no known barrel-vaulted basilicas from the Middle Byzantine period. Megaw chose this date because he could not imagine churches being built

during the period of Cypriot Neutrality. His historical thinking was communicated by George Hill:

It seems improbable that any important buildings can have been put up during the periods of the Arab raids, that is, from the middle of the eighth century to 965...[architecture was] hardly likely to have developed during the three century struggle with Islam. On the other hand it is reasonable to suppose that there was a revival of the arts in the island after its recovery by Byzantium in 965.¹⁰²

Megaw believed that the period of Cypriot Neutrality was a “Dark Age” and could not have been responsible for some of the major monuments on the island. He assumed that the Arabs depopulated the island of its Christian community and those who were left could not rebuild:

It is to be doubted whether re-settlement on so large a scale would have been attempted while Cyprus lay ‘betwixt Greeks and Saracens.’ Indeed, as no monuments elsewhere in the Island have been identified as dating from this period it would be imprudent to assign our [barrel-vaulted] churches to it.¹⁰³

This assumption also led him to argue that the Panagia Kanakariá’s barrel-vaulted stage was twelfth century (as mentioned above II.3.5). However, his perspective changed in the 1950s when his archaeological team started uncovering the square-pier basilicas. These new findings forced him to allow for “Dark Age” architecture.

Megaw’s team member, Dikigoropoulos, continued this line of reasoning. He argued that the Arab raids, coupled with earthquakes and plague, caused an economic downturn that crippled the church. He wrote:

The size and type of the churches of Aphendrika family suggest that they were built at a time when either the finances of those commissioning their erection could afford the cost, or when financial assistance from outside the Island could be forthcoming. In view of the conditions prevailing in the Island between the seventh and ninth century the second alternative should be preferred. And since we know that the Cypriots invoked the help of Byzantium between 780 and 806 we must conclude that the above churches were erected during this period.¹⁰⁴

Since it was clear that these churches were built in the years of Cypriot Neutrality, Dikigoropoulos needed to find some intervention from the Byzantine Empire to explain their existence. However, there is no historical evidence of the Empire sending “help” to Cyprus in this period. The only grant offered to the Cypriots, according to Theophanes, was given by the

Emperor Michael, solely for the refugees from Palestine, who fled to Cyprus due to the Arabs conquest—and not for church building.¹⁰⁵ Nevertheless, Dikigoropoulos' arguments led to a new consensus. Even Soteriou and Megaw would change their dating, and the younger Papageorghiou would hold to this chronology.¹⁰⁶

Papageorghiou was the last archaeologist to work on the barrel-vaulted basilicas. He wrote:

After returning from captivity, a large number of Cypriotes became acquainted with the Early Christian architectural in Syria. And because it was necessary to reconstruct their churches to withstand fire (which easily destroyed the [earlier] timber-roof basilicas), they presented a new architectural type to Cyprus, at the end of the 7th century and beginning of the 8th century: the vaulted basilica. [However], it is true that the period of the Arabic raids was rather dark and the architecture of this period has not been studied sufficiently. The ruined and weathered basilicas of the Karpas certainly belong to this period. The vaulted basilicas in Cyprus are an Eastern type and they are characterized by a heavy form, the lack of windows and bulky piers that carry wide barrel-vaults, linking the three aisles together. The nave was taller [than the side aisles], but did not have any windows, (as the naves of the wooden roof basilicas). So the basilicas had a dark interior. These basilicas inside were adorned with murals, as indicated by the remains of these in the devastated basilica of the Panagia at Afentrika in the Rizokarpas and Ag. Varvara in Koroveia.¹⁰⁷

Ten years after Papageorghiou published this assessment, Megaw changed his views, arguing that the barrel-vaulted churches of Afentrika were built immediately after the Arab raids, dating them to the mid-seventh century.¹⁰⁸ Subsequently, his perspective concerning the Period of Cypriot Neutrality radically transformed, arguing that the surviving churches “attest to a substantial recovery in the Cypriot communities well before the re-establishment of Byzantine rule...[and that] during the period of neutrality some notable monuments were erected.”¹⁰⁹ Even so, much more can be said concerning the dating of these churches, which these authors have overlooked.

Previous scholars approached the Early Christian, square-pier, and barrel-vaulted basilicas as developing along a linear progression—that one type (or phase) succinctly was proceeded and then followed by another. This is known as “diachronic dating.” As a result, scholars have been inclined to date the square-pier basilicas (second phase) after the columnar basilicas (first phase), around the mid-seventh century. The barrel-vaulted basilicas (third phase) are then dated afterwards, arbitrarily in the eighth or ninth century. As in the theory of evolution, they have argued that one type neatly developed into the next type, forcing the assumption that long periods of time were necessary for incremental changes to take place.¹¹⁰ When there seemed to be insufficient time, they hypothesize an external catalyst (i.e. the Arabs

invasions or the Byzantine Empire) causing rapid mutations within the island's architectural development. **fig. II.84.**). However, when these structures are examined as a whole, we discover that they all have similar designs and masonry construction. Therefore, the various types seem to be contemporaneous with each other, having overlapping phases, which can be categorized as "synchronic dating."

Synchronic dating acknowledges that there are three factors that remain fixed in our architectural history: the flow of time, historical dates, and the data we find within the structures. However, just how our data fits within this fixed history is not linear. In fact, foundations were built on foundations over time; building phases overlap, like bricks (**fig. II.85**). While it is true that within one building, phases follow each other, these phases do not necessarily apply to general building trends as a whole. If one church is rebuilt as a barrel-vaulted basilica, it does not mean all contemporary churches were rebuilt in the same fashion. In this instance, Phase 2 actually began within the earlier Phase 1 period, before the Arab raids. This has been illustrated by churches at Marathovouno and Kalavasos, which were pier wooden-roof basilicas, built prior to the Arab raids in the late sixth century. So what we have are Phase 2 buildings, constructed long before the Arab raids, which supposedly initiated Phase 2. We then have the basilica at Soloi which was rebuilt after the Arab raids, and restored as an Early Christian, columnar basilica in Phase 1 fashion, which stood until the tenth century long after Phase 3 already began.¹¹¹ With that being said, synchronic dating does not reject linear progression outright. Instead, it emphasizes that architectural types are persistent, and that while several new types could be introduced contemporaneously, older types continued to be influential.

Previous scholars have failed to recognize the significance of the barrel-vaulted (Phase 3) churches of Cyprus not having an earlier Phase 2 (square-pier church). Based on the fact that the Phase 1 furnishings and walls were reused, they seemed to have been immediately rebuilt after they were damaged. Therefore, if the Phase 1 churches were all destroyed at the same time (by the Arabs), then it would be just as reasonable to posit that Phase 2 and 3 rebuilding occurred contemporaneously. If this was the case, then architectural development could rapidly take place, without the need to wait for a previous stage to finish. This different model, coupled with the archaeological evidence, can provide us with a more accurate and practical relative chronology.

The churches of Afentrika were clearly rebuilt as barrel-vaulted basilicas sometime after their original structures were destroyed. Their plans closely followed the earlier basilicas and fully incorporated the apses, indicating that the remains were easily traceable. The liturgy also did not

change, based on the careful reuse of the side passages in their apses and the synthronon and liturgical furnishings (as at Afentrika and Sykhada). Therefore, they were built probably in the late seventh century. Their masonry is similar to the contemporaneous square-pier basilicas (like Agios Spyridon at Tremithus and Agios Epifanios at Salamis-Constantia), incorporating various sized ashlars, and pieces of tile, and ceramics within their mortars. The builders carved out these ashlars nearby in a quarry just several yards from the site.

The next barrel-vaulted church to be built in this fashion was Agia Varvara, which closely resembles the north aisle of the Panagia Chrysotissa, where engaged piers support the vaulting. However, a very different technique was used in construction, using coarse irregular stones and rubble, along with spolia from previous monuments. The fresco decoration in the soffits of the north arcade contained geometric designs that we find in church architecture of Umayyad Palestine. For example, the fifth century church of the Panagia at Madaba was rebuilt in the 767 according to an inscription in the new mosaic floor.¹¹² The border of the central mosaic contains a wheel interlace, closely resembling Agia Varvara's, including patterns of intersecting circles and diamonds (**fig.IV.20**). Frescos of this pattern are also known at Ağaç Kilisi (Ihlara) in Cappadocia, where the pattern is exactly the same as at Agia Varvara (**fig.IV.19**). Professor Nichole Thierry dated Ağaç Kilisi's wheel interlace to the late eighth or early ninth century, due to its accompanying Sassanid simorg design.¹¹³ Therefore, Agia Varvara's fresco fits nicely within an eighth century time frame.

The church of the Panagia Afentrika (Sykhada) was probably built at the same time. Like the churches at Afentrika, its plan closely followed the earlier columnar church. The marble ambo, synthronon, and chancel screens were also utilized in the second phase. It incorporated recess niches in the narthex like the Asomatos church. Its scale and method of construction was very similar to that of Agia Varvara. Therefore, it seems to date from the same century. It only differs from the previous churches in that the side aisles have neither engaged piers nor recessed niches, but used "hanging" corbels that jut from the wall to support a transverse arch.

The church of the Panagia Kanakariá has elements similar to all the previous churches, but is more complex.¹¹⁴ Megaw argued that around the turn of the eighth century, the church was converted into a square-pier basilica with a wooden roof with a square tower over the bema; then in the late twelfth century it was modified to carry barrel-vaults in the side aisles and domes in the nave. It has become clear that such a dating scheme cannot be sustained. As explained in the previous section (II.2) the square-pier basilicas with wooden roofs did not have cross-shaped

piers. While it is possible that the wooden roofing could be supported by cross-shaped piers, it was not necessary. Given what is known about the Afentrika churches, engaged piers must have been used for the support of transverse arches. In addition, since the Panagia Kanakariá still has a portion of the original transverse arches and barrel-vaulting in the front of its bema (fig. II.79), the vaulting most likely continued down the length of the nave. It is also unlikely, therefore, that a square tower covered the bema, since we have evidence for a simpler barrel-vault. Also there are no other churches in Cyprus that have a square tower over the bema. Perhaps Megaw still had the Panagia Chrysotissa's "transept" in mind when he made this suggestion; but as mentioned above (§ II.3.1.1), evidence does not exist for a transept. Furthermore, his arguments that the north aisles and the narthex were barrel-vaulted in the twelfth century or later cannot be maintained.

The church of the Panagia Kanakariá has elements similar to all the previous churches. It incorporated Early Christian apses, mosaics, and marble furnishings. Like the churches of Afentrika, its barrel-vaulted phase followed the columniation of the previous church. Similar to Panagia at Sykhada, it was built with a narthex with recess niches and "hanging" corbels for the aisles. However, unlike these earlier churches, its masonry consists of finely carved ashlar, without the use of small ceramics or tile. The Kanakariá was also constructed differently—the barrel-vaulted nave was built alongside the barrel-vaulted side aisles. It is doubtful that the two aisles were built at different times, since they were fashioned in the same way, one supporting the other. The inscription in its south-westernmost pier provides a *terminus ante quem* date in the ninth century.¹¹⁵ With the elements found in the other churches, its barrel-vaulted phase can be placed comfortably in the eighth and ninth centuries. And therefore, I must concur with Enlart and Dikigoropoulos that the barrel-vaulted phase at the Panagia Kanakariá should be grouped with the churches of Afentrika and Sykhada.¹¹⁶

II.3.7. Agios Georgios, Afentrika

Five yards west of the Panagia Chrysotissa is a small chapel called Agios Georgios (figs. II.86-89). It is a single-aisle, single-domed structure with two eastern apses. At a later date, a narthex was added with exedras at the north and south ends.¹¹⁷ In terms of construction, the chapel was built exactly like the nearby barrel-vaulted churches: fine cut limestone ashlar, with pieces of ceramic and tile were used within the lime mortar. The proportions, such as the height of the impost blocks and width of the doorways, also conform to the nearby churches. Likewise,

it has recessed niches in its narrow bays and impost blocks of the same style. Where Agios Georgios differs from the barrel-vaulted churches is its elliptical dome (10 feet/3.2 m. in diameter).¹¹⁸ Two side arches and two transverse arches spring from the side piers, supporting the dome. These arches formed a square base which gradually tapered inward, forming “irregular pendentives” at the corners. These are called “irregular” because they are not uniform in slope and look “squarish” rather than spherical—likewise the dome appears square. Papageorghiou has characterized the dome as “supported on two traverse arches,” which is unlike other single-aisle Byzantine chapels on the island.¹¹⁹ However, it must be noted the architect(s) attempted to construct pendentives, indicating that they were aware of its importance.

Agios Georgios has attracted some attention since Megaw had labeled it the “earliest surviving dome on the Island.”¹²⁰ In terms of dating, Megaw would not provide a precise time period, but in the context of the passage, he stated that “it is doubtless somewhat later than the adjoining vaulted basilicas” and yet, before the Byzantine reconquest—between the early ninth and late tenth century. Papageorghiou likewise dated the church to the ninth or tenth century because of its awkward dome. However, we must be cautious with these dates. Both Megaw and Papageorghiou provide no evidence or reason for their chronology. Megaw’s curious qualifier “doubtless” is in fact, doubtful. As described above, both scholars have assumed a diachronic model. In the case of Megaw, the very fact that Agios Georgios had a dome signaled a new evolutionary species, and therefore he assumed a later time period for its construction. Likewise, Papageorghiou believed that the dome did not conform to the more perfected Byzantine models of the eleventh or twelfth century, and so, it must pre-date the Byzantine reconquest. Unfortunately these assumptions excluded Agios Georgios from being compared with the nearby barrel-vaulted churches. Megaw claimed that Agios Georgios was built with “inferior masonry,” ignoring the fact that its construction was identical with those of the nearby churches. A close examination of the church shows that it was constructed well, with ashlar specifically carved for this purpose.¹²¹ There is no stylistic or technical difference between Agios Georgios and the Panagia Chrysotissa and the Asomatos churches. If we base our chronology on the fabric and design of the church alone, we must conclude that Agios Georgios was constructed around the same time as the barrel-vaulted churches. Therefore, if we agree that the barrel-vaulted basilicas were built in the eighth century, we must place Agios Georgios within the same general time span.

II.4. Development of Cypriot basilicas in the 7th century

The development of Christian architecture in Cyprus, therefore, can be grouped into three phases. The first was a gradual development of the three-aisled, three-apse, wooden roof basilica from the fourth to the mid-seventh century. While a few characteristics of these churches, such as the passageways between the apses and side corridors flanking the aisles, are Cypriot, the basic design and organization are common to the Late Antique world. Their main decoration was mosaics and opus sectile. The Arab invasion in 649 resulted in many churches being destroyed, necessitating a widespread re-building campaign. The resulting second phase was characterized by square-pier arcades made with local limestone, replacing round marble columns of the previous phase. The data points to no other changes. The third phase, which took place more or less simultaneously with the second, was characterized by piers supporting barrel-vaults. Surviving evidence indicates that fresco-painting, at this point, replaced mosaics as the main medium for decoration. Yet in all these phases one element remains the same—the rectangular basilica. The politics, building material, and décor changed, but the three-apse, three-aisle formula stayed constant.

Naturally, the question arises—what were the dominating principles that allowed for these changes? Concerning the square-pier basilicas (Phase 2), several theories have been proposed—all of them pragmatic. Megaw believed that Cyprus could not maintain an architectural style on its own and therefore depended on the Byzantine Empire for inspiration and maintenance. Ideally the Cypriots would have continued Phase 1 (Early Christian basilica type) indefinitely. However, the Arab raids cut Cyprus off from its head. As a result, poverty forced the Cypriots to transition from marble columns to local limestone piers. Megaw assumed that “columns were in short supply” and that new columns could not be imported, due to “the isolation of Cyprus at that time.”¹²² In contrast, Dikigoropoulos earlier argued against this idea:

...the absence of marble or granite columns from Cyprus churches of the period 649–965 cannot be explained on the grounds that trade in the Eastern Mediterranean was disrupted because of the Arab wars. Arab-Byzantine trade relations do not seem to have been terminated because of the wars between the two powers.¹²³

He rather believed that the pillaging of the Arabs and the associated economic downturn forced the Cypriots to adopt this alternative support system:

...in view of the poor state of the finances of those responsible for the erection of the new buildings the strictest possible economy had to be exercised. The most obvious economy to be effected was the replacement of the columns, which were imported, with square piers built with local stone.¹²⁴

Likewise, with this line of reasoning, in an ideal world, the Cypriots would have continued Phase 1 indefinitely. But this theory is problematic, since the Cypriots did have funds to rebuild both the square-pier and barrel-vaulted basilicas, and marble columns could have been salvaged from countless pagan sites dotting the landscape. This allowed Papageorghiou to provide another suggestion.

As quoted above (§ II.3.7.) Papageorghiou believed that the Cypriots were influenced from outside the island and adopted new strategies of building from other parts of the Christian world. The transition from columns to piers was merely a change in tastes, not a matter of finance or supply. In the outer fringes of the Roman Empire, sixth-century churches such as the Old Metropolis church at Messembria-Nessebar (Bulgaria) and the basilica at Tolmeita-Ptolemais (Libya) were designed with square-piers.¹²⁵ Moreover, square-pier Early Christian basilicas are not uncommon in Syria. As Papageorghiou theorized, Christians who were taken captive to Syria and Palestine could have been influenced by the architecture in these lands, and brought design ideas back with them upon returning to Cyprus. Or perhaps, conversely, refugees from Africa and the Near East immigrated to Cyprus bringing with them their own traditions of square-pier buildings.

The problem with connecting architectural change with outside influence lies in the actual evidence. There is no firm historical link between a particular foreign locale and Cypriot personages; and there is no obvious architectural relationship between a Cypriot church and those outside the island (e.g. a link like that which existed between Charlemagne's Palatine Chapel, Aachen, and San Vitale, Ravenna¹²⁶). The single characteristic of a simple square-pier is not enough to go on. Furthermore, art historians and archaeologists have relied too much on "foreign influences" to describe change, so that, most diffusionist theories seem like a *deus ex machina*. There is no reason why the development from the column to the square-pier could not have been an insular development.

Neither isolation, nor poverty, nor outside influence led to the use of the square-pier, but rather, expediency. In fact, square-pier architecture was common place in Cyprus. For example, the Chytroi to Salamis-Constantia aqueduct was built (or repaired) by the archbishops of Cyprus

in the first half of the seventh century with square-piers (and pointed arches) (**fig.II.90**).¹²⁷ Ancillary rooms at the sixth century Kourion cathedral contain square-piers west of the baptistery (**fig.II.91**). Moreover, nearby at the sixth century Panagia Limeniotissa (below the cliff where the Kourion cathedral stood), the atrium was built chiefly of square-piers (**fig.II.92**). As stated above, at Marathovouno at Kalavasos, architects were already utilizing and experimenting with their local limestone and gypsum by the mid-seventh century. Therefore, the recourse to square-piers should be seen as a trend on the island, rather than an innovation. We must not forget that the main purpose of a church is to shelter the congregation and the Divine Liturgy. The destruction caused by the Arabs was directed towards the flammable wooden roof. At a time of turmoil, the church leaders decided to rebuild with haste and the least amount of labor. Local materials, such as wood and stone, could be extracted from nearby sources. And simply put, round marble columns were not necessary.

Likewise, most scholars have proposed pragmatic reasons for the shift from wooden roofing to barrel-vaulted churches. Megaw continued his “trade isolation” theory:

Reconstruction with barrel-vaulting of early wood-roofed churches damaged in the Arab incursions is found elsewhere in Cyprus; it doubtless originated in contemporary disruption of the local timber trade.¹²⁸

This is a doubtful and unpersuasive argument because there is no evidence that Cyprus was deforested before the Ottoman invasion of 1570. Megaw knew that many square-pier basilicas were built at the same time, with wooden roofs. In fact, Megaw argued against his own thesis, by writing “by the early ninth century the Patriarch of Jerusalem could order cedar and pine trunks from Cyprus for the repair of the Holy Sepulchre.”¹²⁹ Furthermore, in order to build the barrel-vaulted churches, a complex matrix of wooden scaffolding was needed in order to center the vaults (evidenced by the put log holes left behind).

In the same manner, Papageorghiou continued his argument that transition to barrel-vaulting was a result of “outside influence.” He argued that the raids by the Arabs caused much destruction to churches. Therefore, as recourse against fire, the barrel-vault was adopted. As explained above, Cyprus was a crossroads, where Cypriots could leave and return, and refugees come and go. And we know that barrel-vaulted basilicas were built outside Cyprus at earlier times.¹³⁰ For example, the church of Julianos (Umm al-Jimal) was barrel-vaulted and dated to the fifth century.¹³¹ In addition, square piers and square spring corbels were quite common in

Cappadocian architecture, such as the Kemer Kilise (4th c.?), Kanlidivane (Kanytilideis, 6th c.), and “The Red Church” at Korykos (Kizil Klise, near Sivrihisar, 7th to 9th century).¹³² The widespread distribution of early Christian churches with barrel-vaulting indicates that this aesthetic was not innovative.

With that being said, barrel-vaulting and its aesthetic were novel for ecclesiastical architecture on Cyprus. While there were earlier barrel-vaulted buildings on Cyprus, such as the gymnasium of Salamis (**fig.II.93**) and the so-called St. Catherine’s prison (**fig.II.94**), these do not have transverse arches, nor do they have engaged pilasters supporting springing corbels. And, in fact, these earlier structures demonstrate that piers and transverse arches were not necessary for vaulted buildings—they are supportive but their chief function is aesthetic. This is important because the same aesthetic will be found in the domed basilicas. While the specific elements of the vaulting were aesthetic, the actual adoption stone vaulting can be explained by its durability and fire-resistance. Papageorghiou’s thesis is reasonable, that the square-pier wooden roof basilicas were not feasible at a time of continual warfare. History records at least nine major raids on Cyprus in the Period of Neutrality (649-965), when many churches were destroyed.¹³³ The concentration of barrel-vaulted basilicas in the Karpas peninsula, and the example in Paphos, all of which are easily approached by the sea, necessitated a fire-proof building; one that was solid enough to stand against sea-faring marauders and large enough to shelter a frightened spiritual community.

The over-arching principle behind the development of Cypriot Christian architecture in the late seventh and eighth century was two-fold: first, to protect, and second, to retain the basilical form. The massive square-pier and fortified barrel-vaulted churches were citadels. The windows were small, like loopholes, or completely lacking. The squat heavy arcades could withstand siege engines and the battering ram. The square-pier basilica was adopted because it was quick to build and could be executed by the whole community. The barrel-vaulted basilica was adopted because it was even more massive and fire-proof. While the move to smaller congregations occurred in the sixth century, the need for smaller, more fortified buildings was made necessary by the Arab assault.

While it is speculation that the Cypriot church builders desired to preserve the basilica, it is nonetheless reasonable supposition. As stated above, the liturgy and ritual function of the church did not change, only the practical use as a refuge. The basilica continued to have theological associations in this context. The inherent meaning of the basilica, as a royal edifice

and domain of King Jesus, was not forgotten (§I.2.2.). In an age of political insecurity, the Church's allegiance to a heavenly kingdom was unshakable. The basilica became the earthly manifestation of what the Psalmist described:

*The Name of the Lord is a Strong Tower
The Righteous Run into it and are Saved.¹³⁴*

The basilica's symbolic form and layout would continue to be preserved in the next phase of development, the multiple-domed basilica.

Conclusion

This chapter described the three major architectural phases of Christian architecture prior to the construction of the multiple-domed basilica, and explained why the last two phases occurred and were adopted. For three hundred years, the Early Christian basilica continued with very little alteration. Then, in the mid-seventh century the Arab raids caused widespread destruction of these monuments leading to two major developments, the use of square-piers and barrel-vaulting. Even with these changes, the Church of Cyprus maintained the basilical form. The next chapter explains that all these developments (i.e. the transition from an Early Christian columnar basilica to a square-pier basilica, to a barrel-vaulted basilica, then to a multiple-domed basilica) can be seen in just one monument—Agios Epifanios (Salamis-Constantia), the cathedral of the eparch. The next chapter provides an in-depth architectural history of this important monument.

Chapter III: Agios Epifanios

Agios Epifanios at Salamis-Constantia was the largest cathedral of Cyprus. According to one tradition it was the site where the Apostle Barnabas achieved his martyrdom. However, the church would be named after the early church father, Epiphanius, who built the structure at the end of the fourth century. Throughout Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, the cathedral was at the heart of the island's capital. Today the site is buried under meters of sand, while other sections washed into the sea. Since 1974 the so-called "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus" (henceforth referred to the "TRNC") has controlled the city, making legal archaeological research impossible.

However beginning in 2003, policies changed between the Republic of Cyprus and the "TRNC," easing travel restrictions between the two communities. As a result scholars can visit excavated areas of Salamis-Constantia which has been made into an archaeological park. Dust and brambles now obscure the ruins of Agios Epifanios. Nevertheless the foundations of the multiple-domed church are weathering well and can be analyzed when vegetation recedes during the winter months. The information in this chapter has been gleaned from firsthand examination of the structure, and the published excavation notes and photographs in the Cyprus Department of Antiquities' archive. This chapter provides a monograph on the structure. It is argued here that Agios Epifanios was the first multiple-domed church on the island, dating from the early eighth century. The design was developed here and then spread throughout the island.

III.1. Context: Geographical and Historical

The city of Salamis was the largest city on the island in antiquity, located on Cyprus' eastern shore facing modern day Syria. According to Homer, the city was founded by Ajax's brother, Teucer. It later became the capital of the famous Cypriot King Evagoras (410 - 374 BC) who supported Greece in its wars against the Persians, only to later become a puppet ruler of the Persians. Later during the Hellenistic period, Cyprus prospered under the Ptolemies. However by 200 BC the balance of power shifted from Middle East to the Aegean, causing Salamis to be superseded by the city of Paphos on the western coast. The latter became a major port of call for merchants traveling between Egypt and Europe. Nevertheless, Salamis continued to flourish under the Romans who acquired Cyprus through their union with Egypt under Julius Caesar.

There was peace in Salamis until 115-17 when the city was devastated by Trajan's general Lusius during the great Jewish revolt; it is recorded that 240,000 Cypriots died. Trajan afterward restored the city according to inscriptions found in the gymnasium. By the Late Empire, the city of Salamis-Constantia could accommodate over 120,000 citizens.¹

History records little in the subsequent years until the mid-fourth century, when the island was devastated by a series of violent earthquakes. The Roman provincial capital of Paphos was utterly destroyed as well as Salamis. After 332 the emperor Constantius II renamed Salamis "Constantia" and rebuilt it as a Christian city.² At the opposite shore in Syria, he also christened the city of Antiarados as another "Constantia." Along with this nominal change, significant imperial investments were devoted to the eastern Mediterranean region, favoring Antioch and its port Seleucia Pieria.³ The latter was only, depending on the wind speed, about a twelve hour sail to the Cypriot capital. Archaeology has uncovered several fourth century reconstructions in Salamis-Constantia, such as the conversion of the municipal gymnasium into a public bathhouse. At that time, the original palaestrum still had its classical sculptures on public display, but they were defaced—genitalia and breasts were intentionally removed—perhaps due to Christian vandalism.⁴ The city of Paphos did not recover, and therefore lost its primacy on the island. This caused the archbishopric to relocate to the newly renovated Salamis-Constantia. While this was a natural move for the archbishop, there were also disadvantages, such as the encroaching influence of the Antiochene patriarch.

III.1.1. Titular Saint and first Cathedral

Salamis-Constantia was further elevated when the erudite Epiphanius (315–403) was consecrated bishop of the city in 367.⁵ He was born in Palestine, converted from Judaism, and trained as a monk in Egypt, later establishing the important monastery of Besanduk (Palestine). Throughout his life he was a prolific writer and influenced the politics of his day. Jerome wrote:

Epiphanius...wrote books...which are eagerly read by the learned, on account of their subject matter, and also by the plain people, on account of their language...He is still living, and in his extreme old age composes various brief works.⁶

As the bishop of Salamis-Constantia, he spent his life writing against Arianism, and later found himself at odds with John Chrysostom (347-407), patriarch of Constantinople, who accepted the teachings of Origen.⁷ After confronting the Patriarch, he died on his return trip from

Constantinople; he was over 100 years old.⁸ Emperor Arcadius, by special decree, allowed the archbishop's remains to be buried in the church that Epiphanius commissioned at Salamis-Constantia.⁹

Epiphanius' church (referred to as "Agios Epifanios" hereafter) was an enormous seven-aisled basilica (**figures III.1-4**). It was not only the largest church ever built on the island, but one of the largest early Christian churches ever discovered.¹⁰ It was comparable in design to the Gethsemane basilica in Jerusalem, which the Bishop would have visited.¹¹ Though the influence of Christianity in Salamis had a tradition dating back to the apostolic age, there is no evidence of a previous church on this site.¹² Epiphanius built the cathedral on the *cardo maximus* between the agora and the theatre, less than 300 yards (275 m) from the temple of Jupiter. It is highly unlikely that the location served any Christian function prior to the re-founding by Constantius II, when paganism was still practiced. Even in the late fourth century, Epiphanius had difficulties securing permission to construct his church from the pagan administration.¹³

The church was even more problematic because of its large, sprawling design. Besides having six side-aisles, it was flanked by two other vaulted aisles (more like corridors) on each side to facilitate direct traffic to subsidiary buildings.¹⁴ At the western end of the cathedral, a narthex stretched the entire width of the church, terminating in exedra on the north and south ends. Remnants of a stairwell in the northern aisle are evidence for a second storey gallery. An enormous atrium, almost the same area as the church, connected the complex to the main road leading to the forum/agora and the acropolis. This would link the cathedral with the Roman temple of Jupiter which had been converted into a church in the early fifth century.¹⁵

At the eastern end, in the southern aisle, an unroofed "annex" was built which led to an ancillary chapel adjoining the baptistery. Immersion took place in a rectangular chamber containing a cross-shaped basin at ground level flanked by two smaller basins at its corners. A stairwell to a subterranean chamber was placed nearby for servicing the hypocaust that heated the baptismal area—the only known heated baptistery on the island (**figs.III.5-6**). The entire church was then surrounded by classrooms and the clerical residence to the northeast.¹⁶

Moreover, flanking the southern corridor was a single-aisle chapel of "great dimensions," probably for catechumens.¹⁷ Following Epiphanius' penchant for coenobitic worship, the church also served as a katholicon for a monastery.¹⁸ Many other partially excavated buildings have been found near the church complex, but their exact purpose is unknown. The growth and development of the church focused on Epiphanius' relics which were deposited near the eastern

end of the southern aisle (**fig.III.7**). Around his tomb a series of wall mosaics depicted his illustrious career.¹⁹

According to Sozomen, a fifth century historian, news spread rapidly that Epiphanius' relics had wonder-working powers. This naturally placed Salamis on the pilgrimage route:

[St. Epiphanius] was venerated, not only for the virtues he manifested and miraculous deeds during his life, but also for the honor that was rendered to him by God after his death; for it was said that demons were expelled, and diseases healed at his tomb.²⁰

Several pilgrims recorded their visits to his tomb and the miracles performed there.²¹ By becoming part of Holy Land pilgrimage industry, the island became closely allied to the Patriarch of Jerusalem.

Two other churches in the area further attracted pilgrims: Agios Varnavas (Saint Barnabas) and the so-called "Campanopetra." Concerning Agios Varnavas, the church and its foundations will be discussed in Chapter Five below. Suffice it to say here, that starting the fifth century pilgrims would come to Salamis-Constantia to venerate the relics of both Epiphanius and Barnabas. The former was a famous theologian and wonder-worker, whereas the latter was the apostolic founder of Christianity on the island. Agios Varnavas church is located outside the city, above an ancient necropolis, about two miles (3 km) west of Agios Epifanios (**fig.V.21**). The Campanopetra church was closer to the cathedral, about 440 yards (400 m) (**figs. III.8-11**). It was built in the earlier part of the fifth century and was modeled after the archbishop's cathedral, but was slightly smaller. The church was a three-aisled basilica, with two additional corridors flanking the side-aisles, resembling Agios Epifanios' side corridors. Another similarity with the cathedral was its narthex that terminated in exedra at each end. The Campanopetra also had three atria, one in the east, beyond the apses, and two in the west (a forecourt and an atrium with a central fountain). The eastern atrium probably contained the relics of some significant (but currently unknown) saint or relic. Since the atrium in the eastern area mimicked the arrangement of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, excavators believed that it could have been a shrine for the True Cross. While its architecture followed the eastern models and Agios Epifanios, Constantinople inspired its furnishings and decor. The excavator, George Roux, suggested that this church was funded by the imperial treasury, possibly by the Theodosian dynasty, because "...its marble ornament [was] a remarkable luxury in an island where this material is non-existent."²² It is rather curious that the Campanopetra had a baptistery since it is

quite close to Agios Epifanios (the archbishop would have been responsible for administering baptism in both churches). Perhaps the Campanopetra served as a second cathedral adjoining the large episcopal complex.²³

As the metropolitan of the island and pilgrimage destination, Salamis-Constantia was one of the most affluent cities of the Eastern Mediterranean. The city benefited both from its religious tradition and its secular power in the eastern Roman Empire. The vulnerable island and its capital were frequently coveted by its jealous neighbors.

III.1.2. The Autocephalous Church of Cyprus and economic prosperity

From this time forward the histories of the city and the church became inextricably linked. Beginning under the reign of Constantius II, Cyprus was under the eastern civil diocese of the Empire, with its capital at Antioch.²⁴ Gradually the Church of Antioch began to exert its authority over the local Cypriot church hierarchy, just as the secular Antiochene administration oversaw the island's welfare. Tensions mounted. At the Council of Nicaea (325) the sixth canon clarified Antioch's "ancient right" to consecrate the bishops of Cyprus. However, this conflicted with the local tradition that considered its apostolic foundation to be earlier than the Antiochene church. The Cypriots argued that they had always appointed their own bishops. The fact that the patriarch of Antioch leaned towards Arianism further exacerbated the strife between them. As a result, the Church of Cyprus continued to bypass Antioch and ordained its own bishops. The Council of Ephesus (431) attempted to resolve this strife:

. . . If, as it is asserted in memorials and orally by the religious men who have come before the Council—it has not been a continuous ancient custom for the bishop of Antioch to hold ordinations in Cyprus—the prelates of Cyprus shall enjoy, free from molestation and violence, their right to perform by themselves the ordination of bishops [for their island]. . .²⁵

Yet the conditional resolution did not speak with enough authority, allowing the checkered patriarch of Antioch, Peter the Fuller, to revive Antioch's claims over Cyprus forty years later.²⁶ It was only in 477 when Anthemios, the Cypriot archbishop, supposedly discovered the tomb of St. Barnabas outside the city, with his autograph copy of Matthew's gospel on his chest, that the apostolic foundations of the Church of Cyprus were "proven." The Emperor Zeno was convinced by this miraculous evidence and convened a council which pronounced Cyprus's autocephaly. The evidence must have been rather strong since Zeno was a life-long supporter of

Peter the Fuller.²⁷ Nevertheless as a gift (or bribe) the gospel book of Matthew was sent to Constantinople and kept at St. Stephen's chapel in the palace.²⁸ From that time until the Byzantine reconquest (965) the Church of Cyprus enjoyed almost continuous freedom concerning their internal appointments. This provided an insular identity which set Cyprus apart from the other Byzantine provinces. Its unique power was manifested in the archbishop's traditional regalia, symbolizing both spiritual and temporal authority; for example, he could sign his name in red cinnabar, wear a purple cloak, and wield a scepter rather than a crosier—these are imperial, or rather, royal attributions.²⁹

Sometime in the sixth century the affluent archbishop had the funds to renovate his church. During the sixth century a synthronon was added to the eastern end, and the western wall was rebuilt along with the narthex. The synthronon at Agios Epifanios may have had up to nine steps. This addition reflected the mystification of the liturgy during that time period, when each action and rite was imbued with cosmic significance. For example, Pseudo-Dionysus the Areopagite (fifth century) wrote that a nine-step synthronon, with a bishop surrounded by nine ranks of clergy, symbolized Christ among the nine angelic orders.³⁰ Moreover at the same time, the inner arcade of Agios Epifanios' side aisles and presumably the arcade above them in the galleries were removed. Undoubtedly the architects realized that an intermediate arcade was unnecessary.³¹ Such a major rebuilding was probably instigated in order to accommodate a growing congregation.

Along with this population growth, Late Antique Cyprus enjoyed affluence and security. Cypriots were free to start monasteries in other parts of the Empire, while intellectuals throughout the Empire resided in Cyprus.³² Besides the advantages of its harbor and merchant ships, Cypriots had a strong ceramics, timber, and silk export trade.³³ There was also a widespread building campaign having little to do with the activities of Justinian I.³⁴ And unlike the other provinces, Cyprus was shielded by the Mediterranean Sea from the threat of the Persians, Slavs, and Bulgars.³⁵ Even the archbishops were wealthy enough to sponsor the rebuilding of aqueducts—a particularly imperial responsibility.³⁶ The island's civil administration was also given the right to mint coins.³⁷ Moreover, the percentage of gold coins on the island increased during the reign of Heraclius (610-641).³⁸ This indicates an acute imperial interest in the island, since gold coins (*solidus*) were used for official business, such as monumental constructions or financing troops.

Naturally, the Byzantine Empire valued Cyprus for its strategic location. The continual strife with the Persian Empire came to climax in 614 when Jerusalem fell, leading to the demise of Chalcedon in 617, just two miles (3 km) from Constantinople. Two years later, the Persians appear to have attempted an invasion of Cyprus.³⁹ A prolific seventh century Cypriot writer, Leontius of Neapolis, wrote:

Now a general, one Aspagurius by name, had been sent to [Salamis-] Constantia in Cyprus but had not been admitted by the town; so he prepared himself for war against its citizens and they on their side were arming themselves against him. And they were just on the point of engaging in this slaughter of each other when the all-admirable John, the disciple of the God of Peace, intervened and induced both parties to seek reconciliation and succeeded in bringing them to terms.⁴⁰

It is clear from the text that Salamis-Constantia escaped destruction through the energies of John the Almoner (ca. 550- ca. 616), the former patriarch of Alexandria and a Cypriot by birth. It is uncertain how long Cyprus remained free from the Persian threat, but it must have been affected in 622 with the Persian occupation of Rhodes.⁴¹ A year later the Persian Empire began to lose ground to Byzantine forces under Heraclius.

The Emperor also had other interests in Cyprus. On his march to become emperor in 608, Heraclius had traveled through the island, finding ready supporters to join his cause. This led him to believe that the Cypriots were his close allies. Therefore, when he attempted to solve the Monophysitism problem, he asked the archbishop of Cyprus, Arcadius, to adopt a compromise formula later known as Monotheletism.⁴² Cyprus then became a test case. Apparently, there was some success at reconciliation between the two camps, and as a result, in 638 Heraclius imposed Monotheletism on the whole Empire.⁴³ It was at this point that the theologian, Maximus the Confessor, began to exert his influence in the region and upon Cyprus, in particular. He visited the island sometime between 626 and 630 and convinced the Church to maintain its orthodoxy.⁴⁴ In 643 a small ecumenical synod was held at Salamis-Constantia, which consequently condemned Monotheletism, much to the chagrin of the Emperor.⁴⁵

III.1.3. The Arab invasions

While tension was mounting in Cyprus between imperial Monotheletism and Orthodoxy, far away in Arabia traditionalists were warring with the new cult of Islam. Sometime after Muhammad's death (632), Mu'āwiya, one of Islam's greatest generals, asked permission from the

Caliph Omar to create an Arab navy to subdue Cyprus. His reasoning was twofold: first, to gain spoils for his faithful warriors, and second, to scout out where the Byzantine navy might launch its next assault. Furthermore, he knew that a strong base in Cyprus was necessary if the armies of Islam were to attack Constantinople.⁴⁶ However, the Caliph was reluctant to support such a risky venture, since it depended on the skills of Christian sailors. And then in 638, the Arab conquest of Jerusalem led the way for Mu‘āwiya to became governor of Syria. In 644 his cousin Uthman became the new caliph, and granted Mu‘āwiya permission to create a grand Arab navy. The Byzantines were not prepared to resist an Arab navy, nor could they imagine Eastern Christians sailors aiding Muslims against them. But by this time most Christians were Monophysite and harbored deep resentment against the Empire.⁴⁷

According to most the historic sources Mu‘āwiya gathered over 1,700 ships.⁴⁸ Sailing from Egypt and Syria, two Muslim fleets met at Acre and then proceeded to Salamis-Constantia. The most detailed account was recorded by a Syrian Monophysite cleric named Dionysius of Tell-Mahre:

[the Arab’s purpose was] to destroy the luxurious cities of the Cypriots which had never been the victims of a raid or the tributaries of a foreign power...they went to the famous city of Constantia, the capital of Cyprus, urged on by hot desire, and entered her there and then. They found her prosperously settled and provided with amenities, full to overflowing with people of every race under the sun. When Mu‘āwiya saw the affluence of her breath-taking palaces and the abundance of her edifices, his heart swelled and his conceit knew no bounds, intoxicated by so many treasures and riches all won without a battle. The sword and the shackles soon put the city under his control. He took up residence with due ceremony in the bishop’s palace and after resting to his heart’s content, he used it as a place in which to fulfill his unlawful lust.⁴⁹

When the Arab armies arrived they met little or no resistance. Neither Byzantine troops nor ships impeded the invaders, nor were the fortifications preserved or garrisoned.⁵⁰ The historical sources describe an onslaught. Archaeology supports these texts, where widespread destruction was uncovered at Salamis-Constantia. The gymnasium, wooden houses around the theater, and Agios Epifanios were all marked by ash and burnt material.⁵¹ Archaeologist George Jeffery recorded:

It is evident that this great church of Constantia has been entirely destroyed by fire; its walls and columns have been subjected to calcinations at a great heat, which accounts for the fantastic appearance of many of the stones.⁵²

As mentioned in the previous chapter (§ II.1.3), the first excavators found large quantities of “black earth” and burnt material in the cathedral, including a human skull in one of the drains.⁵³

After the initial conflict, a truce was declared between the Byzantine governor (*archon*) and Mu‘āwiya. According to Islamic sources the terms included four clauses: (1) the Cypriots were to pay 7,200 dinars as an annual tribute to the Caliph of Damascus; (2) they were to report to the Caliph any Byzantine military movement on or near the island; (3) they were to remain neutral in any conflict arising from Arab-Byzantine relations; (4) and they were not to marry Arab enemies (*i.e.* Byzantines).⁵⁴ There was no prohibition against Christian worship or the payment of taxes to Constantinople. In fact, the sum required was similar to the amount excised by the Empire. After concluding the treaty, the Arabs left Cyprus rather suddenly. Theophanes wrote that a certain Kakorizus was sailing to the island with a “great Roman force,” pressing the Arabs to flee. They then sailed to the other Constantia on the opposite shore where they besieged the island of Arados.⁵⁵

About two years after the first invasion, a second Arab raid took place on the grounds that the Cypriots broke their original treaty. The Arab chronicler Al-Baladhuri (9th c.) wrote,

In the year 32 of the Hegira [652] they helped the Byzantines in providing ships, then Mu‘āwiya attacked in 33 of the Hegira [653] with a fleet of 500 ships. He conquered Cyprus with extreme violence, he killed and captured a significant number of its inhabitants; then he confirmed their treaty.⁵⁶

This second raid was more devastating. One scholar described

It would appear that either before or upon his arrival many of the inhabitants fled to the hills, and took refuge in caves. From these they were dragged out ‘like eggs from an abandoned nest.’ ... Abu'l A’war spent some forty days in [Salamis-]Constantia, destroying all the people ‘head by head’—so that it would seem that some still survived from the previous destruction.⁵⁷

It is difficult to measure exactly how much destruction was directly due to pillaging by the Arabs or indirectly through the aftermath of economic decay.⁵⁸ It is certain that the Arab campaigns marked a turning point in history.

A permanent Arab garrison was installed at Paphos along with a mosque after the second raid. The earliest Arabic coins discovered in Cyprus date from the mid-seventh century testify to an early Arabic occupation.⁵⁹ At the Limeniotissa church in Paphos, the Early Christian basilica was dismantled. A watchtower (or minaret) was constructed in the narthex and

workshops were built in the sanctuary.⁶⁰ Also within this church Arabic inscriptions were found written on Late Antique marble and on contemporary amphorae.⁶¹ Arabic sources also refer to a *hakim* (governor) and an *imām* (spiritual leader) on the island.⁶² Yet this official settlement did not last long, for it is recorded that Caliph Yazīd I (645–683) removed his troops and had the mosque destroyed in 683.⁶³

While the Arab army withdrew, archaeology has some evidence that an Arabic settlement continued. Arab coins, inscriptions, and tombstones dating throughout the eighth century and into the ninth have been found; for example, one tombstone from Paphos has a Kufic inscription of the year 780.⁶⁴ Scholars once believed that “the island was then divided into two zones, the Arabs controlling the western part (around Paphos)” and the Byzantine Empire ruling the eastern part (Salamis-Constantia).⁶⁵ Other scholars have suggested that there was a “line separating the two communities and the possible existence even of two different types of coins, Byzantine for the Byzantines and Islamic for the Moslems.”⁶⁶ Since the majority of Islamic artifacts had been found in Paphos, the theory gained momentum during the 1990s. However, in 2004 the French published a catalogue of coins discovered during the course of their excavations at Salamis-Constantia between 1964 and 1974. They record 23 Umayyad coins, while they found only 13 seventh-century Byzantine coins.⁶⁷ While coin numbers are small and at best circumstantial evidence, they clearly indicate some Islamic influence persisted into the ninth century throughout the whole island.⁶⁸

III.1.4. The Medieval City and Cathedral

By 680 Cyprus appears to have returned to some stability. In that year three Cypriot bishops attended the Sixth Ecumenical Council (Constantinople III), unaccompanied by their archbishop, Epiphanius II. They provided a rare codex of St. Athanasius of Alexandria (293–373) which played a role in the ensuing dialogue, while the works of the sixth century Cypriot archbishop Arcadius were highlighted.⁶⁹ Overall this was an important council for the Cypriots because it refuted Monotheletism, to which they were strongly opposed, and reinstated Pope Martin and Maximus the Confessor.⁷⁰ Also we have other evidence for stability on the island around the year 680. For example, the Arab garrison was withdrawn and a deal was struck between the Empire and Caliphate, which naturally eased tension between the immigrants and natives.⁷¹ At Salamis-Constantia the public baths, several houses around the gymnasium, and churches were subsequently repaired.⁷² These restorations stretched over a thirty year period,

based on the coins of Constans II, Constantine IV, Justinian II sealed in the repair work.⁷³ Some buildings had escaped damage, like the Campanopetra church, where excavators found indecipherable letters of red painting traced with the brush, possibly the vestiges of an Arab inscription for the purpose of desecration rather than destruction.⁷⁴ Nonetheless, the structure was left intact, and perhaps the archbishop used the Campanopetra as his cathedral until renovations were complete at Agios Epifanios.

One of the largest renovations concerned the layout of the city itself. A massive new defensive wall was erected to protect the heart of the city—the cathedral of Agios Epifanios (**fig. III.12 plan**).⁷⁵ Large limestone blocks were finely carved for this purpose with little use of spolia from previous buildings. Tile and pottery were mixed with burnt material in the lime mortars which held the ashlar together. The wall destroyed parts of an aqueduct, forcing the construction of two large cisterns (one perhaps a water-clock) within its walls. Apparently the chief purpose of the ramparts was to protect the cathedral and palatial complex. As a result, other churches, such as the Campanopetra, and public buildings were left unprotected. Furthermore, the new rampart cut off the *cardo maximus*; instead of creating a gateway to function within the classical city, the new wall destroyed the main thoroughfare. This effectively changed the character of Salamis-Constantia; from an open classical city into a small closed medieval town. From the outside, a citizen walking down the *cardo* would be led to a blank wall; while on the inside, there would be no direct access to the baths, gymnasium, and agora (**fig. III.13**). The areas *extra muros* were still occupied by houses and shops; but in times of danger, the church precinct could become a fortress and last line of defense. Hundreds of cities throughout Europe underwent this same transition, though much earlier.⁷⁶

There are a number of reasons why the city of Salamis no longer developed along classical lines. Though these are obvious, they should be mentioned: there was an invasion of a hostile power; this proved the Roman imperial administration was incompetent and feckless, and left the political and pastoral structure of Christianity in charge of rebuilding and governance. The reason why citizens paid taxes to the Roman Empire was for protection; once the Empire failed in its duty, there was no incentive to pay taxes. With loss of confidence in the Empire, came loss of respect. Moreover, typically the clergy were responsible for brokering truces with hostile forces and rebuilding after the plunder. The significance of archbishopric rule in Cyprus will be further explained below (§VI.3.4).

The construction of the city walls coincided with the rebuilding of the cathedral. This new church is referred to as “Phase 2” hereafter (**figs. III.14-16**). Since the excavation carried out in the 1950s by Andreas Dikigoropoulos was never published, his comments are provided at length here:

...damage by the Arabs does not seem to have been irreparable. For my excavations of the north east section of the church in 1954 and 1956 produced evidence of repairs and reconstruction testifying to the use of that part of the building, at least, after the first two Arab raids. However, the basilica seems to have been given up as a church before the end of the 7th century, when it was replaced by a new smaller church comprising a nave and two aisles separated by arches arrived on square piers, a narthex and a porch. The nave and aisles of the new church occupied the full width of an annexe of the basilica, whilst its narthex and porch extended westwards, into the area of the abandoned basilica, doubtless in order to enclose within its limits the tomb of St. Epiphanius which was located there. The new church seems to have been constructed piece-meal and in different mortars. Lime mortar was used for the external features and the lateral walls of the Bema, gypsum was used for all other internal features including the square piers and the synthronon steps. (The gypsum mortar in the synthronon steps included crushed grains and some grains of burned wood, the latter being a characteristic of mortar used in the repairs of the Public baths carried out after the first two Arab raids and in the construction of the late city wall which as I suggest elsewhere was erected under Justinian II, between 685 and 690.)

The size of the piers—ca. 70 cm square—and the absence of any pilasters at the phase of construction indicates that the first roof of the new church was wooden and, in appearance, probably not different from the wooden roof of the great basilica. This suggests that the new church may have been erected not long after the great basilica became unserviceable. A date in the second half of the seventh century is indicated by the archaeological evidence recovered from a packed layer below the pavement in the Bema of the new church. (At least two sherds recovered from this layer come from jugs with dimple bases are characteristic of the Kornos cave jugs which are dated by coin evidence to the second half of the seventh century. Most of the sherds from this layer are plain ware ribbed sherds of the type found in a bench in the Public Baths and which are also dated, by coin and other evidence to the second half of the seventh century.)⁷⁷

Therefore the only evidence for dating the reconstructed Agios Epifanios was based on pottery underneath the bema floor—a *terminus post quem* of ca. 650. Dikigoropoulos suggested it was rebuilt by Justinian II, in accordance with his primary hypothesis that Salamis-Constantia was renamed “Justinianopolis” (mentioned in the Quinisext, Council at Trullo) (see § III.2.1. below). However, this particular theory has been subsequently proven wrong.⁷⁸ Nevertheless, the church was probably begun sometime after the second Arab raid.

The Early Christian (Phase 1) sanctuary was completely gutted and abandoned, while the ancillary rooms in the northern and eastern ends were salvaged.⁷⁹ In these rooms were placed opus sectile flooring and a small baptismal font.⁸⁰ These could be reached through a doorway in the north aisle of the new basilica (Phase 2). The new sanctuary was constructed within the corridor (annex) that led from the “great basilica” (Phase 1) to the earlier baptistery and ancillary rooms. Originally this courtyard was unroofed, paved with opus-sectile, and perhaps, contained a fountain. There are two possible reasons why this area was chosen for the new basilica. First, it adjoined the resting place of Epiphanius’ relics, which needed shelter. Apparently the relics were buried deep enough to escape harm. And second, the unroofed corridor did not have debris or ruins to clear off. In fact, the walls were undamaged by the fire and were reused.

The transformation of this corridor into a basilica was gradual. Two arcades with five square piers divided the side aisles from the nave. At the east end a semi-circular apse was built with two lateral walls extending westward into the arcade, forming a rectangular bema. Churches with such “walled-bemas” are not common in Cyprus.⁸¹ A tall seven-stepped synthronon with a central cathedra at the center was placed inside the apse (**fig.III.16**). A large masonry altar was placed in the center of the bema. In front of the altar two doorways allowed passage to the side apses, retaining a tri-partite sanctuary; a common feature in Early Christian Cyprus. In the south aisle, a passage led to an Early Christian ancillary chapel, which was apparently still usable. At the western end a porch served to protect the tomb of Epiphanius. The main entrance would have been through an opening placed in the original south-aisle apse of the great basilica. As Dikigoropoulos proposed this modest structure was planned with timber roofing in mind. The church was approximately 78 feet (24 m) measuring from the inner west wall to the east wall of the side aisles (not including the narthexes and apse), and about 44 feet (13.5 m) wide.

There were slight modifications regarding liturgical arrangements. The synthronon and tripartite apses indicate continuity with sixth-century practice. The long nave, from the westward entrance to the eastern bema, meant that processions were still an important liturgical component. However, there was no evidence for a marble ambo or ciborium. Perhaps by this time, the ambo was replaced by the moveable wooden pulpit and a cloth or wooden ciborium was placed over the altar. The large altar itself was quite different than Early Christian marble tables, and was constructed instead like the piers, as a solid immovable mass of ashlar.

The mode of ashlar construction was also different than the Early Christian church. The limestone blocks were much smaller and less precisely hewn. There was no evidence of spolia

mined from earlier buildings, besides remnants of Agios Epifanios itself. Therefore, we can assume that the additional blocks were quarried for this purpose. As in the churches of Afentrika (II.3.1.1) and the city wall, the masons used small stones, tiles, and pottery shards within the mortar to fill in the gaps of the roughly-measured stone. While such a technique was unrefined, it was quick and presupposed the use of plaster coating.

With the current available archaeological evidence, there is little certainty concerning the date of this Phase 2 church. However, there is “circumstantial evidence” that can aid in formulating chronological parameters. First, it could not have been built before 640, when pottery dating from this time was sealed between the Early Christian opus sectile and the new bema floor. Second, the type of construction is very similar to the techniques used to build the new city walls—as mentioned above, these walls were most likely built as a result of the Arab raids.⁸² There are other factors to consider, like the choice of location for the new church and the use of materials. The authorities chose a less damaged and less cluttered area, demonstrating a need for a space that could be quickly transformed into a church; they also needed a space which could shelter the tomb of St. Epiphanius. Furthermore, as Dikigoropoulos observed, the stone masons used mortar that contained burnt material. This was probably due to the fact that all the reusable material after the Arab raids was touched by fire.

With Dikigoropoulos’ original dating we have a situation where Agios Epifanios was destroyed in 649 and lay in ruin until 685—so for 36 years the illustrious archbishop did not have a church, nor was St. Epiphanius’ tomb protected from the elements, nor was there any rebuilding of the city. Since we are discussing a period of time when Christian worship was inextricably linked to ecclesiastical architecture, this chronology seems unlikely. Instead, within the chronological parameters outlined above, it is more reasonable to date the construction of this new church to the period immediately after the second Arab raid, when the Early Christian church was destroyed. The choice of location and the need to protect the tomb of Epiphanius indicates that the authorities desired a quick rebuilding—a space clear of debris. However, the “piece-meal” construction, as mentioned by Dikigoropoulos, indicates that there were interruptions.⁸³ The archaeological data was open to interpretation, leading the excavator to attribute renovations over a thirty year period. Perhaps during this time, the archbishop celebrated the liturgy at the nearby Campanopetra church or Agios Varnavas—which escaped serious damage. Nevertheless the construction of the wall around the church clearly illustrates that Agios Epifanios was not abandoned.

It is unclear how the Arabs responded to the Cypriots rebuilding their cathedral and constructing new defenses at Salamis-Constantia. Certainly if the Byzantine Empire sponsored the rebuilding, there would have been reprisals. Since it was a local project, however, the Arab authorities in Paphos did not feel threatened, and allowed the construction to continue. Despite over forty years of work, it seems that the city walls and the square-pier basilica were never finished, since the walls lack crenellations and parapets and Agios Epifanios' square-piers were left unplastered, as if the archbishop had suddenly forsaken the project.

III.2. Archbishop and Cathedral

While the Cypriots were rebuilding their infrastructure, currents event outside threatened the whole Mediterranean world. In the West, the Heraclian dynasty persecuted the Roman papacy and insisted on the adoption of Monotheletism. There were even plans to move the imperial capital to Syracuse.⁸⁴ To the East, two civil wars in Arab-controlled Syria (656-661, 680-685) weakened trade along the eastern Mediterranean coast. Simply put, the great sea was not a safe route for shipping, travel, and pilgrims. The instability of the Heraclian dynasty came to a head in 692, when the Emperor Justinian II (685-695, 705-711) delivered the next devastating blow to Salamis-Constantia.

III.2.1. Nova Justinianopolis *excursus*

After a crushing defeat by the Byzantine army, the Caliph Abd al-Malik (646-705) concluded a treaty with the Byzantine Emperor Justinian II in 686.⁸⁵ Under the terms of the treaty, the Emperor would remove the anti-Islamic Mardaites from Lebanon, and the Caliph would pay the Byzantine Emperor 1,000 gold pieces, a horse, and a slave every day. Furthermore, they agreed to share in equal parts the tax revenue from Cyprus, Armenia, and Iberia. As mentioned above, this treaty ratified the preexisting arrangement regarding Cyprus. However in 691 Justinian II undermined his own terms. According to Theophanes,

In this year Justinian foolishly broke the peace with Abd al-Malik; for he strove in his folly to move the population of the island of Cyprus and refused to accept the minted coin that had been sent by Abd al-Malik because it was of a new kind that had never been made before. As the Cypriots were crossing, a multitude of them drowned or died of illness, and the remainder returned to Cyprus.⁸⁶

The Cypriots immigrated 420 miles (677 km) to the Cyzicus peninsula in the Sea of Marmara facing Constantinople ([fig.III.17 map](#)). They resettled in the city of Artake, which Justinian II renamed “Nova Justinianopolis.”⁸⁷ John, the archbishop, arrived safely to his new see with a contingent of his flock from Salamis-Constantia. Most historians agree that the majority of Cypriots were left on Cyprus, including the twelve other bishops. It is unlikely that the whole population relocated as the Byzantine historians recorded; perhaps they perceived the emigration of the archbishop as symbolic of the entire population.⁸⁸

This strange episode of Salamis-Constantia’s history was further documented in the Quinisext Council of 692. This synod convened to ratify and formulate canons for the Fifth (553) and Sixth Ecumenical Councils (680-681). However, the 215 attendees were mostly from the Greek-speaking churches and the Latin Church was intentionally unrepresented. It is also known as the “Council in Trullo” because the proceedings took place in the large domed hall of the Imperial Palace at Constantinople.⁸⁹ In Canon 39 the unique predicament of Cyprus was discussed:

Since our brother and fellow-worker, John, president ($\pi\varrho\omega\delta\varrho\sigma$) of the island of Cyprus, together with his people in the province of the Hellespont, both on account of barbarian incursions, and that they may be freed from servitude of the heathen, and may be subject alone to the scepters of most Christian rule, have emigrated from the said island, by the providence of our philanthropic God, and the labor of our Christ-loving and pious Empress; we determine that the privileges which were conceded by the divine fathers who first at Ephesus assembled, are to be preserved without any innovations, that Nova Justinianopolis shall have the rights of Constantinople and whoever is constituted the pious and most religious bishop thereof shall take precedence of all the bishops of the province of the Hellespont, and be elected by his own bishops according to ancient custom. For the customs which obtain in each church our divine Fathers also took pains should be maintained, the existing bishop of the city of Cyzicus being subject to the metropolitan of the aforesaid Justinianopolis, for the imitation of all the rest of the bishops who are under the aforesaid beloved of God metropolitan John, by whom, as custom demands, even the bishop of the very city of Cyzicus shall be ordained.⁹⁰

In this passage, it is clear that the archbishop and a colony of Cypriots were now living in the Hellespont province. This special canon reaffirmed Cyprus’ autocephaly, and then made the archbishop of Cyzicus (who was a subordinate of Constantinople) and his twelve bishops subject to the archbishop of Cyprus/Nova Justinianopolis. It must be remembered that the Hellespont was a powerful province. The patriarch of Constantinople depended on the support of the Hellespont bishops to maintain his influence. Therefore, the elevation of Cyprus over the

Hellespont with the same “rights of Constantinople” probably did not sit well with either the patriarch or the Cyzicus archbishop.⁹¹

This curious turn of events has perplexed many scholars. What exactly did the canon mean when it said that “New Justinianoupolis shall have the rights of Constantinople”? Zeger Bernhard van Espen argued that:

To understand this canon it must be remembered that the Metropolis of Cyprus, which was formerly called Constantia, when restored by the Emperor Justinian was called by his name, New Justinianopolis.⁹²

Whereas Karl Joseph von Hefele argued that “Constantinople” here was a miscopy of:

Κωνσταντίνων πόλεως, as the Amerbachian MS. has it, and [should] translate: “The same rights which Constantia (the metropolis of Cyprus) possessed, New Justinianopolis shall henceforth have.”⁹³

Dikigoropoulos sided with Van Espen arguing that Salamis-Constantia was renamed Nova Justinianoupolis after it was renovated by the Emperor. However Benedict Englezakis has made known a tenth century Byzantine manuscript in the Vatican library that equated Nova Justinianoupolis with Artake/Cyzicus. This is also confirmed by Constantine Porphyrogenitus’ commentary.⁹⁴ Therefore, one cannot argue that Salamis-Constantia was ever renamed. Moreover, there is no evidence that Justinian II directly funded the restoration of Salamis-Constantia—to the contrary, he abandoned the city to Islam by removing its Christian citizens.

Today scholars tend to agree with Hefele because it seems to make the most sense. Benedict Englezakis wrote:

...the rights and authority of the archbishop of Cyprus whose see is now at New Justinianopolis, are preserved, this city now has the “right of the city of the Constantinians” (this is the reading of all ancient manuscripts and of Porphyrogenitus; the reading “the right of Constantinople” is a corruption of the subsequent “vulgate” tradition which appears in the canonists of the twelfth century).⁹⁵

This explanation seems reasonable, because it was unlikely that the Patriarch of Constantinople would allow the Cypriot archbishop to have the same “rights of Constantinople”—whatever that might mean. On the other hand, it was important that the “rights of Constantia” would be transferred over to Cyzicus since it was transformed into “Nova Justinianoupolis” and now ruled by the archbishop of Salamis-Constantia. Yet with the same reasoning, why would the

Patriarch secede Cyzicus from his domains and empower the Church of Cyprus which was effectively independent of his jurisdiction?⁹⁶

The entire Council in the imperial palace was anomalous and clandestine. With no Latin bishops present, what exactly was Justinian II planning? The difference between *Κωνσταντίνων πόλεως* (of the city of Constantina, as recorded by the texts) and *ηγι πόλης Κωνσταντίαων* (“of the city of the Constantians” as translated by Englezakis) is ambiguous. While it is pure speculation, we can entertain the possibility that Justinian II wanted to elevate Nova Justinianopolis as well as the whole Hellespont as an imperial zone, independent from Constantinopolitan jurisdiction. This would emphasize and affirm the Church of Cyprus’ ancient autocephalous tradition “for the sole purpose of making the church of [Justinian II’s] eponymous city autocephalous, either by law of transfer (*jus translationis*), or, in the case of a return of the archbishop of Cyprus to his historical seat, by legal precedent and customary law.”⁹⁷

Englezakis has argued that Justinian II’s primary motivation for the establishment of Nova Justinianopolis was the construction of a new naval port to protect the Propontis and the capital. Indeed, the Arabs used Cyzicus as a launching point when they besieged Constantinople between 674 and 678. Justinian II supposedly chose the Cypriots because they were traditionally members of the “Green” party, loyal to the Heraclian dynasty. Though this latter point is unconvincing,⁹⁸ the rest of Englezakis’ thesis should be examined:

The descendants of Heraclius were all extremely ambitious, as is shown by their names: New Constantine, New Heraclius, New Justinian. For our Justinian was not called “the Second” during his reign (this designation of names is a later, Western custom), and certainly not “the Slit-Nose” (Rhinotmetos). His official name was “the New Justinian,” which signified on the one hand a call to new responsibilities, but on the other, intensified temptations to megalomania. Imitation of his great predecessor is consistently shown in imperial portraiture, in legislation...in the renaming of his second wife “Theodora,” in short in almost everything, even in the christening of cities with his name. In the Eastern Empire alone Justinian the Great had renamed about ten cities “Justinianopolis”.⁹⁹

This thesis can be pushed further. Constantine established a “New Rome” and named it after himself, trying to curb the power of the Roman senate, the traditional cults, and the aristocracy. He elevated the new Christian cult in Constantinople as a political force, but it could not command the same power of Rome or Antioch without an apostolic foundation. Likewise, it is possible that Justinian II’s aim was the establishment of an imperial city, free of the patriarch and aristocracy of Constantinople—perhaps a “New Constantinople” or rather a “New

Justinianopolis” bearing his name. We must remember that his grandfather Emperor Constans II also tried to set up Syracuse as a new capital, weary of the citizens of Constantinople. Yet without a powerful patriarchy or an autocephalous clergy, Syracuse could not convey the same cultural supremacy as Rome or Constantinople. Justinian II learned from Constantine’s and his grandfather’s mistake, and recognized that the special exarchy of Cyprus could be manipulated for his purposes. By creating a new imperial capital at Nova Justinianopolis, with its autocephalous church, he could strip away power from the Constantinopolitan patriarchy and aristocracy. The elevated, but ambiguous title “president” ($\pi\varrho\circ\delta\varrho\circ\varsigma$, proedros), applied by the Council of Trullo to Cypriot archbishop, might be indicative of his new powers.¹⁰⁰ Though it can only be speculation, Justinian II could have been planning to create another imperial “patriarchate” without dubbing it as such. The historical context made such a venture possible.

Originally there were only three patriarchates: Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch. They were given special privileges due to their apostolic foundations. However, the church of Jerusalem had an older, even stronger claim; and Constantinople as the “New Rome” vied for a similar title. Their wishes came true at the Fourth Ecumenical Council at Chalcedon (451) which elevated both Jerusalem and Constantinople as the fourth and fifth patriarchates. However, the promotion of Constantinople in Canon 28 was not accepted by the patriarchs of Alexandria and Rome.¹⁰¹ In order to carve out new domains for Jerusalem and Constantinople, both Alexandria and Antioch lost areas of their jurisdiction. As mentioned above (§ III.1.2.), in 431 Antioch already lost some of its influence, when Cyprus was granted autocephaly at the Third Ecumenical Council (Ephesus). As the historian Hans Georg Beck described it, Cyprus had one of “the great autocephalous archbishops who did not belong *de jure* to the circle of patriarchs but nevertheless constituted a kind of patriarch in themselves without the patriarchal title.”¹⁰² Otherwise stated, the Church of Cyprus was a special *exarchy*—as self-governing as any of the patriarchates—in a position higher than Jerusalem and Constantinople at that point in history. Though the archbishop of Cyprus never claimed patriarchal status, in all practical purposes, he held the same privileges. Then in 471, when the tomb of Barnabas was discovered, Cyprus established its apostolic foundation—a claim that Constantinople could not make. And in the seventh century the power and prestige of the eastern patriarchates suddenly diminished with the Arabic conquests (Jerusalem and Antioch fell in 638 and Alexandria in 646). By the time of Justinian II there were only two effective patriarchates—Rome and Constantinople vying for complete ascendancy.¹⁰³

We will never know the precise role Nova Justinianoupolis would play in Justinian II's administration. In 695 he was deposed, mutilated, and sent into exile. Thirteen years later the archbishop of Salamis-Constantia was forcibly repatriated to Cyprus.¹⁰⁴ The "foolish" experiment was too awkward to maintain, and the Cypriots, mere pawns of a "mad" emperor's ambition, lost their usefulness.¹⁰⁵ Soon after the Cypriots left, Germanus, both a relative and enemy of Justinian II, was named the archbishop of Cyzicus; sixteen years later he would become the new Patriarch of Constantinople. After Maximus the Confessor, Germanus would be the expositor of symbolism behind liturgical architecture.¹⁰⁶ History does not record the machinations behind his appointment and one wonders if the Nova Justinianoupolis debacle played a part. Yet the ultimate legacy of Justinian II's efforts was a total Arabic control of Cyprus, leaving the remaining Christian Cypriot population at the mercy of the Saracens. Unfortunately, neither Artake nor Cyzicus has been excavated, and so, the architecture of Justinian II's new city is unknown.¹⁰⁷ However, the Cypriots have always remembered this episode in their history—even today the Church of Cyprus' *proedros* (president) is entitled "The archbishop of Νέας Τονσινιανῆς καὶ πάσης Κύπρου (Nova Justiniana and all of Cyprus)."

III.2.2. The Multiple-domed Church

For over ten years the Cypriot archbishopric and the Byzantine Empire abandoned the island. Either anarchy or Arab warriors ruled local society. It is not known how churches and shrines fared. Megaw once asserted that "after they [the Cypriots] were returned to Cyprus by Justinian's successor, the new church [Agios Epifanios, Phase 2] probably survived in the same state, with the tomb ostensibly intact."¹⁰⁸ With no evidence to support this notion, we have to consider the alternative; that the cathedral of Agios Epifanios was either left vacant, vandalized by squatters, or used as a mosque.¹⁰⁹ The Arab chronicler Al-Muqaddasi (10th c.) recorded that around the year 707 "eighteen mule-loads of gold and silver" from Cyprus were used for the construction of the Mosque of Damascus.¹¹⁰ Certainly this treasure was accumulated when the Byzantine Empire deserted Cyprus and left its churches empty.

After the Empire confirmed its treaty with the Arabs, it soon became unconcerned with the island's infrastructure, leaving the archbishop to play a greater role. First of all, there were churches that needed repairs. It was at this point that Agios Epifanios was renovated with a series of domes (Phase 3) over the nave, while an esonarthex was added to further protect the tomb of Epiphanius (**figs. III.18-22**). These new renovations appear to have been preceded by

some destruction or decay of the Early Christian (Phase 1) church walls on the south aisle. Sections were removed and replaced with new masonry. However, the square-pier basilica (Phase 2) appears to have been structurally sound and was incorporated into the structure: the square-piers, bema walls, and apse were maintained. One change was the emphasis of a tripartite entrance for the exonarthex, and a doorway was placed in the south aisle for this purpose (the entrance over to Epiphanius' tomb was not used) (**fig.III.23**).

After the builders removed the previous wooden roof (if it was ever built), several components were introduced. First, piers and square shafts were placed in the bema and side-aisles (like the churches in Afentrika, II.3.1.1) to support barrel-vaulting. Next, four piers were placed in the bema wall to further accommodate the tripartite sanctuary without compromising the vaulting's stability. Then, six larger square piers were added to the nave, dividing the space into three domed bays. The domed church continued to utilize the Phase 2 square-piers in between the dome supports, though they were not necessary. The height of the new domes could have easily reached 50 feet (15 m) in height, but more likely did not exceed 40 feet (13 m). In excavation photographs, vaults were shown laying flat on the ground, indicating that the side aisles reached an external height of about 22 feet (7 m).¹¹¹ Furthermore, the new masonry construction was identical to the previous phase. The ashlar were of comparable size, and the gypsum mortar contained tile, ceramic, and rubble mixed with burnt material (**fig.III.24**).

From the exterior, the church would have been an impressive site. The three domes would have towered over the city walls. In front of the church, the ruins of the great Early Christian basilica would form a type of courtyard or atrium (**fig.III.25**). To the north and east, the rooms of the earlier baptistery and episcopal palace were still in use. From the interior, the continuous arcade allowed the church to look like an Early Christian basilica, leading the eye towards the bema (**fig.III.22**). In fact, nothing would indicate a change in liturgy from the previous church. Furthermore, the patchwork masonry was thickly coated with white plaster. Over this frescos were painted, with a new series of icons or frescos depicting the life of St. Epiphanius (*see* below § III.2.3).

III.2.3. The Date of the Multiple-domed Church

Like in the previous phase, there is no clear evidence for when this renovation took place. The two archaeologists who excavated the church, Dikigoropoulos and Megaw, dated this phase to the early tenth century.¹¹² Ironically, their chronology was based on a later tradition

rather than the surviving architecture; they drew from the Archimandrite Kyprianos' (1756-1821) account that the relics of Epiphanius were translated to Constantinople by Emperor Leo VI (r. 886-912). The archaeologists, in turn, explained that this Emperor provided funds for the church building in exchange for the relics. This theory is very similar to another account which recorded the translation of Lazarus' relics from Cyprus by the same Emperor (*see* below §V.3). However, multiple primary sources confirm the Lazarus tradition, whereas the Epiphanius tradition is dubious. In fact, the latter account cannot be traced earlier than Neophytos Rhodinos (ca 1579- ca 1659) — an unreliable source for tenth century events. Moreover, if Epiphanius' relics were indeed sent to Constantinople, such a famous saint would surely have been mentioned in Byzantine texts. It is also highly unlikely that the Cypriots would have given up the relics of their beloved archbishop. This is further supported by the fact that “until the sixteenth century the relics [of St. Epiphanius] reposed in the Orthodox Cathedral of Famagusta...the skull is [currently] in the Monastery Kykko, Troodos.” Apparently Neophytos Rhodinos and Kyprianos conflated the relics of Epiphanius with those of Lazarus. For that reason, the initial date provided by the archaeologists should be rejected.

Likewise, the Constantinopolitan connection is questionable on account of the architectural design. Remarkable tenth century churches survive in the Byzantine capital, such as the Théotokos Church of Constantine Lips (Fenari Isa Camii) or the Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii). These are characterized by a single dome in the center, galleries, and brick-construction. Such dominant traits are absent at the domed phase of Agios Epifanios. Furthermore, the three-domed design is not known in tenth century Constantinople or anywhere else in the Empire.

The only scholar who has not accepted the tenth century date is Papageorghiou. In 1966 he suggested an eighth century date for the multiple-domed phase of Agios Epifanios. Since he did not provide any evidence or reasoning to support his opinion, his statements have been overlooked by the rest of the scholarly community. And yet there are several reasons why Papageorghiou may have been correct. In order to address these arguments, the relationship between barrel-vaulted churches in the Karpas Peninsula and Agios Epifanios must be understood.

Agios Epifanios (Phase 3) shared several formal and technological characteristics with the barrel-vaulted churches (Karpas Peninsula), and the earlier square-pier basilica (Phase 2) it replaced. First, the type of masonry construction (modest-size ashlar blocks in-filled with rubble, tile, and ceramic shards in the lime mortar) is found only at Agios Epifanios (Phase 2 and 3) and

the churches of Afentrika. There are no dateable churches from before the sixth century or after the tenth century that have this type of construction anywhere on the island. Therefore these churches have a close relationship, not only geographically, but temporally and technologically. Second, the use of piers in the side-aisles only occurs at the churches of Afentrika, Agia Varvara (Koroveia, II. 3.3.), and Agios Epifanios (Phase 3). In the later barrel-vaulted churches, such as the Panagia Kanakariá and the Panagia Afentrika (Sykhada), the architects chose to use “hanging” springing corbels for the transverse arches in side-aisles—this indicates that Agios Epifanios (Phase 3) probably predated these churches. Moreover, the other multiple-domed basilicas entirely omit pilasters in their side-aisles. Third, only two churches in Cyprus have a “walled-bema”—Agios Epifanios (Phase 2 and 3) and the Panagia Kanakariá. The maintenance of the walled-bema and its passages in Agios Epifanios (Phase 3) indicates that the liturgy did not change between the phases. Surely the passages in the bema would have been blocked off for the sake of greater stability, if there was no ritualistic reason to preserve them. And fourth, the architects of Agios Epifanios (Phase 3) went out of their way to insert a third door in western wall. The three-doorway façade started to develop on Cyprus in the sixth century and lost its significance sometime after the eleventh century. All the barrel-vaulted churches have this three-doorway facade, while multiple-domed churches originally only had one door at the west end.

Another important fact must be considered: from the sixth century to the thirteenth, it was customary to cover church interiors with white plaster.¹¹³ There is no trace of plaster between the Agios Epifanios’ Phase 2 and Phase 3 piers. There are three possibilities to account for this: either authorities responsible for the Phase 2 never intended to plaster the interiors (which is highly unlikely), or Phase 2 was never completed, or Phase 3 was initiated immediately after Phase 2 was finished.

Without solid evidence regarding the date of Agios Epifanios, we must take into account the similarities between it (Phase 3) and the barrel-vaulted churches mentioned above, and between Phase 2 and Phase 3. These similarities lead me to date Agios Epifanios to sometime after the return of the archbishop in the year 708.¹¹⁴ As discussed above (§II.4), this date corresponds to the construction of the barrel-vaulted churches, in the north-eastern part of the island, all within the sphere of the Salamis-Constantia. With the revenues received from the still-born Nova Justinianopolis venture, and perhaps, additional incentives by Tiberios III to give

up his rights over Cyzicus, the archbishop of Cyprus was able to rebuild his desecrated cathedral and other structures nearby.

III.2.4. The Historical Context of the Multiple-domed Church

Historical and archaeological evidence attests that the multiple-domed cathedral of Agios Epifanios survived until the thirteenth century. While the Empire and the Caliphate saw high turnover rates in their leadership, several strong archbishops led Cyprus until the Byzantine reconquest (965). Though there was continual strife, such as the occasional Arab “punitive” raid or tensions with Iconoclasm, the Cypriots developed a sense of freedom. For the most part, the Cypriots lived side by side with the Arabs to the benefit of both communities. The English pilgrim Willibald visited the relics of St. Epiphanius at Salamis-Constantia in 723 and reported:

Those Cypriots dwell between the Greeks and the Saracens, and were disarmed, because a great *peace and friendship* was then in force between the Saracens and the Greeks.¹¹⁵

This “great peace and friendship” provided conditions that allowed the Cypriots and their president (*proedros*, the archbishop) to develop a sense of identity apart from the Byzantine Empire. The Cypriots differed from the Empire, politically, culturally (non-iconoclastic), and economically—and these significant differences allowed a sense of independence.¹¹⁶ This new perspective motivated the Church to not only experiment in various types of vaulting, but allowed it to adopt the multiple-domed basilica as their own. Admittedly, the island-nation was weak: weaponless, defenseless, and twice-taxed each year. They did have, however, fertile valleys and mountains, deep ports, thick forests, prime real-estate (a “crossroads” where Europe meets Asia) and many relics, shrines, and icons. During this time period, refugees and pilgrims traveled to Cyprus; some sought to avoid the dangers of the Holy Land, while others immigrated to escape iconoclasm.¹¹⁷ Therefore insularity shielded Cyprus from external strife, while attracting many visitors.

While Cyprus paid taxes to both the Caliphate and the Empire, it was practically devoid of a secular administration. This was an age where the civil government was synonymous with a military system. With the island rendered harmless there was no place for either powerful Arab or Byzantine administration, lest the treaty be broken. In other words, the Byzantines could not enforce laws with the Arabs present, and vice versa. Some scholars even label Cyprus a “no man’s land.”¹¹⁸ Yet archaeological and historical evidence imply a thriving church, refuting such

notions. Throughout Europe and Africa, when the civil administration of the Roman Empire collapsed, the local bishops became administrators by default. Similar circumstances arose in Cyprus.¹¹⁹ This unique political condition left Cyprus nominally part of the Byzantine Empire but practically independent.

When the Emperor Leo III (ca.730) enacted iconoclast policies, Cyprus defied the imperial mandates. A central dogma in the debate centered on the teachings of St. Epiphanius. Iconoclasts argued from a dubious text that the venerable saint stated his rejection of icons. If this text was true, then the iconodules would have to submit since “Epiphanius is...prominent and renowned among the saints.”¹²⁰ In response, the iconodule John of Damascus (676 – 749) apparently visited the multiple-domed basilica of Salamis-Constantia in the eighth century, recording that “The proof that he [St. Epiphanius] did not object to images, is to be found in his own church, which is adorned with images to this day.”¹²¹ Since the Church of Cyprus commissioned and maintained those images, they were the target of iconoclasts. Perhaps that is why their clergy avoided the Iconoclast Council (754) in Constantinople. Consequently, that same Council singled out and condemned the current archbishop of Salamis-Constantia named George, along with John of Damascus, and Germanus (the former bishop of Cyzicus and Patriarch of Constantinople) for their iconodule teachings.¹²² Nevertheless the Cypriot Church maintained their resolve against the Empire’s iconoclasm. This is why St. Stephen the Younger (714-764) recommended that iconodules flee to Cyprus as others had done.¹²³ The Empire, not able to enforce its laws upon Cyprus, considered it an “outlaw” province. Deeming it a penal colony, the Empire exiled intransigent iconodule monks and nuns there.¹²⁴ In time such activities would seem suspicious to the Arabs, who raided the island in 773 and captured a Byzantine high official (*πρόσωπον*), Lacherpaphos, accusing him of espionage.¹²⁵

Cyprus’s steadfast orthodoxy would eventually win out. In 780 a popular and gifted monk named Paul, originally from Salamis-Constantia, was appointed Patriarch of Constantinople. He opposed iconoclasm but was forced to keep up pretenses.¹²⁶ After four years of mitigating iconoclasm he resigned, confessing that he had not furthered orthodoxy. Paul IV prepared the way for a complete return to orthodoxy under his successor, the Patriarch Tarasius, who presided over the Seventh Ecumenical Council (Nicaea II, 787). At this council, the leading orthodox *exarchy*—the Cypriot Church—found itself in a position of high esteem.¹²⁷ Five Cypriot bishops attended, including the archbishop, Constantine. During the council, the deacon

and chamberlain of the Empress Irene, followed John of Damascus' arguments in favor of icons:

As a matter of fact his disciples built on the island of Cyprus a church named after the said Father, with many iconographic representations inside, including one of St. Epiphanius himself. If he [Epiphanius] had despised the sight of icons, why did his disciples even paint an icon of him?¹²⁸

To confirm this argument, Archbishop Constantine testified to the Council that indeed paintings were on display in Salamis-Constantia.¹²⁹

Sometime either in the eighth or ninth century, the cathedral of Agios Epifanios was slightly modified (Phase 4). Apparently its original domes were too heavily for its piers. Additional pilasters (the green piers in **III.fig.24**) were constructed to carry another set of transverse arches. This renovation must have taken place soon after the building of Phase 3, because the piers were constructed in the same peculiar manner: limestone ashlar, held together by gypsum mortar containing tile, ceramic, and rubble mixed with burnt material.

Agios Epifanios continued to function as the archbishop's cathedral well into the eleventh century, according to a Georgian source.¹³⁰ Sometime in the following century, the church sustained damage during an earthquake (**fig.17**). The heavy ashlar blocks in the domes were replaced by a patchwork of lighter bricks. Certainly, not all the domes were replaced since only a few bricks were uncovered in the excavations.¹³¹ The collapse of the domes could have been the result of seismic activity. Other changes were more cosmetic. The eastern ends of the side-aisles were given semi-circular apses; and as a result, in the southern aisle, the doorway leading to the Early Christian baptismal chapel was blocked off. (Apparently the baptistery and ancillary rooms were not used at this point). Also the original entrance in the north aisle was walled up, effectively restoring the original (Phase 1) side-aisle apse. This turned the area into a chapel for St. Epiphanius' relics. The kind of masonry used was similar to the twelfth century churches nearby, like the Panagia Theotokos Church (Trikomo). In terms of dating this renovation, St. Neophytos the Recluse (1134-1214) recorded tremors laying waste to fifteen churches in Paphos sometime after 1159.¹³² Perhaps the Campanopetra, which had been converted into a potter's workshop, finally collapsed at this time.¹³³ It is highly possible that Agios Epifanios felt the aftershocks of this major quake. With these refurbishments, Agios Epifanios stood long after the Byzantine Empire lost control of the island in 1188.

In 1191 the King of Jerusalem, Guy de Lusignan, fled Palestine and subsequently purchased Cyprus from Richard the Lion-heart (who had recently conquered it). The French-speaking monarch favored the deep sea port of Ammochostos (5 miles, 8 km, south of Salamis-Constantia), which became known as Famagusta. The Cypriot archbishop relocated there at some point in the thirteenth century, building the new cathedral of Agios Georgios (**figs. III.26-30**). It can be characterized as a blend between the former three-domed cathedral of Agios Epifanios and influenced by current Gothic style (with lancet windows, pointed-arches, groin vaults, and fine ashlar masonry) introduced by the Latin court. Epiphanius' relics apparently remained in Salamis-Constantia, since the pilgrim Ludolf Von Suchen visited Agios Epifanios before 1341 and reported that miracles were taking place there.¹³⁴ A Georgian-Latin inscription discovered in the nave further provides evidence for continued occupation.¹³⁵

The Lusignans established a Latin-speaking church on the island which openly persecuted the Greek-speaking Church of Cyprus.¹³⁶ Tensions culminated in 1260 with the Orthodox archbishopric being completely abolished, forcing all the Greek-speaking priests to be subject to the Latin archbishop at Nicosia. Naturally this affected the official policy of how Epiphanius' relics would be venerated. Sometime afterwards, the relics of Epiphanius were translated to Famagusta. Perhaps they were kept in a cave, where several medieval travelers mention the cult of Epiphanius was venerated.¹³⁷ Eventually his relics would be moved again and deposited at Agios Georgios in Famagusta, as attested by the pilgrim Christoph Furer von Haimendorff (1541-1610) who paid homage there in 1564.¹³⁸ This translation probably took place in the fourteenth century when the larger Gothic cathedral was built adjoining the earlier thirteenth century structure. This new cathedral remarkably fused early Byzantine and Gothic types: a stone iconostasis, an anachronistic synthronon, a bema, a large dome in the central bay, combined with rosette windows, stained glass, ribbed vaulting, and tracery (**figs. III.26, 29, 30**). Though the relics of St. Epiphanius rested at the new church, it retained its earlier name of Agios Georgios. History recorded little concerning the subsequent fate of the cathedral of Agios Epifanios. Without the relics of its titular saint, the once grand cathedral at Salamis-Constantia was abandoned and eventually buried by sand dunes and forgotten.¹³⁹

Conclusion

By explaining Agios Epifanios in its historical context, this chapter has emphasized three over-arching ideas. First, the cathedral of Agios Epifanios was a significant monument on the

island where important events took place. Second, both the autocephalous Church and the Treaty of Neutralization caused the island to develop apart from Constantinopolitan influence, with a different sense of identity. And third, the multiple-domed basilica became a manifestation of that new identity. It must be remembered that the humble nature of Agios Epifanios did not diminish its importance. While quantity might matter to architectural formalists today, quality was more important to its Christian architects back then. There were certain qualities at Agios Epifanios which went beyond ashlar and mortar—its cosmic liturgy (*λαός ἐργον*), biblical history, thaumaturgy, and authority. These qualities were bestowed to the cathedral by the Pantocrator, *the King over the Arab caliph and Roman emperor*, and through his twin protectors: Barnabas and Epiphanius. Not far from the Agios Epifanios is a cistern, and inside is a seventh-century inscription that reads:

The Voice of the LORD...
Barnabas the Apostle is our foundation
Epiphanius the Great is our governor.¹⁴⁰

The three domes of Agios Epifanios were designed to shelter, demarcate, and elevate such theurgical concepts. Chapter Six will discuss the specific reasons for the adoption of this three domes design. But before then, we must look at the next two multiple dome basilicas, Agia Paraskevi at Geroskipou and Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion at Peristerona.

Chapter IV: The Five-Domed Basilica

After the reconstruction of the cathedral of Agios Epifanios as a three domed basilica, other churches followed suit, such as Agia Paraskevi (Geroskipou) and Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion (Peristerona). Two additional domes in their side aisles distinguish them from the cathedral. The early aniconic fresco within Agia Paraskevi provides the best clues to its dating, while recent excavations have shown that Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion was built prior to the eleventh century and perhaps as early as the ninth. This chapter examines these monuments within their geographical and historical context, maintaining the underlying thesis that their design derived from Agios Epifanios.

IV.1. Agia Paraskevi, Geroskipou

The historical town of Geroskipou lies two miles (3 km) east of Neo-Paphos and less than two miles northeast from the southern coast. It was mentioned by Strabo who named the village *Τεροκηπία* lying close to Paphos. The toponym is derived from the words *τερός* and *χήπου* or “holy garden.” Groves and gardens were associated with the cult of Aphrodite whose major temple stands just seven miles to the east near Kouklia (Palaio-Paphos). Today a grotto near the town contains a grove of olive trees and a spring called “The Baths of Aphrodite.” During the Christian era, Geroskipou was later conflated with the “garden of Cyprus” mentioned in Jerome’s *Vita Hilarioni* and with a medieval legend concerning the biblical garden of Engaddi. The Old Testament’s *Canticum canticorum* (I.13) waxed poetically, “My beloved is to me a cluster of Cypriot grapes in the vineyards of Enggadi.” And so, by the thirteenth century Ludolf Von Suchen spoke about the Engaddi gardens “near Paphos [that was] the place where S. Hylarious lived.”¹ But travel writers did not forget classical associations, as exemplified by Ali Bey’s (Domingo Badia-y-Leyblich) 1807 remark:

...we reached Yeroschipos....the name which the place has born from the most remote ages. It is pointed out as the site of the sacred garden of Venus, when the goddess dwelt at Paphos. On the wide rocky platform which overhangs the sacred garden there is a small village towards the northwest called also Yeroscipos...”²

Nonetheless surviving historical sources are silent about the town during the Late Antique and Byzantine periods, leaving archaeology to provide clues about its development.

The archaeological record has shown that from the Bronze Age to the Late Antique period Geroskipou was a thriving settlement.³ Concerning the Late Antique period, since 2002 the site of Agioi Pente, located within Geroskipou, has been excavated. A large necropolis was discovered there, partially covered over by rich “rainbow style” mosaics near a three-aisled basilica. Coins and pottery indicate occupation from the late fourth to the mid-seventh century. Unfortunately, bulldozers destroyed most of the basilica before excavations commenced. Even so, many artifacts have been recovered, such as imported marble furnishings and wall decoration (including frescos, champlevé reliefs, reliquaries, and mosaics). The excavations are ongoing—but the preliminary findings illustrate Geroskipou’s importance as a Christian cult center up until the Arab raids.⁴ Less than one mile (1.6 km) separates Agioi Pente and the Early Medieval church of Agia Paraskevi, but the nature of their relationship is unknown (**figure IV.1**).

IV.1.1. The Church of Agia Paraskevi

The small church of Agia Paraskevi stands within the central plaza of Geroskipou (**fig. I.2**). Based on the spatial patterns and the orientation of the streets, the modern town apparently was built around this particular structure. Athanassios Sakellarios first mentioned the church in 1868, followed by David Hogarth (1889) and Camille Enlart (1899).⁵ These and subsequent writers mentioned the widespread scatter of ancient remains around the basilica and within its foundations, leading them to hypothesize that it was built on an earlier classical temple (**fig. IV.2**). However, as discussed in Chapter Two, most churches built after 650 were constructed over preexisting Early Christian basilicas, and so, there is a high probability that Agia Paraskevi covers an earlier church.⁶

The church contains nine bays and three aisles. Rectangular engaged piers divide the aisles, carrying imposts that support transverse arches, which in turn, support the domes. While the side aisles do not terminate in semi-circular apses, the vaulted east ends functioned as a tripartite sanctuary as at Agios Epifanios (just as they are used today). The original windows of the church were narrow and small, maintaining an arched lintel. There is no indication of an earlier narthex. It appears that the windows in the transepts were originally doors. An archway, now blocked to the east of the transept on the southern wall, indicates that the church was initially much taller (about 35 ft) than it appears today (29 ft/9 m, to the top of the central

dome) (**fig.IV.3**). The date and purpose of this archway is uncertain. Originally, the distance from the internal west wall to the east wall was approximately 40 feet (12.20 m) in length and 35 feet (10.75 m) in width (not including the apse and modern narthex). Therefore, Agia Paraskevi was forty percent smaller than Agios Epifanios.

In terms of size, Agia Paraskevi resembles the barrel-vaulted churches of the Karpas peninsula, such Panagia Afentrika (Sykhada) and Agia Varvara (Koroveia) (**figs.II.61, 66**). There are other similarities with these churches: three-arch arcades that divide the aisles, the use of square piers and corbels, and the square-schematicism of the nine-bay plan. Also, all three of these churches were built with irregular courses of stones of various sizes (rubblework), unlike the much finer construction of the Panagia Chrysotissa and Asomatos churches (Afentrika) and Agios Epifanios. Corbels and impost blocks consist of marble spolia, and other reused material is evident in areas where the plaster has been removed (as on the exterior apse).

Dome vaulting distinguishes Agia Paraskevi from the smaller barrel-vaulted churches. The three large elliptical nave domes are roughly the same size [10 feet (3 m) in diameter, with the central dome is slightly larger than the other two by half a meter].⁷ Two side and two transverse arches support each dome. These arches form a square base which gradually tapers inward, leading to “irregular pendentives” at the corners. Such irregular supports are not uniform in slope and look “squarish” rather than spherical, at least until the pendentives reach the string course above (**fig.IV.4**). Unfortunately a thick layer of plaster conceals the true nature of the pendentives, but their irregularity is similar to the dome at the small chapel of Agios Georgios at Afentrika (§II.3.7; **figs.II.88-89**). An oblong stringcourse caps each pendentive, supporting a platform. Internally, the dome arose from this platform, pierced by four small loopholes. Externally, each dome is supported by a drum and an additional course of masonry at the foot of each drum. All three domes surmount a rectangular base that stretches over the entire nave. This base slightly slopes at the sides allowing rain to runoff.

Barrel-vaults cover the side-aisles. In the original design, a barrel-vaulted transept arm, demarcating a passage from the doorways in the northern and southern aisles towards the central dome, bisected the side-aisle vaults (**fig.IV.5**). Evidence for this vaulted transept is found in the exterior north wall where a tympanum and part of the original masonry is preserved; and in the side domes’ interior, where outlines of the barrel-vault bulge under the plaster (**fig.IV.7**). However, the two cupolas (7.4 ft / 2.25 m. in diameter)—which are more circular than the nave domes—replaced the transept vaults sometime after (or perhaps during) construction. Footings

of the original rectangular vault were modified to carry these additional domes, resulting in an awkward interior space. Consequently, the rectangular ground plan resembles an Early Christian basilica. Its nine-bay, five-dome vaulting is cruciform, and can be characterized as a “cross-in-rectangle.” But here we must be careful. The two aisle domes were obvious afterthoughts and not part of the original design—they are much smaller in diameter and shorter (by 8 ft/2.5 m) than the nave domes. Therefore, the five domes resemble a cross in ground plan, but not in actual appearance.

Such a vaulted superstructure has no parallel in the Byzantine Empire. Agia Paraskevi had an experimental, hybrid design—a combination of the three-domed basilica of Agios Epifanios and the barrel-vaulted churches of the Karpas. Architects of both Agios Epifanios and Agia Paraskevi were challenged to design a ground plan that could support the nave domes while vaulting the side aisles. At Agios Epifanios, architects chose to reuse square piers from the earlier church to support side aisle vaulting and introduce new pilasters to strengthen the side walls. They then added larger square piers to support the nave domes; the vaulted side aisles buttressed these dome supports. At Agia Paraskevi, they followed the barrel-vaulting support system similarly employed at Agia Varvara (Koroveia) and the Panagia Afentrika (Sykhada), and continued the experiments in dome constructions, as at Agios Georgios (§II.3.7). We can imagine the architects considering the innovations at Agios Epiphanius: how its four central piers and four engaged pilasters carried three domes, and how three-bay barrel-vaulted churches could be modified to achieve the same ends. At Agia Paraskevi, each arcade, therefore, was essentially a wall pierced by three arched portals, forming four free standing piers. As in the barrel-vaulted churches, each arcade supported both the nave’s transverse arches and the barrel-vaulting in the side aisles.

Since construction and design techniques at Agia Paraskevi can also be traced to both the barrel-vaulted churches and Agios Epifanios, it should not be considered innovative. And yet, the church’s transept arms (which were later domed) added a new characteristic to Cypriot architecture—this feature would be reproduced in every multiple-domed church thereafter. Agia Paraskevi also incorporated a novel domed tetraconch chamber, beyond the east end of the south aisle.

IV.1.2. Tetraconch of Agia Paraskevi

The tetraconch building contains a dark, cramped space, occupying less than 38 square feet (**fig.IV.8**). Originally the entrance would have been from the southern apse or by the door in the eastern wall (now blocked up).⁸ Four windows pierced its small dome (6 ft/1.85 m. in dia.), according to the four cardinal points. In 1918 Jeffery wrote:

The little chapel at the south-east corner of the church is an interesting feature. It may possibly have served as a chantry chapel as there is an ancient ruined tomb built into it on the outside. Such a feature in an Orthodox church is evidently an imitation of the contemporary Latin usage. This chapel, to which the modern villagers assign neither meaning nor name, is abandoned to neglect as a dust-hole and cut off from the rest of the church.⁹

While Jeffery's description is interesting, this ancillary chapel could not have been a "chantry" since it was quite small (an area less than 20 ft square), and its date (discussed below) precludes "Latin usage." Traces of "an ancient ruined tomb" still lie within the blocked archway in the south wall (**fig.IV.3**). I would agree with Jeffery that this tomb was not an original feature, but "built into it" at a later date. Certainly the tetraconch chapel was not built to service this awkward tomb, since the tomb lies *outside* the chapel. Furthermore, the arch over the tomb provided access from outside the church, indicating a local cultic purpose for laity or pilgrims. This contrasts with the restricted entry of the tetraconch chamber, which is only accessible from the entrance near the bema.

Subsequent scholars identified three other purposes of the tetraconch chamber.¹⁰ The first group suggested it was a baptistery.¹¹ In Cyprus small cruciform baptisteries adjoin Early Christian basilicas, as at Agios Epifanios, Kourion Cathedral, and Agios Philon (Karpasia); and outside Cyprus, tetraconch baptisteries are known at Caričin Grad (Serbia) and Agios Leonidas (Corinth-Lechaion).¹² Yet this suggestion is problematic since Agia Paraskevi's tetraconch does not have a font, and no markings in the original floor indicate where a font would have been secured. Therefore other scholars have argued that it was a martyrium.¹³ Martyria and ancillary chapels are quite common in Cypriot Early Christian churches, such as at Ayios Heracleidos (Tamassos/Politiko), Agias Trias (Yialousa), Basilica A (Amathous), and the Panagia Chrysotissa (Afentrika). Typically these are adjacent to the southern aisle apse.¹⁴ However, Agia Paraskevi's tetraconch contains neither a reliquary niche, nor any burial.¹⁵ Therefore, a third possibility is more tenable—that the tetraconch functioned as a storehouse for valuables and moveable

relics.¹⁶ The small windows and thick walls (3 ft thick at its narrowest point) would have prevented looting. Perhaps this chamber stored an *enkolpion* or reliquary evacuated from the Agioi Pente site when it was destroyed in the mid-seventh century. Nevertheless it is questionable if the church possessed a relic of St. Paraskevi herself.

IV.1.3. The Titular Saint

The Greek Orthodox Church, especially in Romania and Russia, venerates four female saints who share the name Paraskevi. According to hagiographical sources, the most celebrated Paraskevi is a saint-martyr from the second century Rome; and whose name corresponded to her birthday on “Paraskevi” (Friday).¹⁷ Therefore, the person of St. Paraskevi may have been conflated with the feast of Good Friday, known as “Agia Paraskevi” or “Great Friday” (*Mεγάλη Παρασκευή*) in Greek. In Cyprus over thirty churches and places names are called “Agia Paraskevi.”¹⁸ According to Doula Mouriki, representations of Paraskevi in Cypriot icons and frescos are “local developments,” and have few similarities with images of the saint in other countries. She explained that:

...in the pictorial portraits of St. Paraskeve in Cyprus she becomes in a way the personification of Good Friday, since she is represented holding in front of her the icon of the Christ of Piety, the theme *par excellence* of the *akolouthiai* of this particular day of the Holy Week.¹⁹

Athanassios Sakellarios emphasized the conflation of “St. Paraskevi” with “Good Friday” in his account. During his 1868 visit to the church, he recorded that the structure was dedicated to the True Cross. This was also restated by Hieronymos Peristianes in 1910.²⁰ However, eight years later, Jeffery called the church “Hagia Paraskevi,” and it has been known by this name ever since.²¹ It seems that members of the community associated the church with relics of the True Cross, like as other churches of the island (i.e. the Campanopetra and Stavrovouni monastery). And yet, if “Agia Paraskevi” does refer to “Good Friday,” one wonders at the authenticity of St. Paraskevi’s relics located within Cypriot monasteries, such as the Monastery of St. Barbara near Stavrovouni, Kykko Monastery, and Makhaeras Monastery.²²

Several scholars suggested dates for Agia Paraskevi’s construction. Jeffery placed the church in the “early Middle Ages” while Megaw and Papageorgiou suggested a tenth century date.²³ Other dates were published by travel writers, like Robert Francis who dated the church to the twelfth century.²⁴ This lack of consensus has left the church without an historical context.

IV.1.4. The Fresco Decoration of Agia Paraskevi

From 1974 to 1977 the Department of Antiquities and the Church Committee cleaned and restored the Agia Paraskevi frescos. In the course of the final year “...parts of paintings of a decorative character were uncovered in the eastern dome after the removal of a thick layer of plaster.”²⁵ At the time the discovery did not receive much attention in the press. Eventually art historians grew to appreciate the significance of this find. While many scholars have published their opinions on the fresco’s dating, they have never provided evidence or thorough explanations.²⁶ Therefore this section analyzes the form and style of Agia Paraskevi’s fresco and provides evidence for its proposed eighth century date.

The easternmost nave dome contains the church’s earliest fresco (**fig.IV.10**).²⁷ Before the original layer of plaster dried, pigments were applied to the dome’s interior in *fresco buono* technique. Originally the colors would have been very bright: ultramarine blue, carmine red, and yellow ochre, as well as the white of the negative spaces. The juxtaposition of blue and yellow led Andreas and Judith Stylianou to incorrectly propose that certain parts were colored green.²⁸ Also the juxtaposition of yellow and red appears orange. Faded areas now appear in different hues: the carmine appears orange and the ultramarine looks light blue. There is no trace of an under-drawing, and so black was initially used for outlining the entire composition at the surface, contributing to a *cloisonné* effect. Sections of fresco at the dome’s apex have subsequently disappeared as well as most of the outer register. However since the design is symmetrical and each quadrant is congruous, a reasonable reconstruction is possible (**fig.IV.11**). The fresco contained four main components. A decorated cross occupies the center, with two finials at the end of each arm. Between the arms unfolds a multicolor canopy. Around this, a blue guilloche pattern surmounts a red background. Then a larger interlace pattern encircles the entire image.

The decorated cross is a common motif of Early Christian and Early Byzantine church mosaics. Examples are numerous, from the cross depicted on the book of the Christ Pantocrator icon in Sinai to the apse mosaic of Sant’Apollinare in Ravenna, Italy. The embedded jewels resembled earthly processional crosses.²⁹ In this sense, the decorated cross is both cosmetic (κοσμικής) and cosmic (κοσμική).³⁰ On the Agia Paraskevi fresco, eight globes adorn the cross, representing planetary spheres (or alternatively jewels).³¹ Such globes embellish Early Christian art as in the bema mosaic at San Vitale in Ravenna, where Christ is enthroned on a globe. In Cyprus, the apse mosaic in the Panagia Angeloktisti at Kiti (**fig.II.29**) depicts angels holding similar globes. Each *orbis mundi* has the shadow of the cross reflected on their surface in

gold; likewise, at Agia Paraskevi, a gold cross is reflected within each sphere. The globes and the main cross are outlined in blue; within this blue band are painted granules which are strikingly similar to designs found in the apse fresco at the Red Monastery (near Sohag, Egypt, eighth century) and the ceiling frescos at Gülü Dere (church 5, Capadocia, tenth century).³²

Paired with each globe are four-petal flowers classified as “almond-rosettes” (*Mandelrosettes*). Greek and Roman decorative arts commonly depict the four or five-petal almond blossom (called ἀθάσι in Cyprus and ἀμυγδάλη in other Greek speaking areas) native to Cyprus, Anatolia, and Palestine. At Salamis, stoas along the forum/agora from the second century had these forms carved in their corbels (fig.IV.12e). Examples of the motif proliferate also in Roman paintings in Anatolia (fig.IV.12g). However, the abstracted form of the almond rosettes in the Agia Paraskevi fresco resembles those in sixth century Cypriot floor mosaics (fig.IV.13) and the so-called “Macedonian” star motif, which has a long history in Eastern Mediterranean artworks.

This celestial cross is complemented by the canopy at its center. Each quadrant of the canopy contains eight folds (seven and two half folds) radiating out from the corners of the cross’ arms. Attempts at shading can be found on the right of each fold where the pigment darkens either from thicker layers of colored plaster or from adding a darker pigment to the paint. As a result, the canopy has the illusion of three-dimensionality. In the central area of each fold, the shading shifts one section over, creating a middle diaper-pattern, which serves to break the monotony and provides a sense of movement. Zigzagging diagonals form a radiating chevron pattern. It is obvious that such a design is adapted from Late Antique floor mosaics. For example, the sixth century basilica of Nahariya has a floor mosaic with the same chevron pattern and shading, and almond rosette in the center (fig.IV.14); while the neighboring monastery at Shelomi contains a similar mosaic diaper pattern.³³ As Karl Lehman persuasively argued, these types of floor mosaics often represented the sky, and so, were naturally transferable to masonry vaults (fig.IV.15, 16).³⁴

On the Agia Paraskevi fresco, a blue guilloche surrounds the canopy. This particular pattern is one of the most common interlaces we find in Late Antique mosaics, metal work, and sculpture; for example in Cyprus, the circular border of the “ktsis” floor mosaic in the *frigidarium* (House of Eustolios) at Kourion (fig.IV.16). But there are closer examples near Agia Paraskevi, found recently at Ayioi Pente.³⁵ However, the fresco’s guilloche is not merely a mosaic

copy. Particularly, it has two black line borders, as well as a series of black dashes painted inside. Such minor details are, in fact, hallmarks of eighth century fresco painting.

The outer zone of the fresco contains an interlace pattern of utmost importance. It consists of three bands of ribbons that interlace, in blue, red and white. Blue is always on the outermost band with red always on the inside, while the white band is sandwiched between the two. Black dashes decorate the white band, just like the guilloche pattern. The ribbons are arranged in such a way that they form a series of small circles (hubs) within larger circles. The smaller inner circles are the “knots” where ribbons from opposite sides cross each other. Each ribbon, by itself, makes a wave pattern alternating from the outside towards the inside while intersecting its complementary ribbon (from the other side) in the center. It thereby forms the smaller circle. From the small circle, it then returns to its original side. Simply put, each ribbon does not cross over to the exterior band on the opposite side. In the diamond shapes created by the intersection of two circles, the fresco is colored red, distinguishing it from the blue background. Unlike the other elements of the fresco that can be traced back to Late Antique floor mosaics and/or churches—this “wheel interlace” does not occur in earlier mosaics.

While bichromal ribbons in Late Antique mosaics occur, they usually consist of thinner bands, allowing for larger negative spaces in between. Furthermore, Late Antique interlace patterns, in the floor mosaics of the Chrysopolitissa Cathedral (*Agia Kyriaki*) in Paphos, never have knots within a larger geometrical shape formed by two ribbons.³⁶ As a result, the fresco interlace at Agia Paraskevi is tightly woven compared to more open Late Antique mosaic interlace. The only other example of a similar fresco pattern in Cyprus is found at Agia Varvara near Koroveia (**figs. II.64-65**).³⁷

As discussed above (§II. 3.3 and § II.3.7.) Agia Varvara is an eighth century barrel-vaulted church. The fresco patterns in the intrados and reveals of its northern aisle have striking similarities with Agia Paraskevi’s interlace pattern. Both frescos have ribbons forming small circles within larger circles; the bands have a wave pattern and do not cross to the opposite side; the diamond-shape where the circles overlap are decorated; and both predominately use ultramarine blue and carmine red as well as black dashes. These common characteristics indicate that both churches were built and decorated during the same period—if not painted by the same school of artisans.

Agia Paraskevi fresco was seemingly painted according to a mosaic design, since it includes the guilloche patterns and canopy common to Late Antique mosaics. From this, it can

be inferred that artists and/or congregation were looking back at a time when mosaics were quite common in Cyprus. However authorities responsible for Agia Paraskevi were not able to continue the tradition. Furthermore, the style of earlier figurative mosaics differ from Agia Paraskevi's fresco, since they closely resemble "geometrical style" floor mosaics, such as at the Soloi cathedral and the Chrysopolitissa Cathedral (Agia Kyriaki) in Paphos. Apparently, patrons of Agia Paraskevi could access and afford to pay fresco painters, but not mosaicists; or more likely, the pigments of fresco could be produced locally, whereas the imported mosaic trade was disrupted by the Arabs. Fresco painting was quite common in Cyprus since the Late Roman period: a Nilotic fresco and a bust of Christ grace the walls of a seventh century cistern-church in Salamis-Constantia.³⁸ Paintings also adorned Agios Spyridon (Tremithous) in the mid-seventh century.³⁹ Therefore, the Agia Paraskevi fresco was likely painted by Cypriot locals. With that being said, the fresco in Agia Paraskevi belongs to a wider phenomenon of aniconic church decoration.

Regarding style, the closest parallel to Agia Paraskevi's fresco cross is at the south apse of the White Monastery (near Sohag, Egypt, perhaps ninth century). It is embedded with globes that encase crosses and almond rosettes. The Sohag cross is a cosmic cross, carried by angels, and within a starry-framed mandorla. It is also a flowering cross budding with leaves at its finials. It is perhaps a development from the gem incrusted cross, within a starry mandorla, painted on the walls at the Resafa-Sergiopolis cathedral (Syria, seventh century).⁴⁰

IV.1.5. Aniconic Frescos and Dating

Pervasive throughout Byzantine art, ornamental and geometric patterns decorate margins, borders, floors, and frames.⁴¹ Aniconic fresco painting belongs to this category of art, often characterized by interlace, rosettes, checkers, zigzags, etc., and the use of bright colors. Examples are quite numerous when taken as a whole, and are found as far northeast as Cherson (southern Russia) and as far southwest as Crete. Cyprus is situated at the center of this aniconic painting phenomenon.

A growing number of scholars now concur that certain aniconic frescos were produced in the eighth and early ninth century.⁴² Nichole Thierry's life-long work in Cappadocia persuasively demonstrated that aniconic and figurative art was painted there prior to and during Iconoclasm.⁴³ Eighth century churches in this group include Agios Basilius (Sinasos), Ağaç Kilisi (Ihlara), and Al Oda (Isauria). Manolis Chatzidakis also dated several churches on the Aegean

island of Naxos to the eighth century, such as the Panagia Protothrone, Agios Ioannis, and Agios Artemios (fig.IV.18).⁴⁴ And therefore, we should seriously consider Papageorghiou's dating of Agia Paraskevi's and Agia Varvara's frescos to the eighth century, even if he does not provide evidence.⁴⁵

Wheel-interlace and almond rosettes are common motifs in eighth century aniconic frescos. For example in Anatolia, both motifs appear at Ağaç Kilisi (Ihlara) and Al Oda (Isauria).⁴⁶ The former closely parallels the Agia Paraskevi fresco, though it is inferior in execution and quality (painted on dry plaster), with sketchy lines, less delineation, and rather poor planning (the interlace is squeezed in some areas to fit within the frame) (fig.IV.19). The almond rosette is prominent at Agios Artemios (the island of Naxos) (fig.IV.12f, 18b) and on the Greek mainland in the remote region of Laconia at Agios Prokopios (Episkopi). The style Agios Ioannis (Naxos) wheel-interlace is very similar to Cyprus' and Ağaç Kilisi's—including the expressive white band with black dashes. Archaeologists have also discovered a fresco almond rosette at Agia Sophia in Thessaloniki; the church is generally dated to the late seventh century, while the rosette fresco could be later (fig.IV.12c).⁴⁷

Wheel-interlace and almond rosettes are also quite common in Umayyad art. For example, the mosaic at the Panagia at Madaba contains both patterns; it is firmly dated to 767 (fig.IV.20). Frescos at Qasr el-Heir el Gharbi (eighth century) (fig.IV.12a) and tiles of the mihrab at Qairawān (ninth century) have prominent almond rosettes as well.⁴⁸ Mosaics at the Umayyad palaces of Qastal and Qusayr ‘Amra (both near Amman, Jordan) also contain the wheel interlace pattern (fig.IV.21).⁴⁹ Considering these examples, it seems that aniconic frescos share a common origin with the Umayyad examples, or were directly influenced by them. Fresco painting from the eighth or ninth century does not survive in Constantinople. Iconoclast art decorations, as at Agia Irene, are vegetal rather than geometrical or abstract interlace.⁵⁰ Areas where aniconic fresco paintings exist, such as Cappadocia and Cyprus, are rather remote from imperial iconoclastic influence, and closer to the Islamic sphere. Therefore, we should question whether this type of art should be associated with iconoclasm.⁵¹ Instead, it seems that aniconic wall painting developed alongside iconoclasm but not as a response to imperial policies.

Oleg Grabar hypothesized that Christian art already developed aniconic characteristics prior to the Islamic conquest of Jerusalem.⁵² Though Cyprus was never iconoclastic, its church adopted the abstract geometric style simply because it was in fashion or because of the influence of Islam. Based on archaeological evidence we know that there were Arab settlers in Cyprus

after 650.⁵³ Perhaps authorities on Cyprus chose to decorate their churches with artworks that would not incur vandalism by Arab colonists. Figurative art would have been reserved for moveable icons that could be hidden away after they were used. Also in a ninth century account, St. Constantine the Jew visited Cyprus, and while he was praying a group of Arabs entered performing “their usual mockeries (ειωθότα αὐτοῖς συμπαίξαντες).”⁵⁴ This passage indicates that the Arab settlers on Cyprus used churches as mosques.⁵⁵ Therefore, to keep the peace, figurative wall images were not employed. This is probably why Agia Paraskevi’s and Agia Varvara’s frescos survived during the Period of Neutrality (650-965).

Besides the close similarity between the frescos of Agia Paraskevi and Agia Varvara, they have a strong architectural resemblance. Both have nine-bays, barrel-vaulted side aisles, and similar size and proportions. The scholarly consensus holds that Agia Varvara was built in the eighth century (see § II.3.7), and so, Agia Paraskevi probably belong to the same period. Other indicators of an eighth century date for Agia Paraskevi include the prayer graffiti found in the intrados of the center arch of the northern arcade (fig.IV.22). They were carved onto the original layer of plaster. According to Papageorghiou, the paleography of this crude writing is “characteristic Greek writing of the eighth or ninth century.”⁵⁶ Therefore, the sum of the evidence indicates that the church was built and decorated in the eighth century.⁵⁷

With that being said, our knowledge of decorative art in Constantinople is rather limited. The best parallels to aniconic painting are the architectural tiles discovered in several churches. These tiles usually have vegetal (e.g. acanthus) or architectural motifs (e.g. tongue and dart) and colored with greens, blues, reds, and yellow hues—much like later Byzantine sgraffito ware. The Walters Museum, Baltimore, has a number of tiles with almond rosettes. Unfortunately their original context, and therefore, their date and function cannot be established. Most scholars seem to date such tiles, however, from the ninth to eleventh centuries. Until we have a clearer understanding of when and how architectural tiles were used, such artifacts have little bearing on the Agia Paraskevi fresco and the arguments suggested here.⁵⁸

IV.1.6. Iconography

While the fresco at Agia Paraskevi is clearly aniconic (or nonfigural), it is nevertheless symbolic and meaningful. Since there is no surviving *ekphrasis* on the fresco decoration, we are left to determine how the image functioned in relation to its placement and overall program. The

iconography of the almond rosette pattern, the cross, and the central canopy provides the best material for analysis.

The fresco cross is located in the easternmost dome. This dome would have covered the altar, like a ciborium/baldacchino. After the seventh century, large marble ciboria along with the ambos do not appear in Cypriot churches—to the best of our knowledge.⁵⁹ The second phase of Agios Epifanios (square-pier, wooden roof) did not have an ambo (such a structure would have been identified in the surviving floor), nor did its altar provide a monumental ciborium. Instead the vaulted superstructure (in its third phase) served as a canopy rendering a ciborium redundant. At Agia Paraskevi, the entire easternmost dome covered the bema area.⁶⁰ In the early eighth century, the Patriarch Germanos described:

The bema is a concave place, a throne on which Christ, the king of all, presides with His apostles, as He says to them: “You shall sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel.” It points to the second coming, when He will come sitting on the throne of glory to judge the world... The decoration is the legal and holy ornament, representing a depiction of the crucified Christ by means of a decorated cross.⁶¹

Germanos was referring to the synthronon on the ground and a barrel-vaulted bema above. The bema vault mimics the rainbow upon which Christ is enthroned in Early Christian art, as at Hosios David (Thessaloniki) (**fig.IV.23**). Germanos stated that a decorated cross adorned the bema. A perfect example of this can be found on Agia Sophia’s barrel-vaulted bema in Thessaloniki, where a gold cross rests on a blue background, emitting eight rays flanked by eight stars, framed by two rainbows (making a circle) (**fig.IV.24**). This is clearly a cosmic or heavenly cross. By identifying the barrel-vault as a throne and the cross as a representation of Christ, Germanos implied that the depiction of the cross in a vault is another way of showing the Early Christian motif of the *hetoimasia* (the enthroned cross, otherwise known as the “preparation of the throne”).⁶² The cross was a representation of Christ’s Deity as the Word of God (**fig.IV.25**). The same symbolic function can be attributed to the decorated cross in Agia Paraskevi.⁶³ Within its cross, each of the eight globes reflect a gold cross, mirroring the entire cross depicted on the larger globe—the dome itself.

Almond rosettes convey an important message in this context. The almond tree was often associated with Aaron’s staff, which was linked to the Tree of Life, and ultimately, the Christian cross.⁶⁴ In the Pentateuch, Aaron’s wooden staff sprang to life, budding almond blossoms as a sign of his authority. Later on, God commanded Moses to fashion the menorah as

the Tree of Life—its candle holders were shaped into almond rosettes. According to a medieval Jewish commentary, Aaron's staff became the scepter used by the kings of Judea and ultimately “when the Messiah comes, it will be given to him for a scepter...”⁶⁵ Another Jewish source stated “That so wonderful a rod should bear external signs of its importance is easily to be understood...it was made of sapphire, weighing forty seahs [1 seah = 10.70 pounds].”⁶⁶ The bejeweled cross originated with the tradition of the bejeweled scepter.⁶⁷ As a result, the almond rosette signified authority in Jewish culture; this is exemplified by the “Cathedra of Moses” discovered in the Chorazin synagogue (4th-5th c.), which is decorated prominent blossom (**fig.IV.12b**). Christianity appropriated this Jewish tradition. The theologian Origen (185–254) stated that “This rod [of Moses], which subdued the Egyptians and overcame the Pharaoh, is the cross of Christ...”⁶⁸ And by the thirteenth century, the Armenian Nestorian bishop Shelêmôn described how the branch of the Tree of Life became Aaron's staff, and subsequently the arms of the cross.⁶⁹ In art, Jesus is often shown wielding a miracle-working branch like Moses or Aaron.⁷⁰ This scepter would be replicated in church regalia as the crosier—both a pastoral staff and a bishop's scepter of authority. This tradition also manifests itself in the depiction of the budding cross or a flowering tree, known from Early Christian sarcophagi. The Harbaville Triptych is a good example of a flowering cross, though it is two centuries later (**fig.IV.26**). On its outer panel the cross sprouts multi-petal almond rosettes, flanked by six-rayed stars resembling the four-petal almond rosettes that decorate supports on the interior. The blossoming cross of Agia Paraskevi is a prototype to the Harbaville image, representing the Tree of Life and what the Greek Orthodox Church today calls “The Life-giving Cross.”⁷¹

The four-petal flower in form is identical with the four-pointed star. Such flowery stars are common in the fifth through the seventh century, as found on the vaults of Galla Placidia mausoleum (Ravenna) and the Christ Pantokrator icon at St. Catherine's Monastery at Sinai.⁷² An early seventh century example can be found on the fresco-painted vaults of the Grotto of Gethsemane in Jerusalem (**fig.IV.27**), where eight-pointed stars have four longer arms, resembling the almond rosettes at Agia Paraskevi.⁷³ On a seventh century Sassanid glass bowl a divine ruler is enthroned, with the sun and the moon as his crown; he is surrounded by almond rosettes that function as stars (**fig.IV.12d**).⁷⁴ Four-pointed stars also appear on the border of the apse mosaic at the Panagia Angeloktisti, where the Theotokos prays within the celestial sphere (as represented by the gold background), flanked by angels cradling globes of the cosmos. Unlike

early Christian depictions of the jewel-embedded cross with a starry background, the cross at Agia Paraskevi is instead embedded with stars and planetary spheres.⁷⁵

The Agia Paraskvi fresco was further associated with the heavens, having a canopy between the cross arms. Biblical symbolism states that the sky was a canopy covering the earth.⁷⁶ Such a canopy was called in Latin *firmamentum* and in Greek *στερεόωμα*; these terms were also used to describe the architectural supports for a ceiling.⁷⁷ Biblical texts relate how this canopy is circular, like an upside-down bowl.⁷⁸ The celestial phenomenon of the rainbow (*ουρανός τόξο*) further illustrated the curve of the sky and is commonly represented in Christian ceiling mosaics, as Christ seated on the rainbow (fig. IV.23).⁷⁹ At the gymnasium baths at Salamis, the caldarium ceiling vaults has a rainbow-colored canopy mosaic, indicating that the motif was already well-established in Cyprus (fig. IV.17).⁸⁰ The fresco at Agia Paraskevi continued this Late Antique iconography incasing its significance in eighth century style.

IV.1.7. Later Renovations and Frescos at Agia Paraskevi

For the most part, the congregation of Agia Paraskevi maintained its original architecture until the nineteenth century. Its interior decoration, however, experienced four phases of repainting. The first phase, dating to the tenth century, consists of fragments in the central piers' soffits and reveals in the southern aisle; these depict nimbed figures, either saints or angels. The size of these figures corresponds to the under-drawing of a saint at the Panagia Afentrika (Sykhada), also within a soffit of the southern aisle arch (fig. II.74). On the exterior of the church, traces of red fresco paint delineate bricks. These are similar to exterior frescos also at the Panagia (Asinou) and Agios Nicholas tis Stegis, and point to the eleventh or twelfth century.⁸¹ A twelfth century Dormition represents the second phase of painting. It was discovered under the central dome, in the north aisle wall between the piers. The style is very similar to the Dormition at the Panagia tou Arakou (Lagoudera) dated to 1192. Certainly other remnants of twelfth century painting lie under the fifteenth century fourth phase decorations, which cover the majority of the wall space. These later layers are some of the highest quality frescos in Cyprus, painted when the island was under Venetian control. It is rather peculiar that a small rural church could afford such rich decoration—especially during a period of adversity for the Cypriot church.

During the nineteenth century, the church of Agia Paraskevi underwent a devastating expansion program. The original western wall was torn down, and the nave was extended with

two bays. At the same time, a bell tower was built at the junction between the tetraconch chamber and the southern aisle. The entrance in the southern aisle was renovated (which is the current entrance today). Square windows were inserted into the northern wall, and a large window was placed in the apse. The east door of the tetraconch was also blocked. Even with these interventions the original character of the church is readily apparent.

While Agia Paraskevi is the smallest of the multiple-domed basilicas on Cyprus, it is clearly central to our understanding of chronology. As a transitional type, it links the barrel-vaulted churches with the later multiple-domed counterparts of Agios Lazaros and Agios Varnavas. In fact, architects of the next church, Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion (Peristerona) were specifically looking at Agia Paraskevi, as well as Agios Epifanios, as models.

IV.2. Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion, Peristerona

The town of Peristerona (which means “pigeon village” in Greek) lies sixteen miles (25 km) west of Nicosia near the foothills of the Troodos Mountains on the Mesaoria Plain. History recorded that the town passed into the domains of Kykko monastery in the twelfth century—the earliest reference to its toponymn.⁸² It was later called “Presteron dou Plain” by thirteenth century Latin chroniclers. Apparently the Lusignan aristocracy seized the village from the monastery in 1191, and it became part of the Count of Jaffa’s holdings by the fifteenth century.⁸³ Other than being a center of the 1426 rebellion, little else is known about its earlier medieval history.⁸⁴ The village was probably named after the major river that runs near the town with the same name.

IV.2.1. Titular Saints

About six feet (2 m) from the Peristerona River stands the principal church of the village, Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion (**figs. I.3, IV.28, 38**). This church owns a unique manuscript Synaxaria (*Ἀκολουθία*) of its titular saints, who are celebrated on October 21 among the Greek Orthodox congregations. The document is of an uncertain age and its original source material is not known.⁸⁵ Nevertheless, it contains information unrecorded elsewhere concerning the history of saints Barnabas and Hilarion. These particular persons should not be confused with the more famous saints of the island, the apostle Barnabas (1st c.) or Epiphanius’ mentor Hilarion (291–371). These were, instead, Cappadocians of noble birth who became highly decorated soldiers under the Emperor Theodosius II (401–450). At some point they reconsidered their lives asking

“Would it not be better to serve God rather than the Emperor?”⁸⁶ And so they abandoned their arms and wealth, and became holy men, working among the poor, elderly, and sick. After they died, disciples placed their bodies in a reliquary chest that somehow floated to a place called Stamatiou on the north coast of Cyprus.⁸⁷ In a dream the two saints appeared to a Cypriot named Leontios, leading him to their reliquary. Leontios took the chest and brought it to Peristerona where he built a church to house it. Unfortunately, the Synaxaria does not indicate the date when this translation took place or the historical circumstances surrounding how the relics actually arrived on Cyprus’ shore; but the church has been known by these saints’ names since the fifteenth century.⁸⁸ Nonetheless, no other Greek Orthodox Church claims to have Barnabas and Hilarion’s relics or is named after these saints.

The relics’ location is not known. In the early twentieth century both George Jeffery and Camille Enlart mentioned a crypt at the east end of the church.⁸⁹ Whether this crypt was accessed from within the church or outside is currently not known. Enlart stated that the close proximity of the river and its sandy soil made the eastern area unstable, and thereby necessitated the infilling of the crypt sometime before 1918. Perhaps the structure lies under the asphalt road between the apse and the river. The crypt eluded archaeologists in the late 1950s and more recently between 2001 and 2006.

IV.2.2. Architecture

The church as it survives today consists of three aisles, three apses, and five domes. It is similar to Agia Paraskevi but larger and better built. Its nave is covered by three congruous domes 15 feet in diameter (4.7 m), while each of its side aisles are roofed by barrel-vaults bisected by smaller domes (10 ft, 3.2 m) in the middle. Its longitudinal ground plan resembles an Early Christian basilica, while the nine-bay, five-domed vaulting system is a cross-in-square type. Similarities between the Peristerona church and Agia Paraskevi are obvious: nine bays, three congruous domes in the nave, and two smaller domes in the side aisles; and there was no narthex or gallery (**fig.IV.29**). Even the original barrel-vaulted transept arms of Agia Paraskevi are replicated at Peristerona. From the exterior, the side-domes rest on what appear to be barrel vaults, while in the interior, pendentives carry the domes in a more integrated fashion than at Agia Paraskevi (**fig.IV.35, 36**). The original internal west wall measures approximately 58 feet (17.8 m) to the east wall in length and 46.5 feet (14.2 m) in width (not including the apse and

modern narthex). Therefore, the Peristerona church was fifty percent larger in its internal area compared with Agia Paraskevi.

The overall vaulting system of Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion followed the design and construction of Agia Paraskevi but was more refined. Each dome is supported by two side and two transverse arches springing from the piers. These additional piers and arches reinforce the transverse arches that flank the central dome. The resulting compound arch mimics the “triumphal arch” in the east end formed by the engaged piers and the apse. These additions support the regular pendentives (fully spherical) that provide a gradual transition from the square arches to the round drums (unlike Agios Georgios or Agia Paraskevi). Unlike Agia Paraskevi’s low domes, tall drums support the Peristerona domes. Four loopholes pierce the eastern and central dome; the western drum has eight windows and on the outside, blind windows alternate between each. Externally, the drums rest above an additional course of masonry. North and south sides of this course are sheared off so that they are flush with the rectangular base that stretches over the entire nave. This base slopes at a greater degree than Agia Paraskevi’s, appearing more like a gable. The builders left behind a few put-log holes in the side-aisle walls used to center the vaulting. The side-aisle domes were part of the original design. Four loopholes pierced each of them; however, the north dome has its windows blocked today. Later put-log holes are found on the exterior roof line, indicating that a wooden frame once sheltered the side aisle vaulting.

Several windows and doors in Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion survive from the original plan. In the east wall, above the entrance to the nave, are two thin slit windows; over each aisle entrance was a single similar window (the southern window was later blocked). Each apse was provided with three windows, and these were flanked by blind windows at each side (the current windows were reconstructed in the 1960s based on surviving remnants of the previous windows). At present, three portals lead from the later narthex into each aisle. The central doorway has a relieving arch wider than its jambs, in order to accommodate a lintel, like the south-aisle door at the Panagia Afentrika (Sykhada). At one time there were doorways under the side-aisle domes, but the northern and southern walls were heavily reconstructed at a later date, leaving no trace of a door in the south aisle (the doorway in the north aisle is later, but probably occupies the position of the original door). Another entrance was placed in the south aisle to the west of the domed bay at a much later date (based on its pointed arch).

In terms of decoration, not much survives from the previous Early Christian church. Excavations in the 1960s revealed portions of a stepped-synthonon (**fig.IV.34**), plaster-cast pulpit (now lost), and a templon screen.⁹⁰ The latter was of local limestone, but finely carved with an interlace pattern encircling almond rosettes and crosses (**fig.IV.37**). Original frescos also do not survive. The north-easternmost pier has a twelfth century fresco of the Madonna and Child; in places where this fresco has worn away, there is no under-painting. Apparently there was a concerted effort to remove the original frescos and plaster. Perhaps this happened when the church was confiscated by the French in the late twelfth century—they preferred the color of stone, as with most Cistercian churches of the period. Vestiges of later sixteenth-century paintings adorn the church; one depicts King David on the north-west pier, near an inscription reading “...and rest in peace the soul of thy servant Solomon the priest and pray for him.”⁹¹

IV.2.3. The Dating of Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion

Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion was constructed more carefully than Agia Paraskevi, with uniform blocks of ashlar masonry and regular courses. Scholars discount the formal similarities of the two churches, arguing a much later date for the Peristerona church. Andreas and Judith Stylianou suggested a late tenth or early eleventh century date. Megaw placed Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion in the same period as Agios Lazaros—the tenth century (as discussed in the next chapter); and George Soteriou proposed that the church belonged to the eleventh or twelfth century.⁹² Other less scholarly works, but quite popular, claimed the Peristerona church belonged to the thirteenth century or as late as the fifteenth century.⁹³ However, these scholars provided neither reason for their dates nor the criteria used to draw their conclusions.

The most credible opinion is that of Papageorghiou, since he excavated and closely analyzed the church. He has consistently argued that

Compared to the church of Agia Paraskevi in the Geroskipou, which is of the same architectural type, the church of Saints Barnabas and Hilarion has better proportions, finer masonry and the fabric of semi-circular apses are similar to the churches of the School of Constantinople. These elements lead to the conclusion that the church of Saints Barnabas and Hilarion was built around 1100....⁹⁴

Other evidence to support his date included the blind windows in the western dome and the apse windows.⁹⁵ He believed that blind windows were a hallmark of Comnenian Constantinopolitan architecture. It is rather curious that Papageorghiou does not provide

specific examples from Byzantium to compare with the Peristerona church. I suspect he was referring to the blind windows on the Kariye Camii's (Chora, 12th – 14th c.) central dome, and the blind apse windows at the Fatih Camii (Constantine Lips 907, 1282/1304) or the Zeyrek Camii (Pantocrator Monastery, 1118-24).⁹⁶

Certainly blind windows in apses and domes were common in Constantinopolitan churches from the eleventh century onwards. Cyprus was part of the Empire by the eleventh century, and open to the great flowering of Middle Byzantine architecture. But where and when did blind windows become common on churches? To argue that Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion's blind windows were categorically influenced by Constantinople merely begs the question. First of all, blind windows and arcades were not invented in the Comnenian period; examples can be found far away from Constantinople and as early as the fourth century.⁹⁷ Sasanid and Islamic buildings are commonly decorated with blind arcades and windows, such as the sixth century palace of Ctesiphon (Taq-i Kisra) and the Abbasid palace at Ukhaidir (late 8th c.).⁹⁸ Second, blind arches on domed buildings can be found as early as the fifth century on the exterior of the Orthodox baptistery at Ravenna; on the sixth century “square” drum of the martyrium of el'Adhra at Hah (Syria); the ninth century Great Mosque (Qayrawan); and possibly on the original drum on the Panagia at Skripou (mid-9th c.).⁹⁹ Third, blind windows on apses similarly appear as early as the fifth century, as at the Riva San Vitale baptistery (Aquileia).¹⁰⁰ Therefore, blind windows and arcades are not a useful dating mechanism and are not exclusive to Middle Byzantine Constantinopolitan churches. In Cyprus, blind recess niches occur in the eighth-century churches of Afentrika and at Agios Lazaros and Agios Varnavas, while blind windows appear at the eleventh-century Agios Philon in Carpasia.

When we try to establish a solid technical and stylistic relationship between the Peristerona church and examples from the Constantinople the evidence falls short. Simply put, there are more differences between Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion and the Constantinopolitan churches than there are similarities. First, imperial designs exploited the versatility and articulation that regular-sized bricks permitted. As a result, a brick aesthetic was formulated, consisting of layers of compound arches and undulating wall space. These brick constructions, being lighter than stone, enclosed a lofty vertical space focused on the centrally-planned dome. Light was a vital element in these churches, flooding through their tall windows, reflecting off their marble mosaics, tiles, columns, and revetment. Such features are absent in Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion. Without these fundamental characteristics, it would seem that the Peristerona

architects conceived space differently. Constantinopolitan Middle Byzantine architecture is characterized by the use of marble columns as supports for windows and the central dome. This support system predicated how the building was designed from the foundation to the apex of the dome. Papageorghiou privileges the blind windows in Peristerona as “smoking guns” that connect the structure to the capital. However, he ignores more characteristic features of Constantinopolitan design, such as technique, material, and aesthetics. Indeed Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion should be expelled from the “School of Constantinople” altogether.

The placement of the Peristerona church in the eleventh century also raises a significant question. Why after 300 years would architects adopt the *retardataire* and smallish plan of Agia Paraskevi in rural Geroskipou? There are no historical links between the two villages. Geroskipou had lost its importance by the eleventh century and there seems to be no clear practical advantage for adopting the domed basilica over the more fashionable centrally-planned churches of Byzantium. Furthermore, we have good examples of solidly dated eleventh-century constructions on Cyprus which are connected to Constantinople—the two churches located at the Monastery of St. John Chrysostomos at Koutsovendis which are brick-constructed and single-domed.¹⁰¹ Besides their location in Cyprus and religious functions, the Koutsovendis and Peristerona churches have no architectural similarities.

Papageorghiou’s dating partially rested on his opinion about earlier church underneath the current multiple-domed structure. He theorized that the previous church was a barrel-vaulted basilica and that its wall-pilaster system was used for the foundations of the current square-piers.¹⁰² This would contribute to explaining the peculiar means by which the vaulting was supported; as George Hill put it, “the side aisles separated from the nave not, as in the Greek basilica, by columns, but by walls pierced with arches.” Andreas and Judith Stylianou would also adopt this unusual classification of “walls pierced” by arches.¹⁰³ Papageorghiou, on the other hand, suggested that the awkward support system was based on an earlier barrel-vaulted basilica. His hypothesis came from his assumption that architectural history progressed in an evolutionary diachronic fashion (as discussed in § II.3.7 above). In this line of reasoning, the Phase 3 (barrel-vaulted) church at Peristerona was replaced by the Phase 4 (multiple-domed basilica) after much time progressed and an outside force (Constantinople) instigated a mutation. The discovery of the synthronon and the templon seemed to support this theory.

Recent excavations of this church made it possible to reassess Papageorhiou’s theories. The Department of Antiquaries excavated Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion between 2001 and 2006

in preparation for its induction into the UNESCO World Heritage List. The entire 1960s floor was removed uncovering several burials, and the courtyard north and west of the church was exposed. While the final report has yet to be published, according to the excavator Dr. Marina Solomidou-Ieronymidou, coin evidence was discovered within a tomb providing an eleventh century *terminus ante quem* date for the structure.¹⁰⁴ However, several other observations were made before the new flooring was set into place.¹⁰⁵ First, the current piers' bases show no trace of older material, being completely built up from a previous floor layer. This casts doubt on the theory that the previous piers influenced the placement of the multiple-domed basilica's supports. Second, the templon and the synthronon fit perfectly within the pier arrangement of the multiple-domed church. While the foundation of an earlier rubblework structure undergirds the present north wall, there is no firm relationship between it and the templon and synthronon (**fig.IV.39**). This new information indicates that the multiple-domed church was constructed on an Early Christian church similar to the wooden-roofed Marathovouno basilica (**fig.II.18**) and those of Kalavasos (**figs.II.14-17**). Moreover, architects and masons of the current church took great care to preserve the synthronon and templon, while completely removing the internal columns and walls (except for the portions at the north wall). Concerning when this small Early Christian church was transformed into a multiple-domed basilica, there is no solid evidence. But if we accept Papageorghiou's dating, the columnar wooden-roof church would have either been destroyed and discovered after 300 years of ruin, or survived throughout the Period of Neutrality unaltered. This would be a unique case among the Cypriot Early Christian churches which were, without exception, greatly modified or completely abandoned by the eighth century.¹⁰⁶ Rather it is more reasonable to place the multiple-domed church prior to the Byzantine reconquest (965), since stepped-synthronona were obsolete by the tenth century.¹⁰⁷

Concerning the church's peculiar support system of "walls pierced with arches," there is another explanation. This description, formulated by George Hill (probably suggested to him by Peter Megaw) and repeated by the Stylianous, is significant. Both Agia Paraskevi and Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion have vaults supported by piers as in the barrel-vaulted churches of the Karpas peninsula. As already mentioned, Agia Paraskevi mimics the design of Agia Varvara and the Panagia Afentrika. At the Peristerona church, the arrangement is only slightly different with the four central piers elongated towards the center of the middle nave dome. These elongated piers have a double function in supporting the central nave dome and the side-aisle domes. The additional piers, flanking the west and east bays of the Peristerona church, do not support the

central domes but, rather, the side aisle vaulting. However, these additional piers constrict access and the line of sight between the side-aisle and the nave, and are practically unnecessary since a single arch could carry the same weight. Why did the architects not follow Agia Paraskevi's design in this regard? I would suggest that the architects were not just looking at Agia Paraskevi but also at Agios Epifanios. At the latter church, the Phase 2 (wooden-roof) piers were left to support the side-aisle barrel-vaulting in the Phase 3 (multiple-domed) church. This solution was adopted by the Peristerona architects. Moreover, the proportions and the scale of the domed area of Agios Epifanios are close to Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion (less than one meter in difference). The interior aesthetics of both churches would have been very similar—they have arcades essential for the basilica type and three lofty domes repeating overhead, effectively maintaining the Early Christian longitudinal focus towards the apse.

Clearly Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion belongs to the same line of development from Agios Epifanios to Agia Paraskevi. Its architects were not looking outside Cyprus for inspiration, but rather at the Salamis-Constantia cathedral. Construction techniques within the church were already well-developed in earlier eighth century basilicas. Its architects were apparently motivated to maintain the basilica form—characterized by a royal colonnade separating the aisles. The three-dome design at Agia Paraskevi and the Peristerona church point to the physical symbol of the archbishop and Cypriot identity—Agios Epifanios. Since the archbishop wielded both cultural and administrative power during the Period of Neutrality, it is during this time period that I suggest placing the construction of Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion. Furthermore, there is no element in its architecture to preclude a ninth century date, which corresponds to its typological similarities with Agia Paraskevi.¹⁰⁸

IV.2.4. Later modifications to Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion

Throughout the history of Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion there have been changes to the multiple-domed church. The western dome clearly was built at a later time since it is quite different from the eastern and middle dome. It has eight windows separated by eight blind windows, while the other domes have just four windows with no blind articulation (**fig.IV.33, 35**). The western dome also has two internal ribs that intersect forming a cross. Since the blind windows in the apse correspond to the blind windows in the western dome, they probably belong to the same time period. Blind apse windows are superficial traits—easily applied after the initial construction. At about the same time, the north and south walls were rebuilt (as

indicated by the interruptions of the masonry courses). The door in the north wall was renovated, while the door below the south aisle-dome was blocked. The windows below the side-aisle domes resemble those in the western dome, indicating that they belong to the same reconstruction phase. Concerning the date of this renovation, the ribbed domed is also found in Agios Varnavas (Salamis-Constantia) and Agios Prokopios (Syngrosis); the latter church has a *terminus post quem* date of 977 based on an inscription in its nave. Agios Varnavas also has fourteen windows in its domes, which were probably completed in the early tenth century. Therefore, I propose that the renovations in the Peristerona church took place in the tenth century.

Later in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion sustained major damage and was repaired. In the nave, the central four piers were buttressed with additional pilasters supporting two transverse pointed arches. The springings were of a darker stone, which might indicate that the new pier and arch were not plastered, contrasting with Cypriot custom. The south side-aisle dome was provided with four additional pilasters. Likewise, the north side-aisle dome was further supported with two pointed transverse arches springing from “hanging” corbels. A new pointed-arched door to the west replaced the original door under the side-aisle dome which was earlier blocked. A narthex was added to the western end and two doors leading into the side-aisles were inserted into the original western wall. At this time, two external buttresses were added to the north aisle and one to the south. These types of modifications indicate that the church suffered from a massive earthquake, perhaps contemporary with the Phase 4 renovations of Agios Epifanios in the late twelfth century (see §III.2.3 above).

Other superficial additions and modifications were made to the Peristerona church much later. Perhaps during the Venetian period (1489-1539) the windows in the apse were widened and made square. Its apses were shored up by a sloping retaining wall (revetment)—a remedy against erosion or flooding from the adjacent river. In the nineteenth century, the church’s western facade was given its current appearance along with a bell tower. This most likely took place when the ringing of bells was no longer a crime, after the British took control of the island from the Ottoman Empire in 1878. Sometime at the turn of the twentieth century, the crypt was filled in. Venetian period modifications were reversed in the 1959-1960 excavation of the church. At that time, the red-tile roof was replaced with the current one, and much of the whitewash was removed from the interior and exterior. This cleaning removed the patina from

ashlars and mortar as well as any evidence of fresco painting. For this reason, the original masonry of Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion has the same brown-tan appearance of the tenth, twelfth, sixteenth, and twentieth century renovations. Besides adding new heating and electrical systems, recent 2001-2006 excavations have neither added nor subtracted from the fabric of the building.

Conclusion

In order to emphasize the continuous line of development from Agios Epifanios to Agia Paraskevi, then to Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion, this chapter has described the similarities between these monuments. While it is important to remember the continuity of their forms, it is equally important to analyze their differences. These variations highlight the problem(s) which Cypriot architects focused on and their innovative solutions.

By adopting the vaulted church over the wooden-roof type and specifically, the three-domed basilica over the barrel-vault design, architects were faced with a particular challenge that previous builders did not have. How can three domes be supported in the nave, along with barrel-vaulted side aisles?¹⁰⁹ At Agios Epifanios, the decision was made to retain the previous pier supports, which effectively carried the weight of the side-aisle vaults. In order to support the dome vaulting, architects inserted larger piers abutting the preexisting supports. As a result, Agios Epifanios maintained its traditional basilica form (rectangular with two arcades) while incorporating three domes. This solution was apparently unsatisfactory, since Agia Paraskevi was modeled after the three-dome of design Agios Epifanios and did not adopt its pier-arcading for its side aisles.

Agios Epifanios' vaulting solution was effective, but impractical and aesthetically awkward. Its central piers restricted vision and access to the side-aisles, while its arcades were irregularly spaced (either entirely or partially blocked). And so the architects of Agia Paraskevi, sought to minimize the need for piers between the dome supports. Since the church was smaller than Agios Epifanios, the walls were strong enough to support the adjacent eastern and westernmost domes and the side-aisle vaults. The nave domes were supported with internal piers following the common practice of the barrel-vaulted basilicas. However, it was uncertain if the central dome could be supported in this fashion, since it did not abut any wall surface. Therefore, the architects solved this structural dilemma by incorporating a central barrel-vaulted transept arm running perpendicular to the side-aisles. The strength of the continuous arch

allowed access from the side doors to the center of the nave, without the need for additional piers to support the barrel-vaulting.

When it was time to reconstruct Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion as a three-domed basilica, the architects were faced with another challenge. Since they wanted to incorporate the previous Early Christian furnishings and some of its fabric, the church had to be much larger than Agia Paraskevi. They followed the design of Agia Paraskevi closely, including the transept arm to obviate intermediate piers. Yet the architects were apparently unsure if the side-aisle vaults flanking the eastern and westernmost domes could be supported by the walls alone. Therefore, they chose to use intermediate piers, as at Agios Epifanios. They could just as easily have extended the central piers westward and eastward (as in the barrel-vaulted basilicas and Agia Paraskevi) so that only one arch was needed—but as mentioned above, the architects consciously replicated Agios Epifanios' Early Christian basilica form.

Besides discussing these underlying architectural developments, this chapter has argued for a relative chronology. Scholars originally dated Agia Paraskevi's construction to the tenth century. There is only one reason for this—they associated the church with the three-domed basilica of Agios Lazaros, believed to be an early tenth century (this is discussed at length in the next chapter). Their publications argued from ground plans rather than construction, scale, and overall design. And as discussed above (§II.3.7), these scholars were devoted to a “diachronic model,” assuming that architectural development on Cyprus could only take place after long expanses of time, or if some outside force, like the Byzantine Empire, paid for or directly influenced new types of churches. The 901 translation of the Lazarus’ relics to Constantinople—one of the few historical events relating to a church during the Period of Cypriot Neutrality—seemed to be a perfect benchmark for pinning the date of the entire group of multiple-domed basilicas. However, when the aniconic fresco was discovered in Agia Paraskevi’s bema, scholars were quick to change their dating to hundreds of years earlier. While there was a consensus that Agia Paraskevi and Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion were typologically identical, debate ensued concerning whether their constructions were contemporary. Even after the re-dating of Agia Paraskevi to the eighth century, the chief Byzantine archaeologist on the island, Papageorgiou, still dated the Peristerona church to the twelfth century. For some reason, he believed that the superficial blind windows were more significant for dating than the overall design. Of course, centuries separating the two churches fractured previous architectural histories since there was no watershed moment and no imperial connection. The Geroskipou

fresco was not only an important chronological indicator but illustrated how Cyprus was not isolated from the rest of the Mediterranean world. And yet the Cypriots consciously designed and built multiple-domed basilicas unlike any eighth or ninth century church in the rest of the Byzantine Empire.

Chapter V: The Three-Domed Basilica

The development of the multiple-domed church from Agios Epifanios to Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion marks a fundamental change in how Cypriot architects conceived church design. Billowy domes and undulating vaults superseded the web of wooden trusses in Early Christian churches or the dark stone skeleton of the barrel-vaulted basilicas. However this new combination of domes and barrel-vaulting was not perfect. Spindly columns that traditionally held the wooden roofs evolved into large solid piers. These piers blocked movement and vision between nave and side-aisles. When Cypriot architects began designing the next multiple-domed church, they decided to repeat the transept arm for all three domed bays, eliminating the need for intermediate piers. This new scheme was incorporated in the next two churches of this type: Agios Lazaros and Agios Varnavas.

V.1. Agios Lazaros, Larnaka

The city of Larnaka stands on Cyprus' southeast coast facing Lebanon. Its bay, now named after the city, served as a harbor. The surrounding soil was not suitable for agriculture, and so the population depended on maritime trade and fishing.¹ Near the city lies a large salt lake, called “Aliki,” a source for salt since antiquity. Salt production continued into the Lusignan (1191-1267) and later periods, when the city was known as both “Scala” and “Salines.” The name “Larnaka” first appeared on maps in the early seventeenth century, derived from the Greek word *λάρναξ* (tomb) or *λάρνακας* (hallowed ground). Ancient necropolises covering the entire coastline probably led to this appellation.

V.1.1. Larnaka as Kition

Six miles west of Larnaka is the small village of Kiti, where the Panagia Angeloktistes church stands (mentioned above § II.2). Ironically, archaeology has shown that Larnaka, not Kiti, was the site of the famous city-state of Kition. According to tradition, the harbor was founded as a Phoenician colony around 800 BC and the Old Testament described Khittim as a naval power.² Remarkable examples of a Phoenician battle-ship dock and a temple to Artemis (resembling an Early Christian basilica) have been discovered within the modern city.³ Kition further achieved fame during the Hellenistic period, when its resident philosopher Zeno (333-

264 BC) established Stoicism. However, the city began to decline in the subsequent Roman period.

Kition eventually became a major bishopric. According to one tradition Lazarus, after being raised from the dead, fled Palestine to Kition where he became its first bishop. However this account appears no earlier than the eighth century (as discussed below §V.1.2). In fact, historical sources are silent about Kition until the fourth century when a certain Mnemios is listed as bishop of Kition at the Second Ecumenical Council (381).⁴ The local saint, Therapon, is the next important personage linked to the city.

Therapon is an obscure figure whose “memorials have been destroyed by time,” according to the Synaxaria.⁵ In 1908 Claude Cobham wrote that “The Turabi Tekye in old Larnaka, sometimes called St. Arab, and frequented by both Moslem and Christian worshipers, preserves the memory of St. Therapon.”⁶ The mosque was probably built over an earlier church, over an ancient necropolis.⁷ Unfortunately very little survives of the basilica and its form is undeterminable. As Dikigoropoulos suggested, there were probably two Therapons, one predating the Arab raids and another who lived during the Period of Cypriot Neutrality.⁸ Two sources recorded that his relics lay in Cyprus until the Arab invasion; afterwards they were transported to Constantinople for safe keeping.⁹ According to another source

...Arab foreigners invaded Cyprus, destroyed many monasteries and churches and ruthlessly slaughtered many. These persecutors of the orthodox faith seized the saint [Therapon] in his church, and slew him at the altar; suddenly, melody and songs of the spirit-powers hovered around the corpse of the blessed Therapon. The strangeness whereof...struck the slayers with awe, and forced them to repent of their lawless daring. ...His precious remains were translated; it is said, to the queen of the cities [Constantinople].¹⁰

Originally the relics were placed in the church of the Theotokos at Elalias (in Constantinople’s Galata area), but were later transferred to another nearby church named after the saint.¹¹

Another monument in Larnaka also commemorates the first Arab raids. According to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the protégé of Mohammed, Abū Bakr, invaded Cyprus; while there, his daughter was slain.¹² Since there is no other historical account that confirms this information, Porphyrogenitus was probably conflating two distinct stories. According to Islamic tradition, Mohammed prophesized that his wet nurse, Um Harām (or Hala Sultan), would be the first woman to participate in a maritime jihad. She later accompanied her husband ‘Ubāda bn. al

Şāmit to Cyprus in 649.¹³ After successful campaigning she fell from her mule and broke her neck.¹⁴ The departing Arab army set up a monument for her at Larnaka; the early thirteenth century Arab traveler Hawari visited Cyprus and recorded an inscription to Um Harām with the date 29H (649).¹⁵ In 1766 Constantius, archbishop of Sinai, visited the shrine:

Near the *salines* is situated a Turkish shrine, and within it a tomb in which these sons of Hagar believe that the grandmother of their prophet was buried. Hither they flock to do honor to the mother of their prophet's mother, without however enquiring too curiously how she was conveyed and transported to this spot from the depths of Arabia.¹⁶

Today this shrine is encapsulated by an eighteenth century Ottomans mosque called Hala Sultan Tekke (or Khālat-i-Sultān Tekkē). Van Bruyn described the shrine as in 1683:

A mosque which the Turks state to be the grave of Mina, mother of their prophet Mahomet...the sepulcher [is] enclosed by three huge stones, two of them upright, and the third resting on them above...The first two are thirteen palms broad, and at least as high again...But the stone is covered with lime, and can no longer be seen.”¹⁷

According to Giovanni Mariti who visited Larnaka in the 1760s the mosque also incorporated stones taken from a church in a nearby village.¹⁸ The shrine is considered the third most important monument of Islam.

The Hala Sultan Tekke monument provides clues to help us understand the post-classical city. The cathedral of Kition stands in what is known as “Larnaka,” while the city of Kiti has no connection with the bishopric. It seems reasonable to theorize that the Kitionites fled their city (Larnaka) during the initial Arab invasion, and resided in the smaller fortified town (Kiti) adopting the name of their previous city. Certainly Larnaka Bay would have been accessible to Arab ships, and the city seems to have been unfortified. Soon the identity of Phoenician Kition would be overshadowed by medieval Larnaka and its first bishop—Lazarus.

V.1.2. Lazarus of Bethany

The gospel account of Lazarus’ resurrection was commonly referenced in Early Christian and medieval literature and art. The popular story attracted pilgrims to his tomb in Bethany for centuries.¹⁹ However, by the sixth century all accounts of Lazarus’ life “after death” had been forgotten.²⁰ By the turn of the first millennium three conflicting accounts arose concerning his hagiography. The first account evolved into an eleventh century French legend which described

Lazarus and his sisters arriving in Marseille and founding the church of Saint-Victor.²¹ Later in the twelfth century, the tale was amended: the relics of Lazarus and his sister Mary were “discovered” at Autun and Vézelay, resulting in the building of Saint-Lazare and Saint-Marie-Madeleine churches.²² A second tradition, recorded by the ninth century monk Bernard, claimed that Lazarus became a bishop of Ephesus.²³ Bernard received this information while visiting the Holy Land. Unfortunately his comments cannot be confirmed by any other source. The third tradition was popularized in tenth century Constantinople, describing Lazarus as the first bishop of Kition and his martyrdom in Cyprus. Of these three traditions, the last one is still held by the Greek Orthodox community.

In the eighteenth century several Roman Catholic scholars tried to prove the authenticity of the French account over Greek Orthodox claims. For example, Michel Le Quien provided three arguments: (1) the Orthodox Menologium never addressed Lazarus as bishop; (2) no church father or subsequent Greek writer mentioned Lazarus as either martyr or bishop; and (3) Epiphanius of Salamis-Constantia, after writing much about Lazarus, never claimed that the saint ever resided in Cyprus.²⁴ While these are insightful and valid points, they also work to cast doubt on the French and Ephesian accounts for the same reasons—these other stories simply do not have an early tradition. Today we have much more information than Le Quien did regarding the Cypriot legend.

John of Euboea (mid-eighth century) recorded the earliest account linking Lazarus with Cyprus. He mentioned how his elder colleague had once seen a manuscript written by the disciple. The manuscript stated that Lazarus was bishop in Cyprus and achieved martyrdom there. The editor of the text, Franz Dölger, suggested that this passage “provides us with proof of the fact that a tradition concerning the Martyr-bishop Lazaros of Cyprus existed already in the year 744; yet we must remain undecided whether John’s words reflects a reality or only a literary fiction.”²⁵ Nevertheless, it is difficult to imagine that such a literary fiction would have been recorded without a prior tradition.

The next mention of Lazarus as a bishop comes from the Synodikon of Orthodoxy initially written in the late ninth century.²⁶ In two places it lists “Lazarus” with Cypriot saints. In the first instance, Lazarus preceded Tychon—an historical bishop of Kition.²⁷ Within a second list, he is called “Lazaros of Kytaioi.” Undoubtedly this was a miscopy of “Kition.” Moreover in a tenth century text, the Arab writer Abu al-Hasan al-Shabushti wrote:

The Church of the monastery of Nahiya (in Palestine) bears the names of Martha and Mary, Lazarus' sisters, who Our Lord Jesus Christ, for his glory resurrected him from death, afterwards he lived nine years and he was the archbishop of Cyprus for several years.²⁸

The Cypriot tradition, therefore, seems to have been in circulation for quite some time. It is possible that al-Shabusti knew about the removal of Lazarus' relics from Cyprus in the year 901.

Lazarus' translation to Constantinople was commemorated by Arethas in two orations. The first recorded the reception of Lazarus' relics into Agia Sophia in Constantinople, while the second oration was made a year later on the anniversary. Unfortunately Arethas did not state the conditions leading to the translation of Lazarus' relics to Constantinople. The second oration is more informative, describing the theatrical procession and the multitudes:

The whole city pour[ed] together in one spot...great crowds awaited the emperor [Leo VI] on the shore...when the relics were about to be disembarked, a great longing seized the spectators, all those who watched from the walls of Constantinople or the sides of the hills, or stood on the pier...The emperor came down, weeping abundant tears, like Moses bringing the table of the law down from the mountain, or rather like Jesus, for he mingled freely with the people, and laying imperial pomp aside, went about without escort. Now back in the city, the emperor walked at the head of the procession. The street leading to St. Sophia was decorated with foliage. A band of singers intoned a hymn which had been specially composed by the emperor. It was late in the day when the slow procession finally reached the Great Church and the jostling crowd was engulfed by the immense interior...With his own hands the emperor helped to raise the lid of the coffin, at which moment the congregation, unable to contain their zeal, forced their way through the altar-screen and the sanctuary came near to being profaned by laymen's feet. Fearing lest the relics be torn to pieces, the emperor had the lid replaced and the coffin carried behind the altar...²⁹

This was one of the chief accomplishments of Leo VI ("the Wise," reigned 886-912). To crowds witnessing the spectacle, the reception of Lazarus' relics was a fortuitous sign that the Empire would overcome its enemies. Furthermore, according to all accounts, the new monastery of St. Lazarus in Constantinople was built as permanent monument for the occasion.

According to Pseudo-Symeon, Leo VI started building the monastery of St. Lazarus in Constantinople in 898 about three years before the relics were translated.³⁰ Other chroniclers mentioned that Leo VI conscripted sailors to construct the church "to keep them occupied."³¹ The monastery church was certainly located near Agia Eirene, close to the later monastery of Saint George Manganes (at what is now known as the Seraglio Point, under the hospital of Gülhane).³² Concerning the design and size of the church we know very little. Early visitors

expressed that the church was of indescribable beauty.³³ For example Nicholas Callistus (14th c.) exclaimed “...the church was so great with beauty that I am unable to speak of it... indeed its beauty overcomes all, and except for its size, very few buildings measure up to it.”³⁴ On the fourteenth century map of Cristoforo Buondelmonti the monastery is depicted as a single domed structure.³⁵ Most likely the Lazarus church resembled the church of Constantine Lips built six years later.³⁶ This particular structure was named after Admiral Constantine Lips who controlled the Byzantine navy in the early tenth century, and had the power to conscript sailors. Therefore it seems reasonable to associate the two churches with each other.

Eventually St. Lazarus’ monastery served eunuchs who worked within the nearby imperial palace.³⁷ The relic translation occurred when the building was finished. This is why the synaxis celebrates the reception of Lazarus twice: on October 17th when the relics arrived in Constantinople and on May 4th when his relics were placed in the monastery. In order to keep the holy family together, the relics of Mary and Martha were translated from Ephesus to the same monastery at a later point.³⁸

Unfortunately history does not provide the circumstances surrounding the removal of Lazarus’ relics from Cyprus. The most detailed account comes from the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (10th c.). It stated that Leo VI

built a beautiful church (*ναὸν δομησάμενος κάλλιστον*) and then sent agents (*ἀποστεῖλας*) to the island of Cyprus. There he found the holy relics in the city of Kition lying under the ground in a “larnaki” (*λάρνακι*, marble chest), almost a thousand years having passed. An inscription on the chest, in a foreign (*έτερογλωσσα*) tongue, read: “Lazarus, who was raised from the dead on the fourth day and was a friend of Christ.” Immediately (*παραντὰ*) they took the precious treasure, put it in a silver casket, and brought it to Constantinople.³⁹

This rather vague account provides four clues concerning the origins of these relics. First, Leo VI built the St. Lazarus monastery prior to the discovery of the relics in Cyprus. Therefore, the church was not built initially for housing the relics. Second, he sent operatives to find the relics in Cyprus at about the same time that the monastery was completed. This means that the tradition of Lazarus as bishop of Kition was known in Constantinople by the late ninth century. Third, Leo’s agents identified the tomb based upon its inscription “in a foreign tongue.” Later accounts record that the inscription was in Hebrew.⁴⁰ Apparently they knew exactly where to look. And fourth, these translators left “immediately”—perhaps because the Arabic forces were on their way or the local church officials did not authorize them to remove the relics.

Most scholars assume that Leo VI purchased Lazarus' relics from the Bishop of Larnaka. However, this idea comes from a very late tradition (discussed below § V.1.5). One scholar has argued *ex silencio* that “we can reject the possibility that the Saint’s remains were obtained by stealth, for such an enterprise could not but have left its mark upon Hagiographical tradition.”⁴¹ Yet if the theft was truly clandestine, there would be no trace in the history. Furthermore it is unlikely that the Cypriots, who were devoted to the cult of saints and depended on pilgrims for revenue, would have so easily given up Lazarus’ relics. While sources are ambiguous about Lazarus, circumstances surrounding Mary Magdalene’s translation from Ephesus are more revealing. Nicholas Callistus wrote that her “venerable relics were stolen from there (i.e. Ephesus)...and placed in the church...of Lazarus” in Constantinople.⁴²

V.1.3. The Church of Agios Lazaros

Today Agios Lazaros is a three-aisled, three-apse, three-domed basilica (**figures I.4, V.1-4**). A stairwell in the south aisle leads to a crypt under the main apse, where several sarcophagi rest, including a plain Roman type that has the word “ΦΙΛΙΟΥ” (“friend of...”) scratched on its side. Today pilgrims claim that this is Lazarus’ sarcophagus (**fig.V.5**). The church appears different than when it was originally conceived—all of its domes and drums are missing, and no original frescos, furnishings, or windows survive. The outer wall surface is refaced with fifteenth and sixteenth century masonry, while a nineteenth century bell-tower rises above the southern aisle. Nevertheless, the internal space, cleared of its plaster (and previous frescos) reveals the original masonry of the multiple-domed basilica. The church had three domes, like Agios Epifanios, and transect arms, like Agia Paraskevi and Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion. However, in terms of design and construction Agios Lazaros is qualitatively different than previous churches. Its taller proportions and complex twenty-one bay system necessitated a different process of construction.

Regarding the Early Christian phase of the church little is known. Excavations by Papageorghiou in 1970-2 revealed two earlier floor levels. These were probably parts of the first basilica.⁴³ If the original church covered the same area as the current structure, then it would have had eight columns and two engaged columns in each arcade, supporting a wooden roof. The current polygonal apses replaced earlier semicircular apses, probably belonging to a fifth century structure. Papageorghiou argued that the later polygonal apses “...is exceptionally infrequent in Cyprus...only the apses of the devastated church of Agios Philon [late 10th c.],

found in the ruins of old Karpasia are precisely similar, that is to say externally pentagonal in the nave apse and three-sided in the flanking aisles.”⁴⁴ However, in 1996 a sixth century church, known as “the Panagia Limeniotissa at Kourion” was excavated, having the same apse configuration—five sided central apse, with three-sided side apses.⁴⁵ Therefore the apses of Agios Lazaros could date as early as the sixth century.

The original wooden-roofed basilica was probably destroyed during the first Arabic raids in the mid-seventh century. The 1970-2 excavations revealed that a small chapel was built in the eastern area of the nave and north side aisle.⁴⁶ It would have been a simple two-aisle structure measuring about 33 by 36 feet (10.25 x 11 m, excluding the apses). Comparable temporary constructions are known at other Early Christian churches, such as Kalavasos-Sirmata and Polis.⁴⁷ This Phase 2 chapel was probably the church mentioned by the Kition bishop at the Seventh Ecumenical Council (Nicaea II, 787). He recounted a story concerning an iconoclast who was blinded after he hammered a nail in St. Peter’s icon at Kition.⁴⁸ Nevertheless there is no evidence indicating when this chapel was destroyed and replaced by the current multiple-domed basilica. If the church was the cathedral of the Kition bishop, the humble chapel would have been insufficient during times of growth and peace. At some point in the ninth century the chapel was demolished to make way for a larger church. Perhaps the relics of Lazarus were discovered at that point.

As discussed in the last chapter, the transept arms of Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion were able to support its central dome. The other two nave domes, not having a transept, were flanked with additional piers in the center of their side arches. While these mimicked the piers at Agios Epifanios, they were cumbersome and impractical. Therefore, when the time came to build Agios Lazaros, the architect(s) chose to repeat the transept arm for all three domes, eliminating the need for intermediary piers. Also instead of having the domes carried by transverse arches, it was decided to use continuous barrel-vaults. As a result, twelve bays were formed consisting of barrel-vaults running east to west, whereas the six bays of the transept arms would run north to south. By using the transept arm, each dome and diagonal vault was supported by internal piers and the exterior walls. The four vaults running the length of the nave were carried by twelve piers and four engaged piers, having the same strength as a continuous wall. Each of the barrel-vaults interlocked together with the adjacent bays running the opposite way. In other words, each bay’s gravitational thrusts were either supported by the arch of the adjacent barrel-vault or the exterior wall. Each dome was supported, not necessarily by the four piers, but by four

transverse barrel-vaults, directing the gravitational pull towards the piers. Like the earlier multiple-domed basilicas at Geroskipou and Peristerona, what appears as piers in Agios Lazaros' ground plan are actually walls pierced by round headed portals (called "pier-portals" henceforth). Passages through these portals provided access between the side-aisles and nave (**fig.V.6,18**).

Though Agios Lazaros is only slightly wider than Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion, its innovations in vaulting led to a taller and more spacious structure (**fig.V.17**). And while its masonry construction is comparable to Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion, the stones were less finely carved, and the foundation and quoin ashlars were much larger. Its limestone ashlars were rectangular, almost resembling bricks from a distance, but are much larger and less uniform than bricks, especially in the vaulting. For the most part, the ashlars followed regular courses, but sometimes they were interrupted by larger-cut stones and were "packed into" awkward surfaces, like the pendentives (**figs.V.7, 8**). Furthermore each barrel-vault consisted of two layers, as if one barrel-vault was laid over another, providing additional, if not superfluous, support.⁴⁹ The domes rest on this double vault, causing the pendentives to overhang.

Today a stairwell descends in the middle of the southern aisle, before the iconostasis, and this leads to the shrine of Lazaros, under the altar area. The design and masonry of these steps are twentieth century constructions. There is no evidence for an earlier access point into the crypt. Two undecorated sarcophagi belong to the Hellenistic or Roman periods, though they are plain and difficult to precisely date, and one is a "Phoenician" type. The classical types are rectangular and carved from marble, with a gable lid. The Phoenician type has a large carving of a female face. Certainly these sarcophagi come from a much earlier context than the early Christian church, indicating that the site was once a necropolis. The central tomb has inscribed "ΦΙΛΙΟΥ" on its side panel; this was carved rather recently, since by 1683 Cornelis van Bruyn recorded that the original "...saint's tomb is shown underground, but the sepulcher itself has been long since broken up by visitors who wished to carry away some relics."⁵⁰ Therefore, the current sarcophagi should not be considered as either the tomb of Lazarus or the "larnaki" plundered by imperial agents in 901. Twentieth century repairs have disturbed the original layout of the sarcophagi, leaving us with little evidence to make a reconstruction.

V.1.4. The Decoration of Agios Lazaros

By the turn of the twentieth century the entire church was covered by plaster. This coating protected earlier frescos fragments, such as those revealed on the pier bases of the

central dome.⁵¹ Visitors also recorded “Armenian” inscriptions carved into the plaster (as discussed below §V.1.5.). Unfortunately all of the inscriptions and fresco fragments have been destroyed over the course of the twentieth century. Likewise, all the original doors and windows have been altered. What survives are the reused marble capitals within the wall fabric and opus sectile flooring.

Unlike previous churches, Agios Lazaros utilizes earlier marble capitals for support and decoration. These capitals function as springing corbels for the round arches of the pier-portals and the barrel-vaults. Moreover, the church does not have put-log holes, like the Afentrika or Peristerona churches. Instead, the transept vaults rested on a continuous cornice forming a ledge headed by the marble capitals; and upon this ledge, the masons were able to construct their wooden centering frames. Also these marble pieces served as a type of sculptural decoration after the church was plastered, jutting out from the smooth white surface.

Opus sectile flooring was laid within Agios Lazaros soon after the multiple-domed basilica was constructed (**figs. V.9, 10, 41**). These survive in the pier-portals, consisting of large slabs of marble bordered by relatively large, coarsely carved *crustae* which are then surrounded by more large marble slabs.⁵² The colors consisted of white, yellowish-brown, and orange-brown hues. Overall, the quality of the opus sectile is inferior to Early Christian examples found elsewhere on the island—the *crustae* is less finely carved, large gaps separate pieces, and the patterns are rather simple.⁵³ Whether the low quality reflects centuries of damage from fire and flooding, or poor craftsmanship due to the reuse of *crustae* from previous floors, is undeterminable. However, there are comparable examples in Cyprus, such as flooring in the baptistery chapel at Agios Epifanios and the Early Christian church within Kyrenia castle.

Today four entrances lead into the church, corresponding to each of the cardinal points. However, none of the doors have original features; their voussoirs, jambs, and trim are different than adjacent masonry. Papageorghiou believed that the multiple-domed church initially had three doorways in the western facade. However, what he interprets as doors in the side aisles, I suggest are recess niches (*see* below §V.3). Therefore, the church possibly had doorways much like Agia Paraskevi church—in the middle of the west, south, and north walls.

V.1.5. The Construction of Agios Lazaros

The age of Agios Lazaros is a matter of debate (as discussed below, §V.3). Since no solid archaeological evidence exists we are left to speculate. It seems that during the seventh century

the Early Christian basilica was destroyed due to Arab raids. Subsequently a modest chapel was built in the remains of the central apse and north aisle (**fig.V.11**). During the construction, the workers discovered several sarcophagi under the apse. Most of these dated from the Hellenistic and Roman periods. But one particular sarcophagus bore the Lazarus inscription, establishing the tradition that Lazarus as the first bishop of Kition beginning in the eighth century. Sometime in the ninth century it was reconstructed as a multiple-domed basilica, using Agios Epifanios as a template. It would also incorporate the transept arms design (found in Agia Paraskevi and Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion), allowing the structure to be taller and wider than any previous vaulted church.

In time rumors spread beyond the island concerning the discovery. Emperor Leo VI, or possibly his father Basil, heard about the Cypriots' good fortune far beyond his imperial jurisdiction. The Emperor founded a monastery near the palace, in the hope of diverting pilgrims from Cyprus to the capital—if somehow he could procure Lazarus' relics. Since Cyprus was still a neutral state and Byzantine mandates could not be enforced, Leo VI sent his agents to extract the relics from the island. It was not difficult for them to find the newly built Agios Lazaros near the Kition beach. The crypt would have been easily identified. We will never know exactly what transpired between the Byzantines and the Cypriots regarding the removal of Lazarus' relics. Even to this day the Cypriots have venerated the empty crypt, as if Lazarus' spirit stayed behind long after his body was taken away. This is the same attitude the Cypriots had when the relics of St. Hilarion were removed to Palestine centuries earlier. Jerome wrote:

And still today there is a peculiar dispute between the Palestinians and the Cypriots; the one contends that they have the body, and the other, the spirit of Hilarion. In both locations great miracles are performed daily, but even more so in the garden of Cyprus, since that was the place dearest to him.⁵⁴

And likewise, Cypriots pray and venerate Agios Lazaros as if his relics never left. One modern pilgrim joked that he believed the agents of the Emperor ransacked the wrong sarcophagus, since they had several to choose from!

V.1.6. The Subsequent History of Agios Lazaros

Unfortunately the first historical references to Agios Lazaros come late in history. These were recorded by western pilgrims who stopped off in Larnaka on their way to the

Holy Land. Ironically there are no Greek sources that mention the church until the eighteenth century. Hence, travelers provide us with insights in how westerners perceived the multiple domed basilicas.

The earliest descriptions come from the fifteenth century. Apparently the basilica suffered along with the Cypriot Church under the French Lusignans (1191-1489). In 1474 the Italian pilgrim Alessandro Rinuccini stopped in Larnaka on his way to Jerusalem, commenting on Agios Lazaros; he stated that part of the wall had collapsed and functioned as a stable, though its three domes were apparently intact, supported by arches and pilasters.⁵⁵ It is unclear if Rinuccini meant that the actual sanctuary was used as a stable or some adjoining building. A few years later, the German knight Conrad Grünenberg recorded that there was “a rather strange church with many vaults” in Larnaka, certainly referring to Agios Lazarus.⁵⁶ Presumably he meant that it had “many domes,” and if so, then it indicates his unfamiliarity with the multiple-domed basilica. By the end of the fifteen century the church must have been renovated and re-consecrated as a cathedral.⁵⁷

Under the Venetians (1489-1571) Agios Lazaros fared much better. Apparently Latins and Greeks shared the basilica. In 1518 the silk merchant Jacques le Saige wrote:

Now the church is far from the village [of Salines] and quite close to the sea; it was here that aforetime the main town stood, but it is all destroyed except a part of the church, in which at one end they chant in Latin as with us, but in the middle or what we might call the choir, they chant in Greek.⁵⁸

Sometime afterwards, a porch with seven ribbed bays and seven arcades was constructed along the southern wall.⁵⁹ Also the exterior walls were refaced to the height of the side-aisles’ fascia. Since the porch’s stone masonry is identical to the refaced exterior walls (i.e. regular courses and little mortar between ashlars), we can date the renovation to the same time period under the Venetians. Waterspouts were also constructed at the eaves. However, the windows were not enlarged at this time, since Seigneur de Villamont wrote later in 1589, about:

...a very ancient church, which they affirm to have been built by S. Lazarus, whose name it still bears. It is really built in the antique style, getting little light but such as enters at the open doors. On the right as you enter you see an ancient sepulcher: to reach it you pass a little opening and go down four steps, then you take a candle and approach the tomb, which is neatly made and ornamented with marble...⁶⁰

Venetian rule brought some relief to the local Cypriots; for example, taxes were eased on the peasantry. Furthermore in 1521 Pope Leo X convened the Council of Florence which mandated that the Greek Church be unmolested by Roman Catholics and protected.⁶¹ While Latin supremacy was still enforced, the Greek-speaking Church could still flourish.

However the brutal oppression of the native Church of Cyprus would not be forgotten and tensions continued to mount. For that reason in 1571, the Greek-speaking Church welcomed Turkish conquest of the island, which once and for all dethroned the Latin Church's hegemony. However, the Turks did not distinguish Greek from Roman—both groups were slain by the thousands. With the “tables turned” the Latin clergy were now oppressed and fled the island. At the beginning of Turkish rule, the Cypriot Church negotiated a favorable treaty, allowing it to reestablish autocephaly and restore churches and monasteries. But there were exceptions. Upon subduing the population of Larnaka, Turks seized Agios Lazaros—perhaps with the goal of converting it into a mosque. However, after much petitioning, the local bishop “purchased” the church back in 1589.⁶² For the most part, Turkish rulers ignored the weak Church, since its only ties were with the Patriarch of Constantinople, who was thoroughly supervised by the Sultan and his Janissaries. The next mention of Agios Lazaros comes from Dutch pilgrim Johan van Cootwijk who stopped in Turkish Cyprus on his way to the Holy Land. In 1598 he described the structure still functioning as a church, “an ancient building, with a roof composed of several round domes; against the eastern side are sundry low huts, of a single storey, for the use of travelers.”⁶³

It was also during Turkish rule, that we have a longest historical description of the church. Pietro della Valle, a Roman scholar and traveler, wrote in 1647 that Agios Lazaros

belonged originally to the Armenians, and in a buttress of its outer walls all the stones are inscribed with Armenian letters. Why it is held now by the Greeks is possibly because there are no Armenians here, as there must have been formerly. It is very ancient, entirely of stone, its arrangement fantastic though common among the Greeks, for there are three aisles with a roof supported on four piers only, and three domes in a row over the middle aisle, and there apses without. Within, the space between the piers [the nave] is used by men, the aisles on either side by women only. Behind the altar they show underground a tomb like a small grotto, which can be entered through a square opening like the mouth of a vault. This, they say is the grave of Lazarus...adding that he built the church, of which he was bishop...the truth of this being proved by the miracles which are daily worked at the tomb, the sick are healed and the like.⁶⁴

Pietro della Valle possibly had a limited knowledge of Armenian, since he was married to a Nestorian Armenian woman, Lady Ma'ani from Mardin (Anatolia). Even though the inscriptions do not survive today, we can analyze its content due to the sketches of the inscription drawn by Richard Pococke in 1738 and Carsten Niebuhr in 1766 (**figs. V.12 a,b**).⁶⁵ Wachtang Djebadze examined these transcriptions and concluded:

The reproductions of the inscription (which differ from each other drastically) in fact display some Armenian and Georgian letters, but it is impossible to extract even a single word in either of these languages, evidently due to the inaccurate copying. It is also possible that some of the inscribed stones were placed in the wall upside down.⁶⁶

Since the lines of the inscription consist of different languages and do not form complete sentences, these scribbles were probably made by visiting pilgrims. As noted above (§ III.2.3. n. 133; IV.1.5.), both Agios Epifanios and Agia Paraskevi also have similar pilgrim inscriptions; the former has Georgian and Latin characters, while the latter is in Greek. We must keep in mind that there was a strong Armenia presence in Cyprus throughout the Lusignan Period, and Georgians maintained several monasteries on the island since the tenth century.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, the inscription at Agios Lazaros is rather late, and we can readily dismiss an Armenian or Georgian attribution to the multiple-dome design.

During the seventeenth century the church experienced alterations. Larger windows were placed in two registers. Windows were inserted in the center of the transept vault tympanum (three on each side and one in the west). Another row of twelve windows were placed at the floor level in the north and south walls, within and between the recess niches. These windows were rounded at the top and measured about 7 feet (2.2 m) tall. An inscription dated to 1669 was placed under one of the windows in the north wall. The church's original dark and defensive nature was transformed by these larger windows into a bright, open space. Apparently Larnaka was a much safer place at this time. Yet by 1727 Agios Lazaros was partially destroyed. In that year the Russian monk Vasileios Barsky visited the church and sketched it without its domes (**fig.V.13**); three years later Olfert Dapper likewise drew the church dome-less (**fig.V.14**).⁶⁸ Several earthquakes shook the island in the course of the eighteenth century contributing, perhaps, to this destruction.⁶⁹

In the eighteenth century we find historical accounts reminiscent of earlier sources. For example, Alexander Drummond recounted in 1750 "The architecture is such as I never saw before; and now they can only show the precious hole in which his body [Lazarus] was

deposited.”⁷⁰ And Constantius, the Archbishop of Sinai, explained in 1766: “The Gothic [sic] architecture testifies to its erection under the Greek rulers of the island...Under the altar is the tomb of the first bishop of the church of Kition, with a Hebrew inscription on the side towards the wall, ‘Lazarus, the four days dead, and friend of Christ.’”⁷¹ These further illustrate how visitors were perplexed by its structure and informed about the Lazarus cult. During this century a hyperthyrum was placed over the western door with new dressings; it consists of a short frieze with engaged columns supporting a horizontal cornice. Likewise the northern door was provided with a similar structure. A pediment was constructed above a camber arch, flanked by four engaged pilasters. Under the arch was placed a lintel and the Lusignan emblem (the Jerusalem cross)—undoubtedly an anachronism or a carving removed from another building (**fig.V.15**). Furthermore, the lower level windows in the north and south walls were replaced by shorter, camber arched openings. Similar windows were inserted in the side-aisle apses, and three windows were placed in the central apse; these are styled with faux relieving arches. A door was inserted in the apse, having the same style as the camber arch windows (**fig.V.16**). Perhaps the small wheel window above the apse was constructed at that time. Moreover in the west wall two windows pierced the tympanum of the side-aisle vaults; perhaps these are of a later date since they are square (and therefore, a different style). According to the archbishop Kyprianos, repairs were made to the church in 1758 by the bishop of Kition, Makarios. Since the style of these windows point to an eighteenth century period, it is safe to attribute their construction to this renovation.⁷²

The last major construction at Agios Lazaros occurred in 1882. When the British took control of the island, they granted the Church permission to ring bells, repealing the former ban of the Ottoman government. Before the turn of the century a bell tower was constructed over the southern aisle apse in Gothic revival style. Perhaps at this time the northern and southern doors were redressed, covering over the eighteenth century modifications. Later renovations took place from 1969 to 1972 after a fire destroyed the sixteenth century wooden iconostasis; an electrical system was installed along with new flooring.

V.2. Agios Varnavas (St. Barnabas), near Salamis-Constantia

The monastery church of Agios Varnavas (St. Barnabas) replicated the design and aesthetics of Agios Lazaros, lying 23 miles (36 km) northeast of Larnaka. Agios Varnavas also stands 1.15 miles (1.85 km) directly west of Agios Epifanios (Salamis-Constantia) (**fig.V.21**).

Today the monastery functions as a museum housing icons and artifacts. Little is known about the monastery prior to the Early Christian period, yet the environment was probably considered a wasteland, part of a vast prehistoric necropolis stretching from the walls of Salamis westward. Archaeologists revealed tombs in this region dating from the sixteenth century BC through to the Late Roman period. Many of these graves are associated with another, much earlier city-state known as Enkomi which lies one mile south of the monastery.⁷³ Today, illegal excavations have uncovered Hellenistic and Roman tombs underneath the entire monastery grounds (**fig. V.24**).

V.2.1. The Apostle Barnabas

The monastery is inextricably linked to the cult of the Apostle Barnabas. The primary source for the apostle's life comes from the New Testament, where he is called "Joseph Barnabas from Cyprus."⁷⁴ Apparently he came from a wealthy Jewish Levite family who owned land at both Salamis and around Jerusalem.⁷⁵ The story is credible since there is sufficient evidence for a Jewish population on Cyprus provided in both historical and archaeological sources.⁷⁶ It is also known that the Salamis Jewish community exported Cypriot wine for ritual use in the Jerusalem temple as early as the first century.⁷⁷ Therefore, it was in this context—where there was a strong relationship between Salamis and Jerusalem—that the historical figure of Barnabas emerged. Held in high esteem among the pagans, he was perhaps more eloquent than his counterpart—the apostle Paul—since in Lystra they called Barnabas "Zeus," while Paul was called "Hermes."⁷⁸ Barnabas is last mentioned in the Bible sailing off to Cyprus with the Evangelist Mark, after a dispute with Paul.⁷⁹ Their disagreement was over the faithfulness of Mark, who abandoned them at Paphos; perhaps he was also a native Cypriot, being Barnabas' cousin.⁸⁰ Mark later overshadowed Barnabas by penning the canonical gospel and establishing the Church of Alexandria, opposite of Paphos, in Egypt. Cypriots claimed Barnabas as their apostle rather than Mark, since the latter's relics were in Alexandria and the former's were in Salamis. Perhaps it is not a coincidence that Mark also had a multiple domed basilica built for him in Venice, after the Venetians stole it from its original resting place in the ninth century.⁸¹

The subsequent history of Barnabas can be found in the *Acta Barnabae*, which purports to be written by the Evangelist Mark.⁸² It recorded how Barnabas and Mark traveled throughout the island training the next generation of Christian leaders, such as Herakleidios, Auxibios, Timon, and Rhodon—highly venerated figures in Cypriot hagiography. When they arrived at Salamis, Barnabas went to the Biblia (library?) near the synagogue at Salamis where he preached

with the gospel book of Matthew in hand. The Jews were angered and had him brought before the island's governor, and in the hippodrome, the saint was burned along with Matthew's gospel, "so that even his bones turned into ashes." The writer continued "But I [Mark] found the right moment during the night...was able to take him [Barnabas] and went to a certain place, found a cave, and put him there, where the Jebusites used to live."⁸³ At this point the hagiographer contradicted himself by describing the relics as a body (and not merely ashes) along with the undamaged gospel book. While the account is a work of fiction, the author was familiar with the geography of Cyprus and its traditional saints. Most scholars agree that the *Acta Barnabae* was written as a result of the "discovery" of Barnabas' tomb after 477.⁸⁴

Like the *Acta Barnabae*, two other works, the *Laudatio Barnabae Apostoli* and the *Encomium Barnabae* described Barnabas' life where the New Testament ends. They were written by the monk Alexander of Cyprus in the mid sixth century and provide a close, but separate, tradition.⁸⁵ Alexander was a monk living at the monastery of Agios Varnavas and had access to oral traditions and historical records.⁸⁶ He related how Barnabas was seized by Jews at the Salamis synagogue, tortured, and then stoned; afterwards they burned the body "so that nothing of him would remain." Instead of contradicting himself, like the previous author, Alexander wrote that "By the providence of God the body of the apostle remained whole and the fire caused it no harm." He also described how Mark stole the relics and buried them in a cave "about five stadia from the city"—similar to the previous account.⁸⁷ The *Laudatio* further discussed the discovery of Barnabas' tomb 400 years later. In that narrative, the apostle appeared to the archbishop of Salamis-Constantia, Anthemios, in a dream and said:

Go...out of the city five stadia to the west, to a place called Hygieia, for God works miracles through me in that place. Dig near the carob-tree, and you will find a cave, and a chest in it. There lies my whole body and a gospel written in my hand, which I received from Matthew the holy apostle and evangelist. And when the unrighteous charge you, claiming up and down that the apostolic throne belongs to Antioch, counter them by saying that 'My throne, too, is apostolic and that I have an apostle in my own country.'

Clearly Alexander was writing to confirm the autocephaly of the Cypriot church. As for the place-name "Hygeia," it is certainly a pagan survival referring to the goddess of health.

These accounts helped strengthen Cyprus' apostolic foundations, and were referred to in later historical sources. The early seventh century *Vita Auxibi* stated "Barnabas...obtained the crown of martyrdom in Constantia by the lawless Jews."⁸⁸ Theodoros Anagnostes (Lector) (6th

c.) wrote: “The remains of the apostle Barnabas were found in Cyprus under a carob tree, with the Gospel of Matthew, by Barnabas’ own hand on his chest.”⁸⁹ Leontios of Neapolis (early 7th c.) recorded that John the Almoner “arrived at Constantia and paid reverent worship to the relics of the saints there, namely, Barnabas, the all-praiseworthy apostle, and Epiphanius, the great miracle-worker.”⁹⁰ George of Cyprus (early 7th) declared: “The eparchy of Cyprus has continued, having sovereignty for itself, because here the holy apostle Barnabas was found, having the Gospel of Mark on his chest.”⁹¹ George Hamartolos wrote in the early ninth century: “During the reign of Zeno the relics of the apostle Barnabas were found by revelation in Cyprus under a carob tree...the apostle had the Gospel of Matthew, written by his own hand, on his chest.”⁹² All these accounts confirm how important Barnabas’ relics were to the Early Medieval church. And so, as a matter of course, a shrine was built to shelter the cave where his relics were exhumed and a church erected nearby to serve visiting pilgrims.

V.2.2. Early Christian Agios Varnavas

Hagiographical accounts firmly established the association between the apostle and the archbishop of Salamis-Constantia. The miraculous discovery of the tomb by Anthemios gave credibility and prestige to his position. Therefore, like the cathedral of Agios Epifanios, the new church built at Agios Varnavas would be a katholicon serving a monastic community, headed by the archbishop. Alexander of Cyprus recorded how the church was constructed:

The emperor [Zeno] greatly honored the Archbishop [Anthemios] and sent him to Cyprus with much money and with instructions, commanding him to raise up a church to St. Barnabas the Apostle in the place where his precious body had been found. Many of the nobles also gave him money for the construction of the church. When he had reached Cyprus and gathered a large number of craftsmen and workmen he energetically carried the construction forward. He built an exceedingly large church to the apostle, splendid in workmanship, even more splendid in the variety of its decoration, and girt roundabout on the outside with buttresses. On the west wing of the church he built a large court with three stoas and from one side to the other of the court he built apartments. He ordered the monks who perform the divine services in the church to live in these apartments. He also built an aqueduct, which carried water from a far distance, and made the water come up abundantly in the middle of the court; also a beautiful cistern so that those living in the place and any visitors might have unlimited enjoyment of running water. He also built many other accommodations in the place for the refreshment of visiting strangers. One could see this place equaling in beauty a small and very pleasant city.⁹³

The church was designed for pilgrims, equipped with accommodations and running water. Lying directly west of the cathedral, the monastery became part of the pilgrimage route between Agios Epifanios and the Campanopetra (fig.V.21).

In 1934 the Early Christian foundations of the shrine and church were uncovered by Theophilus Mogabgab.⁹⁴ Unfortunately it was not a proper archaeological excavation, since he left no photographic, illustrative, or written record of his activities except those photographs reproduced by George Soteriou.⁹⁵ In fact, much data was destroyed as he removed masonry in order to expose the Early Christian foundations. Today a partial reconstruction of the eastern section, carried out in the 1950s, further obscures the ancient material. Nevertheless, several observations can be made on what is left in situ.

The “cave” which initially housed the Barnabas’ relics is located 170 yards (155 m) northeast of the monastery church. Rock-carved steps lead northward to a hypogeaum (fig.V.22, 23) At the bottom of the steps, to the right, is an arcosolia that once was Barnabas’ initial resting place (as claimed by pilgrims today). Water was once drawn from a well in the floor, which is now covered by a table resembling an altar. Beyond this area are three additional arcosolia niches carved in the side passages (one at the left and two at the right). Faint traces of fresco paint can be seen on the walls of the passages; pilgrims over the centuries rubbed their hands over the images, leaving the subject matter and style inapprehensible. The nature of the tombs (arcosolia and full body inhumation) suggests a Roman period date for its construction. The steps leading to the hypogeaum were once sheltered by square structure with sides measuring 45 feet (13 m). The floor was covered in marble opus sectile with the same quality and patterns as found in the Campanopetra church (Salamis-Constantia) and therefore, is contemporary (mid-fifth century). The small size of the building indicates that it was not a church proper, but a memoriam or shrine marking where Barnabas’ remains were discovered, but not where they were kept.

A pilgrimage church was specifically built to house Barnabas’ remains nearby (figs.V.25, 26, I.5). According to Alexander the Monk, the archbishop Anthemios took the relics and placed them in the southern aisle apse. In 1934 Mogabgab uncovered this area, finding a *mensa martyris* (Altar of Witnesses), consisting of a marble slab (4.8 x 2.2 feet; 147 x 68 cm) with a hole in the center (fig.V.26). This allowed pilgrims to touch the relics either with cloth or their hands.⁹⁶ Next to this was another rectangular marble slab (7 x 2.2 feet; 213 x 68 cm) against the southern wall which marked the burial of the archbishop Anthemios himself.⁹⁷ The *mensa martyris*

location is reminiscent of Epiphanius' relics at Agios Epifanios and the parekklesia (side chapels) at the Panagia Chrysiotissa (Afentrika) and Agia Paraskevi.

The church Anthemios built is similar to many basilicas excavated on Cyprus. It was a three-aisled, three-apse, wooden roof basilica, and measured 124 by 62 feet (38 x 19 m) externally.⁹⁸ Marble opus sectile paved the floor like the adjacent shrine. Sometime in the sixth century a synthronon was added to the main apse (over the opus sectile flooring). Remnants of the original columns were discovered underneath the later flooring in 1934; these columns were re-erected during 1949 renovations when the Early Christian apses were partially rebuilt. In the 1964 repairs, Papageorghiou identified remnants of the original walls incorporated into the current multiple-domed church on the western and northern sides.⁹⁹ These investigations were not able to detect the original extent of the narthex and atrium.

Surrounding the atrium today are buildings dating from eighteenth or nineteenth century. They consist of low-lying roofs made from timber and straw, with arched porticos facing the courtyard in Ottoman fashion. These contained a kitchen, refractory, and monks cells. They were certainly built on earlier foundations, based on the ancient material littering the nearby fields. Underneath the modern fountain probably lies the original well in the center of the courtyard. According to Alexander the Monk, this fountain was fed by an aqueduct. Around the monastery cells the ground slopes downward, indicating that the whole monastery was once surrounded by a wall.

V.2.3. The Multiple-domed Agios Varnavas

Sometime in the ninth century, the church of Agios Varnavas was rebuilt. Its design and style was identical to Agios Lazaros in Larnaka. However, it was a much larger church, occupying over twice the area. Agios Varnavas' domes also have twice the diameter—the largest domes on the island until the eleventh century.¹⁰⁰ By maintaining the original dimensions and recycling the Early Christian church foundations, architects managed to build a spacious multiple-domed basilica.

Like Agios Lazaros, the architect(s) repeated the transept arm for all three domed bays, eliminating the need for intermediary piers as at Agios Epifanios. Twelve bays were formed consisting of barrel-vaults running east to west, whereas the six bays of the transept arms would run north to south. Likewise, each dome was supported, not necessarily by the four piers, but by four transverse barrel-vaults which directed the gravitational pull towards the piers. The piers at

Agios Varnavas were actually walls pierced by round headed portals. These passages were originally much wider than Agios Lazaros', and were later narrowed (**fig.V.25, 27a**).

Agios Varnavas' masonry resembled Agios Lazaros', more than its neighbor Agios Epifanios'. Its external limestone ashlar were square and rectangular, and usually followed regular courses. Unfortunately, a thick layer of plaster prevents assessing the internal construction. It is obvious that the domes rest on double vaults, causing the pendentives to overhang as at Agios Lazaros (**fig.V.28, 29**). Similarly marble capitals were reused for support and aesthetics (**fig.V.30a**). They functioned originally to accommodate the wooden scaffolding for centering the vaults; later they served as springing corbels for the round arches of the pier portals and vaults. Today a continuous cornice forms a ledge from which the barrel-vaults spring—however, these are later additions.

In terms of decoration, little survives or is covered by plaster. As at Agios Lazaros the capitals jut out from the wall surface, providing some articulation of the wall surface. Recess niches in the north and south internal walls, facing the pier passages, also provide an undulating wall space (**fig.V.27b**). A green spiral column from the Early Christian church was left in situ on the east end of the southern aisle, leaving us to speculate if other columns are embedded in the piers beneath the plaster (**fig.V.30b**). Perhaps the most significant decorations are mosaics that survive in the dome (**fig.V.31**). While small and fragmentary, they are the only examples of mosaics in Cyprus that post-date the apse mosaic at the Panagia Angeloktisti (Kiti, early 7th c.). The mosaic in the western dome is original, forming the four arms of a splayed cross. The mosaic in the eastern dome has been altered, consisting of two plaster-molded Maltese crosses superimposed on each other, with the original mosaic in between the arms. In the center of the cross is a plaster rondel with a plain cross in the middle. Tesserae in both domes range from orange-brown to green-blue. Naturally, such dome decoration brings to mind the bema dome fresco at Agia Paraskevi. The use of four intersecting ribs in the dome would prohibit any other decorative scheme. Furthermore, this indicates that the church was built at a time prior to the adoption of the Pantocrator in eleventh century churches.¹⁰¹

Agios Varnavas' doors and windows belong to several building periods. The current three entrances demarcate the original placement of the doors. However, none have original features; their voussoirs, jambs, and trim are different than the adjacent masonry. Papageorghiou believed that the church initially had three doorways in the western facade. However, what he interprets as doors in the side aisles, I suggest were originally recess niches (as they are today).

These were made into windows at a later date and then blocked up by 1727, when Barsky made his drawing (**fig.V.32**). Therefore, the church would have had doorways much like Agia Paraskevi and the Peristeronna church—in the middle of the west, south, and north walls. The domes contain fourteen windows each.¹⁰² These are long thin loops, much larger than any of the previous multiple-domed churches, though Agios Lazaros' original windows were probably similar. Other original windows are located on the tympanums of the transept arms; there is one peculiar loop on the west face of the westernmost transept arm in the south aisle (**figs.I.5, V.33**). Other long thin loops once occupied the tympanum of the side aisles in the west facade, though they do not survive today (but appear on Barsky's drawing). Papageorghiou thought that the three-arched window on the west facade belonged to the original scheme (**fig.V.34**). However, since the arches are wider than the other windows and the columns are not from the Byzantine period (since they are polygonal), the three-arched window probably dates to the Venetian period, along with the rose window above it.

While the design, masonry, and style of Agios Varnavas are identical to Agios Lazaros, it is important to underscore some differences. As mentioned above, Agios Varnavas has larger proportions and wider passages (**fig.V.26**). In order to accommodate a wider dome, there are two tiers at the external drums' footings, telescopically transforming the rectangular base into an ellipse. Also its side vaults were wider. Builders used similarly proportioned arches in Agios Varnavas as they used at Agios Lazaros, leaving a gap between the side-aisle and nave vaulting. In order to bridge this gap, they added a partial barrel-vault to each aisle (**figs.V.33, 34**).

V.2.4. The Barrel-vaulted Agios Varnavas

In the eastern end of the northern aisle are remnants of a barrel-vault along with footings of three piers (**figs.V.25, 35, 36**). This barrel-vault has a different elevation than the current multiple-domed church, signifying a different period of construction. Two scholars have suggested an intermediate stage between the Early Christian church and the multiple-domed basilica. Megaw claimed that Agios Varnavas was always a two-domed church. He suggested that a barrel-vaulted basilica, like those in the Karpas Peninsula, succeeded the Early Christian church. Megaw hypothesized that the eastern end of the barrel-vaulted church was maintained while the rest was converted into a multiple-domed basilica at a later date.¹⁰³ Papageorghiou, to the contrary, proposed that the barrel-vaulted church was rebuilt with three-domes and would

have originally looked like Agios Lazaros. He argued that the third dome collapsed later, perhaps in the seventeenth century.¹⁰⁴

This hypothetical barrel-vaulted phase is problematic. Much of the archaeological evidence was removed and destroyed by Mogabgab's 1934 excavation. Previously, Soteriou hypothesized that Agios Varnavas was built in the fifth or sixth century as a multiple domed basilica. When he visited the site in 1931 he noticed that Early Christian columns and capitals were embedded in the domed church. He argued that the entire wooden-roof was transformed into three-domes due to the influence of Justinianic architecture in Constantinople.¹⁰⁵ Soteriou further suggested that the third dome collapsed and was never rebuilt, leaving the church to appear as it does today, with two domes.¹⁰⁶ At that time scholars were hesitant to accept his reconstruction, because he failed to account for the barrel-vaulted remains in the northern aisle. While Soteriou was an acquaintance of Mogabgab and was provided with at least three excavation photographs, there is no evidence that the Greek scholar visited the site after 1931.¹⁰⁷ But surely Soteriou was aware of the barrel-vaulting, readily visible when he photographed the church and drafted its elevations. Perhaps he believed the barrel-vaulting was a later construction and irrelevant regarding the church's original appearance.

At this point I would agree with Soteriou and suggest that there are several reasons why we should not accept an intermediate barrel-vaulted phase between the Early Christian and multiple-domed church. First, extant columns and capitals embedded into the fabric of the multiple-domed church indicate that these features were *in situ* when the multiple-domed church was constructed. If a barrel-vaulted church existed, its construction would have removed or greatly altered these Early Christian supports from their original context. Second, the barrel-vault stonework abuts the domed church's masonry. If the domed church was a later construction, it would have been built *over* the barrel-vault, not *under* it. Remnants of the collapsed eastern vaulting survive in the southern aisle (continuing from the multiple-dome churches' vault), partially jutting out into space (**fig.V.33a**). This leads me to reconstruct a third domed bay over the Early Christian bema (**figs.V.37, 38**). Megaw also neglected the form of the barrel-vaulting. It is unlike the churches of the Karpas Peninsula, since the vault springs from a continuous corbel. This feature first appears in Cyprus with the transept arms of Agios Lazaros. In Megaw's reconstruction, a two-domed structure is fused to a shorter barrel-vaulted section. Such a combination would have been rather awkward. Furthermore, there is neither residue of

transitional masonry connecting the two sections, nor evidence of a barrel-vault in the southern aisle. Also, such a hybrid would have been exceptional structure.

Likewise, Papageorghiou's theory placed the barrel-vaulted portion prior to the three-domed church. In his model, the northern aisle incorporated the earlier barrel-vault. But this also is unlikely, since it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to construct the eastern dome resting on this awkward barrel-vault. As with the other two domes of the church, the transept arms served an important function, supporting the drums and providing access to the aisles—the barrel-vault would interfere with this type of dome support. Furthermore, Papageorghiou's thesis could not explain why this section of vaulting was saved while others were replaced.

The best solution to problems introduced by Megaw's and Papageorghiou's hypotheses is to posit that the barrel-vaulted portion post-dates the multiple-domed basilica. The "stratigraphy" of the barrel-vaulting, abutting and overlapping the domed church's masonry, indicates that it was built after the construction of the domed church, and after the collapse of the third dome. With the destruction of the eastern area, the architects sealed off the standing church with walls. In order to continue to utilize the sacred bema of the earlier church, a series of rooms were carved out of the two side aisles, including a barrel-vaulted chamber in the north aisle. This explains why the current church has a shorter north aisle and why there is no evidence for a barrel-vault in the south aisle. We also must keep in mind that the entire east end of the church was reconstructed at some date when a new apse was constructed; the masonry on the eastern walls was rebuilt, masking the stratigraphy of the barrel-vaulted phase.

V.2.5. The Later History of Agios Varnavas

Agios Varnavas remained one of the largest churches of the island until the building of Agia Sophia in Nicosia by the Lusignans in 1209. An earthquake in 1159 probably caused the collapse of the eastern dome. At the same time the nearby multiple-domed church of Agios Epifanios suffered damage and was repaired (§III.2.4). Both churches were provided with additional piers to shore up the transverse arches supporting the domes. Similar compound piers were also placed in Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion (§IV.2.4). But at Agios Varnavas the eastern dome was completely devastated and not rebuilt. Perhaps the barrel-vaulted chambers were added to the east end at this point. The current apse is a somewhat later reconstruction since it has an acute pointed arch, commonly found in fourteenth and fifteenth century Gothic

churches on the island, such as Saint-Nicholas and Agios Georgios in nearby Famagusta. Eave spouts on the west facade also date to a later period.

Perhaps twelfth century earthquakes also caused Barnabas' relics to be translated to Nicosia. There is mention of an Agios Varnavas church in Nicosia, built probably in the late twelfth century. From the meager literature that survives, it seems that the church served as a secondary cathedral for the archbishop.¹⁰⁸ Nicosia would have been a natural move for the archbishopric, since the Lusignan Dynasty founded it as their new capital in 1192.¹⁰⁹ It soon became the seat of the Latin archbishop. Nevertheless, the history of the relics of Barnabas remains a mystery. Today both Kykko and Makhaeras monasteries claim to have his relics. These claims are plausible, since the eighteenth century these institutions have collected the most significant relics of the island.¹¹⁰ Concerning the church of Agios Varnavas in Nicosia, nothing survives—not even a place-name.

Even though the relics of Barnabas left the monastery, the church and cave-shrine continued to attract Western travelers and pilgrims. The earliest historical accounts come from the fifteenth and sixteenth century pilgrims and merchants, who were specifically drawn to the site by tour guides.¹¹¹ German pilgrim Ulrich Leman visited the shrine in 1472 describing the “beautiful stones” covering the grave, perhaps referring to the original opus sectile.¹¹² Further information was provided by Thomaso Porcacchi, who wrote in 1576 that “A church is shown dedicated to the Apostle S. Barnabas, and the place where he was martyred and buried in a well, together with the Gospel of S. Matthew, written by the Evangelist’s own hand, which was found there about the year 473.”¹¹³ Such accounts illustrate the popularity of the monastery under the Lusignans and Venetians.

Agios Varnavas underwent minor alterations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Accounts speak of the archbishop of Cyprus, Hilarion Kigalas (fl. 1674-1682), sponsoring a renovation there.¹¹⁴ Perhaps this resulted in the wheel oculus, the three-arched window, and a cross loop (above the door) in the west facade along with the round-arched windows in the side-aisles. The south-aisle was also provided with a similar round-arched window in the east wall. These expenditures seem extravagant since, beginning in the eighteenth century it appears that only one steward lived in the monastery, and most of its furnishings and vessels were pillaged by Ottoman authorities. Even so, the monastery maintained a glebe in the village and an apple orchard.¹¹⁵ By the time of Barsky’s visit in 1735, the western windows were blocked up. He also

described the church as slightly larger with an abbot and two (or three) monks who farmed its fields and shepherded goats.¹¹⁶ A few years later Pococke wrote

St. Barnabas...seems to have been a fine building; the church has been ruined and rebuilt; the foundations of the east end of the old church remain in three semi-circles. About a furlong east of this church is a descent by several steps to a sepulchral grot cut in the rock, with niches for bodies on three sides of it: here, they say, the body of St. Barnabas was deposited, who was a native of the island, and suffered martyrdom at Salamis in the time of Nero. At the entrance of the grot there is a well of water that is a little salty, and a small chapel is built over the grotto which does not seem to be of any great antiquity.¹¹⁷

Two years later, the Archbishop Philotheos (1734-59) again renovated the church; an inscription on the western door (now lost) recorded these changes.¹¹⁸ Pier buttresses were placed on the south wall's exterior; the doors' frames and trim were replaced; the pier passages were narrowed; and continuous corbels in the barrel-vaulting were added. Later, the fortunes of the monastery changed and expansion plans were made. Giovanni Mariti wrote in the 1760s:

'The beautiful church of St. Barnabas, with a vast monastery, contains only a very few monks. Some years ago a design was formed for enlarging it; but the Grand Signior, fearing that this church might one day be converted into a fortress, withdrew the permission which he had granted: the sacrifice of a few hundreds of piastres would however have removed this difficulty. Not far from hence is a church still older, and dedicated to the same saint; but it is now falling into ruins. I was shown, in a vault below it, the tomb of the patron'¹¹⁹

The current wooden iconostasis provides us with some sense of its eighteenth century interior decoration and furnishings.

During the nineteenth century, properties of the monastery were rented out to individuals, resulting in the complete abandonment of the monastery. But under the British colonial authority, there was a resurgence of the monastery culminating in 1916, when the current eastern cells were built. Three monks from Aphaneia, named Chartion, Stefanos, and Barnabas, thereafter maintained the establishment.¹²⁰ Sometime after this revival, Jeffery noted that buttresses were added to the north wall exterior. He also stated that

one of the most interesting features about the church is the presence of a small Latin chapel formed out of the east end of the south aisle, with its piscine in the usual position in the south wall. This reminder of a time when the Orthodox were in the habit of permitting the use of some of their churches—or at least portions of them—to the

Latins, would suggest the date of the alterations to the church to be subsequent to the Turkish Occupation.¹²¹

Guiness records that this chapel was “recently...covered with a series of crude life-size frescos.”¹²² These survive today. Sometime after 1918 the cave shrine collapsed, which Jeffery described as a “small unarchitectural shed-building, but appears ancient.”¹²³ Moreover, the Department of Antiquities under the British began renovating the basilica in 1949.¹²⁴ The west facade was modified, conforming to Barsky’s drawing. The main doorway was narrowed, and the triple-arched window and the wheel window were unblocked. Foundations of the ruined east end were cleaned and rebuilt to the height of three feet (1 m). In 1954 the cave shrine was recovered by a domed chapel, slightly smaller than the original building.¹²⁵ Ten years later the church was again renovated. At this point the north wall buttresses were removed.¹²⁶ By 1965 several other monks joined the order and resided on the premises. Unfortunately the 1974 Turkish invasion caused the expulsion of the community and led to its complete plunder.

V.3. The Dating

Exactly when Agios Lazaros and Agios Varnavas were transformed into multiple-domed basilicas is still a matter of debate. There is consensus that both churches are contemporary, based on their close decoration and design. Since Agios Lazaros is connected to an historical event—the translation of Lazarus’ relics to Constantinople—most dating schemes hinge around this moment. For example in 1912, local Cypriot scholar Charilaos Papaioannou suggested that “when the Emperor Leo received the relic [of Lazarus] he funded the building of the church at Kiti [i.e. Larnaka].”¹²⁷ His argument drew a parallel between the documented constructions of the fifth century basilica Agios Varnavas, commissioned by Emperor Zeno, with the undocumented building of Agios Lazaros, supposedly funded by Emperor Leo. The simplicity of such an argument, though historically unfounded, had explanatory power.

Other scholars proposed dates between the sixth and eighteenth centuries for these monuments. Soteriou argued that the original form of Agios Lazaros was a five-domed church resembling the Holy Apostles (Constantinople) or St. John (Ephesus).¹²⁸ According to him, if Leo VI spent any money on the church, it was to restore a multiple-domed structure that the Arabs previously destroyed. N. Kyriaze tried to prove Soteriou’s five-dome hypothesis in 1933 by excavating the outer courtyard flanking the central dome of Agios Lazaros.¹²⁹ He discovered

foundations and graves (which his workmen pillaged), and these convinced him of Soteriou's thesis. However few were persuaded by his findings. Megaw, for instance, ignored Kyriaze's work when he wrote that Agios Lazaros was "Franco-Byzantine" (13th c.?), basing his arguments on its "bay system of Gothic architecture" and Soteriou's erroneous elevation plans which showed pointed arches.¹³⁰ I suspect that Megaw was closely following Enlart, who suggested an eleventh or twelfth century date.¹³¹ However, by 1958 the majority of scholars, including Megaw and Soteriou, came to favor Papaioannou's earlier theory.¹³² As described above (§ I.1. and II.3.7), scholars had a predilection to pin Cypriot monuments to historical dates mentioned by Byzantine sources, especially those linking the island with Constantinople. They believed that all architectural roads led to New Rome—the *causa causans* of Eastern medieval art history. Therefore Papaioannou's theory was attractive, providing an imperial catalyst for multiple-domed basilica construction. Subsequent scholars assumed that such complex and large buildings could not have been built apart from Constantinopolitan inspiration. Megaw went even further and postulated that Barnabas' relics were also translated to Constantinople, even though there is absolutely no evidence of such an event.¹³³ Even so, the entire multiple-domed group would be dated to the tenth century by later scholars, such as Annabel Wharton and Slobodan Ćurčić.¹³⁴

Earlier in his career, Papageorghiou agreed with Megaw's reasoning, dating Agios Lazaros to the ninth or tenth century.¹³⁵ Then in 1972 Papageorghiou excavated the church while it was being renovated. During the course of that work two discoveries were made: thick layers of plaster were removed exposing the original masonry; and the floor was removed, revealing opus sectile between the piers. With the plaster removed, it became clear that the masonry under the current windows was altered; at some point the window openings reached down to the original floor (**fig. V.39**). To Papageorghiou, such tall windows are a Constantinopolitan feature, and must date to after the Byzantine reconquest of Cyprus. He also argued that the opus sectile seemed similar to the type found at the late eleventh century chapel of Agios Ioannis Chrysostom (Koutsovendis). This new data caused Papageorghiou to date the church to the eleventh or twelfth century.

At this point, we must understand Papageorghiou's conception of Agios Lazaros' and Agios Varnavas' design. He believed it was a completely new form of the multiple-domed basilica, and therefore, unlike Agios Paraskevi and Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion. In his monograph on Agios Lazaros, he wrote:

Typologically, the church of Agios Lazaros is a cross-in-square with domes. It is not however a usual cross-in-square but more complex, in that it is actually constituted from three compacted cross-in-squares with domes [fused together].¹³⁶

He emphasized this characterization several times.¹³⁷ He further explained that:

In Cyprus, the oldest example of a domed cross-in-square is the Church of Agios Antonios in the Kellia that is dated to the ninth century. In the same century is also dated the five-domed church of Agia Paraskevi in Yeroskipou. The church with three domes in along the nave, which was built in the corridor that leads from southern aisle to the baptistery of the basilica of Agios Epifanios, is certainly older. It is not therefore impossible that the union between the multiple-domes with the cross-in-square took place in the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century, and the creation of a church type, such as Agios Lazaros and the Apostle Barnabas.¹³⁸

Papageorghiou's commitment to categorize Agios Lazaros as a cross-in-square, necessarily connected the church to the predominant type in Constantinople. While Papageorghiou did not rule out a ninth or tenth century date for Agios Lazaros, he later suggested an eleventh or twelfth century by associating it with Comnenian governance on the island. And, as a result, he followed Megaw's original hypothesis that large and complex churches like Agios Varnavas and Agios Lazaros could not have been built apart from some Constantinopolitan influence. However we should not be persuaded by this theory for several reasons.

First, no comparable churches from the eleventh or twelfth century in the Byzantine Empire display any specific relation to Agios Lazaros or Agios Varnavas. Their chief characteristics (the three-domed nave, reuse of marble capitals as decoration, and pierced-wall support system) cannot be found in any monument outside Cyprus during the Comnenian dynasty or any other period. On the other hand, elements of eleventh and twelfth century Byzantine architecture (brick construction and a brick aesthetic, blind arcades, large windows, figural mosaic decoration, marble revetment, and columns supports) are absent in these Cypriot churches. It could be argued that Agios Lazaros' idiosyncrasies were the results of provincial inability to replicate more complex Constantinopolitan buildings. However, while one peculiar church can be explained away in such a fashion, the existence of a second example, Agios Varnavas, defies this prejudice.

Second, these basilicas should not be classified as cross-in-square churches. By definition, the Byzantine cross-in-square type has one dome flanked by four barrel-vaults, comprising of

nine bays. If Agios Lazaros was the net result of three cross-in-square churches squeezed together, it would have twenty-seven bays. But instead we find twenty-one. The reason why is because the domes share the nave barrel-vaults between them. This sharing component necessarily changes the structure and appearance of the basilica design from its foundations to its vaulting. The elongated basilica produces a quite different effect than a centrally-planned cross-in-square church. Furthermore, piers in the aisle arcade do not function or look like columns in a cross-in-square church. These “piers” only appear on the ground plan; from the elevation plan, we see walls pierced by portals. Moreover, in Constantinopolitan architecture, marble columns elevate the dome while opening up the wall, resulting in a lofty, dematerialized internal space; the squat, thick, and uncrowned pier does not create the same aesthetic. So, while on paper, Agios Lazaros and Agios Varnavas resemble the cross-in-square type, in terms of building technique and spatial organization, they belong to a category of their own.

Third, Papageorghiou’s hypothesis concerning the original windows of Agios Lazaros cannot be sustained. In 1972 he discovered a patchwork of masonry within the internal sides of the north and south walls, in the center of each bay (**fig.V.39**). On the interior bay walls, facing the pier-portals, this patchwork measured from the bottom of the current windows down to the floor, having a width of around 2 ½ feet (76 cm). Similarly, he found patchwork in the transept bays, measuring from the bottom of the windows to about 4 feet (1.2 m) from the floor and about 4 ½ feet (1.3 m) wide (**fig.V.40**). Papageorghiou interpreted these areas as demarcating the original dimensions of the windows. These would have measured over 13 feet (4 m) tall. He admitted that “the size and the form of these windows are unique in Cyprus,” and therefore looked to outside churches for similarities.¹³⁹ Not surprisingly he concluded that “only in Constantinople do churches exist with round-arched windows that reach almost to the floors.”¹⁴⁰ Papageorghiou then cited the several Constantinopolitan churches as having comparable windows: Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii, Christos ho Pantepoptes (Eski Imaret Camii), the Kalenderhane, the Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii), the Church of Constantine Lips. However, these examples are far from analogous to Agios Lazaros; none of their windows reach the floor or have a narrow width of 2 ½ feet. The Kalenderhane Camii and Constantine Lips seem to have floor-length windows; but this is actually not the case, since they incorporated marble plaques, similar to chancel screens, to bring the windows 4 feet off the ground. Furthermore, the style of these windows is of a completely different type than what Papageorghiou proposes for Agios Lazaros; they have three-arches separated by marble columns.

Another problem with Papageorghiou's interpretation of this patchwork masonry is the fact that the so-called "windows" belong to two diverse types. "Windows" facing the pier-portals reach the ground and are narrower than "windows" in the transept arms that are considerably shorter. This discrepancy is important since windows in churches, from the Late Antique through the Byzantine period, are uniform within the initial phase of building. And so, if these are windows, they mark two different types, denoting two different periods.

Concerning the first type, which reaches the floor, they are not in fact windows. In archaeology, the term used for *floor-length windows* is *doors*. It is hard to believe that this church had eleven doors, especially since all previous barrel-vaulted and multiple-domed basilicas on the island were windowless and fortress-like. Also, if Agios Lazaros contained these tall windows, there would be traces of marble capitals which would have centered the window arches, like the pier-portals. But there is no evidence of these. What then are we to make of this patchwork?

Fortunately Agios Varnavas' wall surface survives intact and has the same features we see at Agios Lazaros. Ironically, Papageorghiou hastily dismissed Agios Varnavas because of its internal plaster.¹⁴¹ However, traces of windows would still be detectable on its exterior, where no plaster is present. In fact, no remains of windows are present at the ground level on the north or south walls. More significantly, the interior of Agios Varnavas has round-arched niches, measuring 13 feet tall and 2 ½ feet wide, facing the pier-portals. Such wall-niches echo earlier aisle niches (e.g. Agios Georgios and the Afentrika churches). Therefore we can explain the patchwork at Agios Lazaros as remnants of wall-niches. Such repeated forms (bays, arcades, compound piers, buttresses etc.) increase the perceived space. There are no similar wall-niches present in the eleventh/twelfth century churches of Constantinople.

Agios Varnavas can also assist us in understanding the second type of window at Agios Lazaros (i.e. those in the transept bays). In the surviving transept arms at Agios Varnavas, round-arched windows were inserted into the north and south walls, both measuring 4 ½ feet (1.3 m) tall and 4 feet (1.2 m) wide (**fig.V.27b**). The position and measurements of these windows coincide with Agios Lazaros' second type of window. Based on the exterior frame and trim, these windows at Agios Varnavas were not original, but eighteenth or nineteenth century insertions, anachronistically based on earlier Byzantine style windows.¹⁴² Therefore, Agios Lazaros once had windows of a similar type, inserted at a similar date. Contrary to Papageorghiou's methodology, such late additions cannot be used to date the original church.

Fourth, Papageorghiou's interpretation of the original opus sectile flooring at Agios Lazaros is unfounded. As described above (§V.1.4), the pier-portals contain remnants of opus sectile. Since this flooring was designed specifically for this peculiar space, it dates immediately after the multiple-dome basilica's construction or later. Possibly Papageorghiou was influenced by Demetrios Michaelides, who published a brief account on the flooring. He argued that

Agios Lazaros' flooring is made of largish panels of plain marble framed by a band of conventional designs made with relatively small *crustae*. These are features that...characterize floors of the mid-Byzantine period. In fact, although the foundation of the church has been placed around 900, its architecture and now its floor make a date in the 11th/12th century much more likely.¹⁴³

Unfortunately Michaelides provided no concrete reasons why "its architecture and now its opus sectile flooring" dated to these centuries.¹⁴⁴ There are also several problems inherent in his (and consequently, Papageorghiou's) line of reasoning. First, there is no agreed standard for dating opus sectile apart from their archaeological context, and therefore, one cannot date buildings solely on flooring. A relative chronology is only possible with large scale figural and complex designs, like cosmatesque work.¹⁴⁵ In contrast, what survives in Agios Lazaros is of a limited scale, with simple abstract patterns, consisting of re-used material, servicing a limited and peculiar space. Furthermore, the surviving marbles were eroded by flooding, fire, and scuffed over many centuries. In other words, Agios Lazaros' particular flooring is not a good benchmark for dating (**fig.V.9,42**). Second, the use of large plain marble panels framed by "small" *crustae* is not necessarily Middle Byzantine. Recently Israeli archaeologists restored a glass and marble mosaic panel from a seventh century palace in Caesarea; it consisted of small *crustae* and large opus sectile.¹⁴⁶ Early Byzantine churches such as the Eufrasius Cathedral at Poreč (Croatia) and even closer examples at the baptistery chapel at Agios Epifanios (Salamis-Constantia) and the Early Christian church within Kyrenia castle contain small *crustae* with large marble panels.¹⁴⁷ Specifically Michaelides' and Papageorghiou's arguments hinge on similarities between Agios Lazaros and the monastery of Agios Ioannos Chrysostom (Koutsovendis) (**fig.V.41**). The latter church is firmly dated to 1090.¹⁴⁸ However, the quality, intricacy, and small *crustae* at Koutsovendis are not comparable to the surviving floor at Agios Lazaros. The former is more akin to the fine eleventh century cosmatesque flooring of Agia Sophia (Nicaea [Iznick]) and Agios Nicholaos (Myra [Demre]) in Anatolia. Furthermore, it is possible that the Koutsovendis floor was reused from a previous Early Christian church, leaving its date speculative at best.

Two other churches in Cyprus can also shed light on Agios Lazaros and Agios Varnavas's date. The first church, Agios Antonios (Kellia) is located 4.5 miles (7 km) from Agios Lazaros. Today it is a three-aisle, three apse, cross-in-square, barrel-vaulted church (figs.V.43,44). It has three distinct phases. At its eastern foundations, there are traces of three Early Christian apses. A second phase consists of internal piers and south-aisle barrel-vaults, and its western wall; at that point a single-dome rested above the central bay. The rest of the outer walls and vaulting, including the central vault (which replaced the dome), seem to be fifteenth century renovations or later. The second phase is what concerns us here. Fresco painting on the southeast pier and transept vault was discovered in the 1980s. It depicts a *Crucified Christ* flanked by Mary and John (and the Sun and Moon), and above it is *Abraham and Isaac*. Its style is unlike any other Cypriot fresco (fig.V.45). Christ is fully nude and has his eyes open.¹⁴⁹ The *Abraham and Isaac* figures have large heads, with big dark eyes, and rather smallish bodies.

Papageorghiou and Andreas and Judith Stylianou dated these frescos to the ninth century, but provided no evidence for their opinion.¹⁵⁰ Yet, I believe they are correct. The closest example to Agios Antonios' style is the *Sacra Parallelia*, which Kurt Weitzman dated to the early ninth century.¹⁵¹ The Isaac at Kellia resembles the *Sacra Parallelia*'s Jacob (Fol.78r.)—they both have long hair of a similar style and baggy pantaloons tucked into their tights. Also in the fresco, Abraham floats over Isaac as the manuscript has Benaiah floating over his victim Adonijah (Fol.87r.). Moreover, the victims' tunics are similar in style, with folds running down each side (fig.V.46). If the *Sacra Parallelia* is ninth century, then Agios Antonios dates from the same period. This chronology is crucial for Agios Lazaros, since Agios Antonios' construction and masonry are identical to it. The proportions and piers sizes [3.1 feet (0.95 m) and 2.88 feet (0.88 m)] are close. And so, if Agios Antonios is an early ninth century church, then Agios Lazaros could very well be contemporaneous.

The second church is Agios Procopius at Syncrase (Turkish Sinirüstü) 6.5 miles (10.5 km) straight north of Agios Varnavas. It is also a single-domed cross-in-square church, with three aisles, and three apses (fig.V.47).¹⁵² The opus sectile in the floor, as well as its synthronon (the modern one is built above ancient remains), indicates that it too was built on an Early Christian church. It contains a datable inscription on its southwestern pier, thereby making it an important benchmark for Cypriot churches. It recorded Basil II, Constantine VIII, and the rebellion of Bardas Skleros (977) (fig.V.48).¹⁵³ The rebellion was a minor episode in Byzantine history, and so, there seems to be no reason to mention it years after it took place. Therefore, it

is safe to say that this particular church was constructed sometime prior to 977. This is significant, because its masonry and style resembles nearby Agios Varnavas and Agios Varnavas and Hilarion. For example, its central dome is ribbed with two arches forming a cross, similar to the ribbed domes in these churches (**fig.V.49**). Its most conspicuous similarity with Agios Varnavas is the gentle rift in its masonry on the exterior transept tympanum (**fig.V.50**). The only explanation for this change in masonry is that the masons built the walls up to the point where the barrel-vaulting ends; instead of continuing upwards to finish the transept tympanum, they constructed the inner piers and vaulting of the church. Later, when they returned to the fill in the tympanum's masonry, they were unable keep its masonry flush with the lower wall. The fact that this procedure was carried out in both churches, leads me to suspect that they belong to the same building tradition and are roughly contemporary.

Conclusion

Supporting evidence used to date Agios Lazaros and Agios Varnavas to the eleventh or twelfth century dissolves under scrutiny, leaving their construction date open to interpretation. Vast differences between these churches and Constantinopolitan examples indicate that they were built in the Period of Cypriot Neutrality, when imperial influence was at a minimum. Their close similarities to earlier multiple-domed churches on Cyprus—Agios Epifanios, Agia Paraskevi, and Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion—betray their local Cypriot character.

Agios Lazaros, in successfully integrating three domes with three transept arms, became the template used for designing Agios Varnavas. Since the latter church would be the largest vaulted structure on the island, the architects needed a proven design. So they adapted the ground plan and aesthetics of Agios Lazaros, and enhanced it with other features to enlarge it (*see above §V.2.3*). We must keep in mind that Agios Varnavas was inextricably linked to Agios Epifanios. After the bishop of Kition rebuilt Agios Lazaros, the archbishop in Salamis-Constantia would have needed a grander building to symbolize his temporal and spiritual power. By the late ninth century, the Early Christian church of Agios Varnavas was in need of repair. With a breach of Cypriot sovereignty caused by the imperial theft of Lazarus' relics, the archbishop rebuilt the shrine over the Apostle Barnabas emphasizing the source of Cypriot autocephaly.

Chapter VI: Significance of the Multiple-Domed Basilicas

VI. 1. Historical Context and Chronology

The construction date of each of the five multiple-domed basilicas is a central topic of this dissertation. Their significance in architectural history is contingent on the original historical context. Yet with the lack of historical sources, this research has relied on archaeological and art historical inferences. While these indicators are inexact, when taken together, they point to a relative but specific chronology. Since archaeological excavation in Cyprus churns up new Early Christian and Byzantine data every year, the hypotheses suggested here remain tentative. That being said, sufficient evidence exists to provide a rather compelling architectural history.

VI.1.1. Past Chronologies

Unfortunately past scholarship regarding Cypriot architectural history has been plagued by subjective opinion, unfounded assumptions, and poor scholarship. Much confusion over the date of the Cypriot churches lies with the fact that many who studied its early architecture were untrained in Byzantine architectural history. Camille Enlart's research, though vital for the study of the Gothic and Renaissance architecture on the island, demonstrated a misunderstanding about Early Christian and Byzantine monuments.¹ The next scholar who discussed these monuments was British colonialist George Jeffery. He was trained as an architect but had little education in Byzantine history or theology. As a result, his initial dating of Cyprus's Byzantine churches was unabashedly arbitrary. Likewise Jeffery's successor, A.H.S. Megaw, was neither trained as an archaeologist or in Byzantine art history. But his theories have been influential. As discussed above (§II.3.6) he characterized the Period of Neutrality as an architectural Dark Age, in which "no important buildings" were built. Megaw's opinion was popularized by George Hill:

The most peculiar type of Cypriot church is that represented by Peristerona and Yeroskipou, which are on a basilica plan, but have the side aisles separated from the nave not, as in the Greek basilica, by columns, but by walls pierced with arches, and have five domes, arranged as they might be on a cruciform church, although the plan is not cruciform. That is to say, it is a local adaptation of the domical system of roofing, which was disseminated through the expanded Empire of the Basilian dynasty, to a type of building for which the basilica was the only local precedent. This type again, is hardly likely to have developed during the three centuries struggle with Islam. On the other

hand it is reasonable to suppose that there was a revival of the arts in the island after its recovery by Byzantium in 965.²

Hill subsequently recounted how the Cypriot church survived Islamification, recovered economically, and thrived during that Dark Age. So it also seems “hardly likely” that the Church of Cyprus practiced the liturgy in the open air during the course of three hundred years. Nevertheless, Megaw and Hill perpetuated a well-told romantic story (which I call the “Imperial-Savior tale”): how once upon a time a damsel in distress (i.e. Cyprus) was locked up in a dungeon (Period of Neutrality, Condominium) by a dark villain (the Arabs), only to be rescued by her knight in shining armor (Constantinople), as they rode off into a new golden age (the Macedonian Renaissance). Surprisingly, Megaw’s sentiments still resonate throughout scholarly literature.

As Speros Vryonis charged, British scholarship prior to Cypriot Independence (1959) was rife with modern political undertones.³ In reading Jeffery, Megaw, and Hill, we see parallels between the “Byzantine Empire” and the “British Empire.” And so they projected their twentieth century worldview into the Cypriot “Dark Ages.” British administrators believed they were saving the Cypriots from the Turks, just as the Byzantines saved them from the Arabs. How could the Cypriots have built churches during Arab rule, when they could not build new churches under the Ottomans? How could Cyprus’ economy prosper under the Arabs, when the island under the Turks was a cultural backwater? To these scholars, great Christian Empires served, not only as the source of military defense but also of inspiration and funding, actively investing in Cypriot cultural history. As Hill poignantly stated “the great powers [the Roman, Byzantine, Ottoman, British Empires, etc.]...from age to age have found it necessary to deal with” Cyprus, leaving their imperial architecture behind.⁴ Cyprus’ revolt against British rule in 1959 further reinforced these hypotheses, when the island’s economy plummeted and its infrastructure decayed. Unfortunately, the Cypriots began to believe the “Imperial-Savior tale,” and looked to Greece to save them from their problems. The Cypriot army conspired with Greece for unification (*enosis*) leading to a *coup d'état* in 1974. The attempt to forge a Neo-Byzantine Empire failed, when Turkish forces subsequently invaded. But as history tends to repeat itself, the Greek army had the same apathetic attitude as Byzantine army 1,325 years earlier, and left the Cypriots at the mercy of foreign invaders.

These historical parallels are powerful reminders that scholarship tends to reflect current political realities. A self-conscious historian can provide a more objective narrative, if he/she is

honest about their own biases. Unfortunately, Megaw was too personally involved with Cypriot politics to objectively perceive history. When he was ousted from the directorship of the Department of Antiquities in Cyprus along with the British colonial government, he relocated to Greece. There he became the director of the British School at Athens. However, Megaw never lost his status as a Cyprus expert. Marrying into a Cypriot family and maintaining close Cypriot friends, he could not ignore the internal economic and social conflicts apparent in Cyprus from 1959 to 1985. The island's isolationism and inability to rule itself was manifested in the buildings constructed at this time—shoddy replicas of contemporary Greek tastes, far from the majestic British colonial style. Being exposed to Byzantine monuments in Istanbul and Thessaloniki, Megaw quickly saw more differences than similarities between Cypriot and Byzantine monuments. As a result, he flipped his earlier hypotheses on their heads. Instead of the Empire directly building churches on Cyprus, the Empire became far removed from the backward island.⁵ As discussed above (§ I.3.3), Megaw then argued that the idiosyncrasies of Cyprus' architecture resulted from its provincialism. This overarching hypothesis led Megaw in misdating several monuments.⁶ Therefore his hermeneutics should be reconsidered.

Of all the churches built in Cyprus between the Arab raids (649) and the French Lusignan ascendency (1191), the multiple-domed basilicas were the largest and most religiously significant. Megaw had to reconcile the sheer size of the buildings (which necessitated skill and money) with their peculiar, non-Constantinopolitan style. He was convinced that their scale was due to Byzantine influence, while their idiosyncrasies were due to their isolation from the Empire. In order to avoid this contradiction, he formulated provincialism to account for both imperial presence and absence. As mentioned above (§V.3.1), he believed that the translation of Lazarus' relics explained the presence of the Empire on the island—this accounted for the funds for the church's construction as well. Since this happened while the island was still isolated from the Empire (during the Period of Cypriot Neutrality), architects resorted to provincial designs and construction techniques.

In 1954 the historicity of the translation (of Lazarus' relics) was affirmed when Arethas of Caesarea's speeches on the matter were published.⁷ It was one of the few primary sources that provided a cultural nexus where the Byzantine Empire intervened in Cypriot affairs during the Period of Neutrality. And therefore, it became the lynchpin or missing link for dating the multiple-domed churches. Subsequently, Megaw and Dikigoropoulos dated Agios Epifanios, Agios Lazaros, and Agios Varnavas to Leo VI's reign.

Regarding Agios Epifanios, Megaw formulated his dating scheme in the journal *Archaeological Reports*.⁸ His 1957 article reproduced a plan of the three-domed church along with relative chronology. If we compare this plan with one provided by Dikigoropoulos in his 1961 dissertation, we see that there was initially some confusion over the third and fourth phases. The problem rested with the close similarity of these phases' masonry. Dikigoropoulos, nevertheless, kept the basic chronology:

These reconstructions were probably carried out towards the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century, in all likelihood, at the expense of the Emperor Leo VI, who according to local tradition, had the body of the saint [Epiphanius] translated to Constantinople. The fact that Leo VI did translate the supposed relics of St. Lazarus from the Saint's church at Citium, in 901 and the similarity between Constantia and Citium churches, does suggest that local tradition concerning the translation of relics of St. Epiphanius may not be without foundation.⁹

Megaw repeated these ideas in the remainder of his scholarly publications on this period.¹⁰ He further postulated that Barnabas' relics were translated to Constantinople:

If Kyprianos had good authority for the removal to Constantinople of the relics of Epiphanius by Leo VI such as there is for the translation of Lazarus, the probability is that the relics of Barnabas were included in the same consignment, and that his church was partially rebuilt as it exists today about the year 900.¹¹

As explained above (§III.2.3), this dating scheme was based on a tradition without historical merit. Yet the multiple-domed churches were continually placed around the historical pivot point of 900.¹²

Flaws in this dating scheme were first revealed when the aniconic fresco painting was discovered at Agia Paraskevi. Initially experts dated the painting's style to the early ninth century. However, Megaw was unwilling to adjust his hypothesis.¹³ It seemed unlikely that the archbishop's cathedral and the other major churches would be modeled after this rural, small, and historically unimportant church. Annabel Wharton, seeking to reconcile Agia Paraskevi with Megaw's thesis, argued that its decoration dated to the tenth century.¹⁴ A few scholars have been persuaded by this solution.¹⁵ Papageorghiou was not one of them. He maintained that Agios Epifanios and Agia Paraskevi dated to the ninth century, if not earlier.¹⁶

Likewise, this dissertation initially followed the dating scheme of Papageorghiou. Among all the scholars who have published on Cyprus, he had the longest experience on the island and

had the most intimate knowledge of the archaeological data. However, his published works provided little evidence for his conclusions and lacked explanatory power. Papageorghiou has never explained why multiple-domed basilicas arose; when Agios Epifanios was built; why after 300 years Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion was modeled after Agia Paraskevi; or the reasons why Agios Lazaros and Agios Varnavas were designed unlike every other Comnenian church. In fact, Papageorghiou never provided a coherent, complete account of Cypriot architectural history, leaving a disjointed set of churches without a historical context. This dissertation sought to rectify this situation.

VI.1.2. Proposed Chronology

Previous chapters provided an alternative chronology for the multiple-domed basilicas, based on their fabric, design, and archaeology. The interpretation of their data was based on three simple deductions. First, it was concluded that the multiple-dome basilicas could not be dated prior to the seventh century because they do not conform to known dated types [e.g. as Kourion cathedral or Agios Georgios (Peyia)], and because they were built on such structures. Second, they are dissimilar to known dated churches of the eleventh and twelfth century [e.g. Agios Nikolaos tis Stegis (Kakopetria) and Agios Ioannos Chrysostom (Koutsovendis)]. Third, there is an expanse of time—the Period of Cypriot Neutrality—with no datable architectural types. The multiple-domed basilicas logically fit within the Period of Neutrality. Furthermore this particular historical context goes far in explaining their unique architectural characteristics.

Particular characteristics shared by all five churches indicate they belong to one distinct historical era; their differences suggest they were not part of a single building campaign. At this point it should be clarified that both “diachronic” and “synchronic” approaches were employed in this dissertation. As described above (§II.3.7), the diachronic scheme follows a linear progression, where one architectural type evolves into another. The synchronic approach, on the other hand, posits that several types were built simultaneously. In the case of Cyprus, it was argued that a synchronic view best explains the three types of buildings (square-pier wooden roof, barrel-vaulted, and multiple-domed basilica) that appeared after the Early Christian wooden-roof basilicas were destroyed by the Arab raids. On the one hand, the synchronic approach best explains the existence of *several* types within *one* period; on the other hand, the diachronic approach best explains the development of *one* type over time.

The architectural history of the multiple-domed basilica began with Agios Epifanios in the early eighth century and ended with its close neighbor Agios Varnavas in the early tenth century. These two churches, both located at the capital Salamis-Constantia, therefore, served as book-ends encapsulating the Period of Cypriot Neutrality. They also embody the unique Cypriot motto that “Barnabas the Apostle is our foundation; Epiphanius the Great is our governor” (§III.Conclusion). Agios Epifanios was the chief cathedral of the island. It was designed with three domes along its nave when the archbishopric and citizens of Salamis-Constantia returned from Cyzicus, having been absent for seventeen years. Sometime later, within the same century Agia Paraskevi (Geroskipou) was built on the opposite side of the island. Both churches, had similar characteristics with the barrel-vaulted basilicas of Afentrika, and therefore, they were transitional types. Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion (Peristerona), constructed in the early ninth century, combined traits found in both Agios Epifanios and Agia Paraskevi. Next, Agios Lazaros (Larnaka) adopted the transept arms of the Peristerona church for all three of its domes. It was built prior to the translation of Lazarus’ relics in 900. Apparently, Cypriots were satisfied with Agios Lazaros’ design, since its ground plan was replicated in the largest example of the type, Agios Varnavas.

With this chronology established, we can attempt to answer some general questions. *What monuments prior to the Period of Neutrality have a bearing on the Cypriot examples? Why the emphasis on three domes? What can these churches tell us about Cypriots themselves?* There are two divergent views of Cyprus, which can color our answers to these questions. First, Cyprus can be seen as “insular,” since it is an island separated by miles of water from the mainland; architectural change might be indicative of internal, local developments. Second, Cyprus can be seen as a “crossroads” with the Mediterranean Sea serving as a conduit allowing external ideas to be imported. Depending on one’s perspective Cyprus can either be viewed as subordinate to the external political forces of the Near East or isolated from its neighbors. The next sections attempt to answer these questions with both perspectives in mind.

VI.2. Earlier Multiple-Domed Structures

Cyprus lies 42 miles (68 m) from the Anatolian coast and 63 miles (102 km) from Syria. Ships could easily navigate between the coasts within a day, depending on weather. Moreover the journey to Constantinople by ship took about ten days—a short sail by ancient standards.¹⁷ History describes Cyprus as a typical Roman province and a vital part of Eastern Mediterranean

trade until the rise of Islam. Even afterwards, the few extant accounts written in the Period of Neutrality describe Cyprus' borders as permeable; masses of refugees, pilgrims, and travelers fluidly passing in and out.¹⁸ Therefore it seemed prudent to examine the possible architectural relationships between Cypriot multiple-domed basilicas and structures from surrounding regions. Early Christian Antioch and the rest of Syria developed striking examples of innovative churches. During the early stages of this research, much effort was exerted in attempting to establish a link between Cyprus and Syria. After this project failed to find concrete examples, my efforts were redirected towards Anatolia, but this also produced limited results. It seems that neither the Christians elsewhere nor the Arabs were responsible for the architectural development in Cyprus. Therefore my research investigated the possibility of localized developments instigated by the native Church of Cyprus.

VI.2.1. The First Multiple-Domed Buildings

The churches of Cyprus were not the first buildings vaulted with more than one dome. Scant art historical evidence demonstrates that a few Roman thermae had several domes. Vaults were ideal for regulating temperatures for each bath stage. Rooms, depending on their function, were covered by either groin-vaults, barrel-vaults, or domes. In a fourth century mosaic from Carthage, a villa is represented with a cruciform bath house covered by four domes (**fig.VI.1**).¹⁹ It is possible that private multiple-domed thermae were maintained and built throughout the Byzantine Period. In Cyprus, a multiple-domed bath house survives from the eleventh century adjoining the Paphos cathedral complex (**figs.VI.2-3**). A similar bath was depicted in an eleventh century fresco at Agios Nicholaos tis Stegis (Kakopetria) (**fig.VII.4**). These Byzantine examples are similar to the earlier eighth century Umayyad bath at Qusayr ‘Amra in Jordan (**fig.VI.5-7**).²⁰ There we find a three-aisled barrel-vaulted structure, terminating in apses in the side-aisles. Its single dome depicted the constellations of the zodiac—a clear representation of the “dome of heaven” motif. The combination of vaulting and apses, along with its overall scale and design brings to mind Agios Paraskevi and Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion in Cyprus. However, the Caliph Al-Walīd (705-715), who built Qusayr ‘Amra palace, was rather apathetic about the affairs of Cyprus.²¹

In regards to Syrian churches, Baldwin Smith provided closer typological parallels to the Cypriot examples. A group of fifth and sixth century multiple-domed churches in Syria were illustrated in his book *The Dome: A Study in the History of Ideas* (1950). These six churches were

represented as two or three-domed types: (a) it-Tûba dated to 582/3 AD, (b) Madrasa al-Halawiyah Cathedral in Aleppo, (c) Bizzos Church in Ruweha, (d) South church at il-Anderin, (e) Church No. 8 at il-Anderin, and (f) the Cloister church in Jericho (**fig.VI.8**). All were depicted as vaulted three-aisled structures, and except for the last example, all contained engaged pilasters, reminiscent of the barrel-vaulted churches of Afentrika and Agia Paraskevi. The Cloister church's ground plan, with its engaged piers in the aisles, is the closest parallel we have to Agios Epifanios, if reliable. And that is the rub—none of these plans are reliable. Smith's reconstructions are impossible to verify because they were not based on archaeological remains but merely ground plans and foundations. Four plans (a, c, d, e) had their domes drawn in by Smith, who never visited these sites. The cathedral in Aleppo (b) does not survive today; in fact Smith candidly stated that “our available plan is unreliable.”²² The Cloister church also was rebuilt many times over, leaving us to speculate on its original form without any firm evidence.²³

The next example of a multiple-domed building is Jerusalem's Golden Gate (**figs VI.9-11**). Beyond its two-portal façade are two domes supported by drums and four domical vaults (domes without drums). These domes are supported by a network of engaged piers and columns, with two massive columns in the center. The entire monument is unique: the capitals of its two columns have no known parallels. Yet the carving decoration on the portal arches is known in sixth and seventh century contexts in Syria (i.e. Babisqua) and Egypt (e.g. the Red and White Monasteries near Sohag). Most likely the Golden Gate was built by the Emperor Heraclius, upon his reconquest of Jerusalem against the Persians in 630.²⁴ Unfortunately, this monument remains a bone of contention among scholars and cannot help us in assessing the Cypriot multiple-domed basilicas.

VI.2.2. Justinian and Multiple-Domed Basilicas

As described in the introduction (§ I.2.2), basilicas were the most common type of church building in the Early Christian period. These were modeled after the great Constantinian churches of Rome and Jerusalem. However, there were also exceptional churches with alternative designs, consisting of tetriconch, circular, or cruciform ground plans.²⁵ These early buildings do not survive intact, leaving scholars to speculate how their roofs or vaults were constructed.²⁶ Domed shrines and martyria do survive and were quite numerous, indicating that masonry domes, if so desired, could be placed on churches.²⁷

Architectural historians point to the age of Emperor Justinian I (483–565) as the watershed moment when the dome became the preeminent means of vaulting churches.²⁸ During his reign a variety of designs were introduced to carry masonry domes. Centrally-planned churches (such as Ss. Sergis and Bacchus, Agia Eirene, Agia Sophia in Constantinople, and San Vitale in Ravenna) would popularize the single-dome design. However, the majority of churches built during his reign were traditional wooden-roof basilicas, including those in Cyprus. As Richard Krautheimer argued the centrally-planned, single dome churches of Justinian were “protests” against the status quo basilica design.²⁹ What Justinian or his architects were protesting has yet to be explained. Is it possible that the *monotheolos* (single-dome) was associated with *Monophysitism*?³⁰ Or perhaps, could the *monotheolos* referred to the strength of the *monarchy*? There is simply not enough historical information to answer these questions. We must remember that the Emperor also sponsored the construction of four exceptional basilicas: St. Catherine’s Monastery (Sinai), the Nea Church (Jerusalem), St. John the Theologian (Ephesus), and the Holy Apostles. The latter two were multiple-domed basilicas.

Out of all the new types of churches that Justinian built, only one was replicated during his reign—the Holy Apostles (**fig. VI.12**). This structure served as both a church and a mausoleum (martyrium) for the Byzantine Emperors. Unfortunately the church was destroyed in 1469 by the Ottoman Sultan, Mehmed II.³¹ A glimpse of the structure was provided by the contemporary historian Procopius when it was first built:

There in Byzantium from ancient times a church dedicated to all the Apostles; but having by now been shaken by the passage of time...This the Emperor Justinian pulled down entirely...to make it more worthy both in size and in beauty. He carried out his effort as follows. Two straight lines were drawn, intersecting each other at the middle in the form of a cross (σταυρού)... [and] there was set aside a place which may not be entered by those who may not celebrate the mysteries; this with good reason they call the “sanctuary” (ἱερότειν)...that portion of the roof...is built, in the center at least, on a plan resembling that of the Church of Sophia, except that it is inferior in size.

The arches, four in number, rise aloft and are bound together in the same manner, and the circular drum (κυκλοτερές) which stands upon them is pierced by the windows, and the dome (σφαιροειδές) which arches above this seem to float in the air and not to rest upon solid masonry, though actually it is well supported. Thus, then, was the central portion of the roof constructed. And the arms of the building, which are four, as I have said, were roofed on the same plan as the central portion, but this one feature is lacking: underneath the domes the masonry is not pierced by windows... at that time...the bodies of the Apostle Andrew and Luke and Timothy...became visible to all men.³²

Procopius described a five-domed cruciform church. The central dome was taller than the others, having a drum pierced by windows. The other domes were, perhaps, domical vaults—similar to the four vaults in the Golden Gate at Jerusalem. While we have earlier examples of mausolea being turned into churches (e.g. the Rotunda, Thessaloniki) and churches enshrining martyria (e.g. Agios Epifanios, Salamis-Constantia), the Holy Apostles is the only church, historically documented, to have been originally designed as both church *and* a martyrium by Constantine.³³ However by Justinian's day, the relics were removed to two separate mausolea adjoining the cruciform church.³⁴

The Holy Apostle's design would be closely followed in the reconstruction of St. John the Theologian at Ephesus (**fig.VI.13**). Once again, Procopius is our main source:

On that site [Ephesus] the natives had set up a church in early times to the Apostle John...This church...the Emperor Justinian tore down to the ground and replaced by a church so large and beautiful, that, to speak briefly, it resembles very closely in all respects, and is a rival to, the shrine (*τεράποντος*) which he dedicated to all the Apostles in the imperial city, which I have described above.”³⁵

Fortunately the remains of this church survive providing a preserved ground plan.³⁶ It had a more rectilinear (thus, basilican) layout compared with the Holy Apostles, since it had a sixth dome to the west, forming a Latin cross. Since the two westernmost bays are rectangular, they must have carried elliptical domes. Altogether eighteen massive piers supported the domes, while marble-column arcades supported galleries above the side aisles. Built with brick, ashlar, and marble columns, the church's fabric resembles Agia Sophia in Constantinople.

While Agia Sophia was the most innovative and spectacular of Justinian's new church types, the Holy Apostles, even with its large scale and complex form, was the most practical.³⁷ At the latter church, the Emperor's architects formulated “square schematism” or a “modular system” in its design.³⁸ Each domed bay could be reproduced over and over again, depending on the desired size. The repetition of each bay also conveyed the same aesthetic results of the Early Christian aisle-arcade, where the rhythm of columns and arcades led the eye towards the apse. Concerning this principle, Richard Krautheimer wrote:

The domed cross became the standard unit on a monumental scale. It lent itself to easy combination of large size, and the number and variety of such combinations are surprising. Repeated five times and arranged in a Greek cross pattern, it formed the plan of Justinian's Church of the Holy Apostles...

and

The plan of the Holy Apostles and St. John at Ephesus was based on the concept of multiplying the standard element, using short barrel-vaults to expand the square, domed bay into a cross shape. But this solution remains rare. More decisive for the development of Byzantine architecture is the fusion of the standard element, the domed cross, with the transept or the chancel section of a basilican plan.³⁹

Each bay consisted of two side aisles and the central dome nave and what Krautheimer described as “short barrel-vaults” are simply transverse arches shared between domes. With that said, Krautheimer knew that “square schematism” would revolutionize how churches were later built, not only in Byzantine Empire but throughout Western Europe.⁴⁰

Domed buildings since prehistory often were reserved for cenotaphs and mausoleums. One might argue that domed basilicas evolved at a time when relics were becoming commonly housed within churches, necessitating the adoption of martyria symbolism. However, as explained above the Holy Apostles by Justinian’s time ceased to house relics, which were previously removed to mausolea adjoining the church. As a result, it is difficult to associate the multiple domes with multiple tombs. If there were some connection between relics and domes, St. John at Ephesus would require only one dome, since it had only one relic/tomb; but instead, it had five domes. Therefore, another theory is needed. Perhaps Justinian sought to link the Apostle John with the other apostles near the Holy Apostles by replicating an imperial Constantinopolitan church at Ephesus. This would further strengthen the construed apostolic foundation of the capital. Moreover, since emperors were also enshrined in mausolea connected to the Holy Apostles, its replica at Ephesus manifested an imperial presence in the hinterland. Aside from these, there seems to be no other ideological reason for the multiple domes of St. John. And of course, there are practical reasons, such as the convenience of square schematism for quick and cost-effective building.

Besides these imperial churches, there are no other earlier examples of multiple-domed basilicas, except for St. John the Theologian in Philadelphia (Alasehir) and Agia Eirene (Constantinople) (**fig. VI.14**). The former church was a heavy, low structure built with ashlar foundations and brick vaulting. An awkward ground plan published by Hans Buchwald illustrated a two-domed, aisle-less, single apse church. Six heavy compound piers supported the vaulting. Curiously, there is no trace of an outer wall. Although the church has not been properly excavated, it is likely that archways between the piers led to side aisles.⁴¹ Since it was named after

St. John the Theologian and built in a similar manner, there is little doubt that it was meant to resemble St. John at Ephesus. Therefore it has been dated to the sixth century.⁴²

Like the Philadelphia church, Agia Eirene is currently a two-domed, single apse structure. It served as the original palace church at Constantinople, until Agia Sophia replaced it in the fourth century. It was destroyed during the Nike Revolt in 532 which gave Justinian recourse to build it anew.⁴³ His basilica had a single dome over the eastern portion of its nave. After an earthquake destroyed it in 740, the church was completely restored as a cross-in-square church with a second smaller dome over its western portion.⁴⁴ Either the second dome replaced an earlier barrel-vault or a domical vault.

Just how Justinian's multiple-domed churches relate to Cyprus' examples is difficult to ascertain. As discussed in Chapter Five, in 1931 George Soteriou argued that Agios Lazaros was originally a five-domed church resembling the Holy Apostles (Constantinople) or St. John (Ephesus).⁴⁵ After excavations in 1933 at Agios Lazaros failed to recover foundations for transept arms, he modified his theory accordingly. In a 1937 article, Soteriou still maintained a Justinianic date for these churches, reconstructing Agios Varnavas with galleries and marble columns between the piers, as at St. John at Ephesus.⁴⁶ However, few were persuaded by his exaggerated reconstruction—there were just too many differences between Justinianic architecture and the Cypriot examples. By 1961 Soteriou also abandoned his dating in favor of Megaw's and Dikigoropoulos' theories and their tenth century timeframe.⁴⁷ With Soteriou's change of opinion, most scholars avoided associating Justinianic architecture with the Cypriot multiple-domed basilica, until Annabel Wharton resurrected his thesis in 1988.⁴⁸

Wharton has argued that the Holy Apostles, as a type, dotted the outer provinces of the Byzantine Empire. The reason for this replication, she suggested, is that provinces sought to associate themselves with "the established status and specific apostolic and imperial associations" of the Holy Apostles, and thus the cosmopolitan capital.⁴⁹ Wharton has applied this theory to Cyprus: "[St. Lazarus'] superstructure and nave plan seem to have borne a resemblance to the now-lost Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople." She concluded that the isolated and provincial Cypriots built multiple-domed basilicas after the Holy Apostles to prove their "awareness" of the capital's chief imperial monument.⁵⁰ While Wharton's hypothesis has been accepted recently by some Cypriot scholars, there is simply no historical or archaeological reason to support these rather vague connections.⁵¹ In fact, Papageorghiou disagreed with Wharton on three counts. First, the Holy Apostles cannot be compared with

other churches simply because it does not exist and its structure is unknown. Second, its replicas such as St. John at Ephesus and San Marco at Venice are cruciform structures with five domes—typologically different than Agios Lazaros and Agios Varnavas, and other Cypriot examples. Third, in terms of construction: “...the stonework of the churches... is purely Cypriot with [irregular] courses of rectangular limestone... At no point in these churches is present brickwork or alternation of stones and brickwork....” – a characteristic of Constantinopolitan architecture.⁵²

Perhaps the chief flaw with Wharton’s thesis was its ambiguity. She did not provide specific reasons why Cypriots would completely change their traditional church building in favor of some “awareness” of the capital, whatever that might mean. Why would provincial states aspire to replicate an old-fashioned monument, when other forms were more popular and practical at the capital? Furthermore, the Empire alienated its provinces, by maintaining high taxes, neglecting its duties to protect and build infrastructure, and adhering to heretical dogmas, like Monotheletism and Iconoclasm.⁵³ Indeed the Cypriots, or the other provinces, had little reason to build churches with imperial fashion in mind. It seems more reasonable to pin the diffusion of Constantinopolitan types to cultural tastes rather than political affiliation.

Nonetheless, with these things being said, there is some merit to Soteriou and Wharton’s hypotheses. As described above, St. John at Ephesus replicated the Holy Apostle’s plan, perhaps, as a way to connect the relics of Christ’s apostles. Two of the Cypriot churches contained relics of an apostle (Barnabas) and close disciple of Christ (Lazarus), the other multiple-domed churches of Cyprus housed other important relics and tombs. Therefore, it is tempting to entertain the possibility that the Cypriots built structures that would associate their relic collection with those of the capital. Certainly, St. John at Ephesus was a celebrated monument and would have attracted many pilgrims from Cyprus and elsewhere, providing a natural model to follow. However, in terms of scale and construction, the Cypriot multiple-domed basilicas have little in common with St. John. The Cypriot churches all had three large of roughly equal size along the nave, unlike the St. John’s four nave domes (where the crossing dome was larger than the rest), making it difficult to argue for a strong connection. Instead, it seems more prudent to associate the Cypriot multiple-domed basilicas to the type developed at the archbishop’s cathedral of Agios Epifanios in Salamis-Constantia.

VI.3. Function and Form

This section explains the function and reasons behind the design of the Cypriot multiple-domed basilica. Their primary function was worship, accommodating the liturgy, congregation, and sacraments. There were multiple secondary purposes that these churches could also serve: gathering space for community; safe haven for outlaws; refuge for the afflicted; burial for the dead; exhibition space for art, etc.⁵⁴ However, their primary purpose is emphasized here. The first part provides an overview of the Early Christian church and how the original functions of the church were carried on into the Middle Byzantine Period. The remainder of this chapter is dedicated to addressing the question: *Why three domes?* The second part discusses the practical advantages of multiple domed structures, while the last portion outlines an iconographical interpretation.

VI.3.1. The Basic Function of Churches

Cypriot multiple-domed basilicas were neither government buildings nor private dwellings—but cultic and communal structures. They are still used as such today. Their existence is predicated primarily on belief and custom, and secondarily, practicality and politics. The liturgy was based on a set of traditions and scriptures. These, in the name of orthodoxy, limited how Christianity manifested itself in practice and teaching. Gradually the church hierarchy (the few) would be the sole interpreters of scriptures (for the many). While it is clear that the practice of Christianity on Cyprus changed throughout the ages, it is equally clear that some beliefs did not.

Throughout the entire history of Christian sanctuaries, from Constantine to the present, there are very few departures from the basic type—mere variations on the same theme. On the one hand, churches are substantial and practical objects; on the other, their cultic function and *raison d'être* were motivated by abstract principles. It is this play between function and ideas that is reflected in the multiple-domed basilicas.

As Christian leaders sought to unify their purpose and mission, the *ecclesia* (assembly) became associated with the building and vice versa. This did not happen by accident. Throughout the Early Christian period, heresy threatened to destroy the unity of Church teaching. As soon as the Christian religion became legal under Constantine, buildings were erected that could assist in “shepherding the flock.”⁵⁵ These structures gathered the community together so that their beliefs and practices would conform to the bishop’s guidance. By identifying the church building as the Church proper, the hierarchy could control heresy which

might have been fostered in homes and private gatherings. This cultivated the notion that “Christians” who did not meet in *church buildings* were not part of the Church, i.e. heterodox.

The basic church building consisted of two necessary components: an assembly hall and a focal point. The hall was a gathering space for the congregation, requiring entrances and passage ways, depending on the crowd size. The focal point was reserved for the clergy, where the liturgy took place (i.e. teaching and reading of scripture) and the sacraments (e.g. Eucharist, ordination, etc.). Other Christian buildings such as martyria and *memoriae*, had different functions—they were historical landmarks that sheltered pilgrims and artifacts. Beginning in the sixth century the martyria/*memoriae* became, or were integrated into, churches. Once again, this was a means to control heresy, since the cult of martyrs was not based on scripture, and therefore, could not be easily legislated according to traditions.⁵⁶ As discussed above (§V.2.2), when Barnabas’ relics were discovered, the archbishop removed them to a church, which would protect them and monitor pilgrimage activity. Churches, as monuments, had many advantages: monumentality/permanency, shelter from the elements, protection of valuables, and clear boundaries for sacred areas. But these practical concerns could have easily been served by a house, warehouse, or any other type of structure. In other words, a specific building type, such as a basilica or martyrium is not necessary to Christian worship, apart from liturgical and ideological concerns.

It is important, therefore, to remember that the multiple-domed basilicas functioned just as the Early Christian churches did before them. Basic elements of their ground plan, such as three-aisles, three apses, synthrononi, ancillary chapels, and chancel screens show a continuity of liturgical practices. But there were also some differences: the lack of narthexes, three-door facades, and ambos. The Cypriot domed basilica reflected both continuity and change, regarding liturgical symbolism and practice.

One major change in ground plan was placement of doors. In the Early Christian churches of Cyprus, the western wall usually had three entrances. Each door led to respective side aisles. Smaller churches of Cyprus did not have galleries, and so, one aisle would be occupied by women and children, while the nave and one side-aisle consisted of men.⁵⁷ This would become the main practice during the Period of Neutrality, since galleries were no longer built. Galleries were usually associated with catechumens, and by this point they were not necessary. In order to further separate the sexes (as well as the laity and the clergy), perhaps, the narthex was also discontinued. In all the multiple-domed basilicas, except for Agios Epifanios, a

single door was placed on the south, north, and west walls, for entrance into the aisles. The west door was probably reserved for the clergy as they made their ceremonial entry into the church. The two side-aisle doors were used by men and women, respectively. In this scheme, the three aisles assisted in ordering the post-classical society—lay men and women, and the clergy (**Fig.VI.15**). Women occupied the southern aisle; in the Latin west this area was known as the *mulieres* and near the side apse, was the *matroneum*. Men congregated in the northern side-aisle, known as the *viri*, with its eastern part, known as the *senatorium*.⁵⁸ Both the matroneum and sanatorium were areas where the faithful would receive the communion. It is possible that the lateral passages in the apse and bema-wall passages located at Cypriot Early Christian churches facilitated the priests and deacons as they delivered the consecrated bread to each gender, in the respective aisles.⁵⁹

In the majority of Cypriot churches there is no doorway within the sanctuary leading to the outside. It would seem that the main entrance for the clergy would be the western door in the nave. Eventually the nave became part of the liturgical procession and functioned as a holy (“set-apart”) space, chiefly reserved for the clergy. In the sixth century churches, such as Agias Trias (Yialousa) and Kourion cathedral, the ambo and the sanctuary stretch westward over three-quarter of the nave’s length. While the nave was not off-limits to the congregation, as time progressed, the clergy functioned within the entire nave space, from the door to the apse. At least by the mid-seventh century the use of the ambo was abandoned, as represented by the negative evidence at the Kalavasos churches. Perhaps this would have freed the clergy to exploit more of the nave for processions and liturgical reading. As discussed below (§VI.3.4), what is certain is that changes in liturgical symbolism in the seventh century led to a change in practice.

VI.3.2. Practical Considerations

During the sixth century when the rest of the Empire was building vaulted churches, the Cypriots continued to build wooden-roof structures. Vast cedar forests on Cyprus would provide an ample resource for roofing these structures. The harvesting of timber continued throughout the Period of Neutrality. According to the Arab chronicler Al-Baladhuri, the Cypriots supplied the Byzantine Empire with ships in 650, and according to Eutychius of Alexandria the Cypriots supplied the Patriarchate of Jerusalem with timber beams around the year 820.⁶⁰ With the abundant supply of wood, the question remains why the Cypriots, being

rather conservative, chose to abandon their Early Christian wooden-roof basilicas in favor of multiple-domed churches.

Two scholars have proposed an explanation. As recounted in Chapter Two (§II.1.3), Megaw suggested that the development of stone vaulting was recourse against fire, and therefore, a response to Arab invasions.⁶¹ In contrast, Ćurčić argued that vaulting was more stable than wood, and so, the Cypriots chose domed architecture, as a response to the region's earthquakes, which can also cause fires.⁶² This dissertation has favored Megaw's theory over Ćurčić's, based on three factors: the historical record of earthquakes, scientific evidence showing that vaults are not necessarily earthquake-proof, and archaeology affirming the devastation to churches brought about by the Arabs. While seismic forces cannot explain the transition from wooden-roof basilicas to barrel-vaulted structures, they might explain later developments, such as the destruction of the barrel-vaulted basilicas.⁶³ Nevertheless, from Megaw's theory, this thesis has gone further and suggested that new churches were designed to be less open and more defensive, like strongholds (§II.4).

Widespread destruction of Christian monuments on the island was a psychological as well as an economic blow to the Church of Cyprus. They responded with three types of churches. The wooden-roof, square-pier basilicas were an economic solution to reconstructing devastated churches. Of course, these did not solve the inherent weakness of the Early Christian wooden roof against fire. Barrel-vaulted churches could protect against fire but were much more expensive and time-consuming. Multiple-domed basilicas, with Agios Epifanios as the first example, were even more expensive to build. The added cost provided value to structures which would eventually enshrine Cyprus' most important relics.

As argued in Chapters Three and Four, Agios Epifanios and Agia Paraskevi were seventh century structures and contemporaneous with the barrel-vaulted churches. Why would the multiple-domed basilica continue to develop into the eighth century, while the barrel-vaulted types were abandoned? Barrel-vaulted basilicas at Afentrika lack patina associated with human activity, such as wear in the doorways. Furthermore, cracks in the vaulting at the Asomatos Church and the apse of the Panagia Chrysotissa indicate major earthquake damage. It would seem that these basilicas were not occupied long before they were destroyed and abandoned.⁶⁴ For the year 796 Theophanes recorded a "violent earthquake" in Crete, and immediately afterwards, one in Constantinople; in the same year, the Arab scholar al-Tabarī recorded "a strong earthquake" in Alexandria.⁶⁵ Cyprus could not have escaped this powerful seismic activity.

Barrel-vaulted churches were more susceptible to earthquake damage compared with wooden roofed or domed structures. The complete destruction of the large barrel-vaulted churches proved that they were unsuitable for Cyprus, and were subsequently abandoned in favor of the domed basilica. While multiple-domed basilicas were not earthquake proof—as demonstrated by later restorations in the twelfth century—they were much more stable than the barrel-vaulted churches. Perhaps, Agios Epifanios' structural stability and survival against such tremors would have lent itself to theological exegesis.

VI.3.3. Dome Iconography

In discussing the multiple-domed basilicas of Cyprus, one could easily side-step issues concerning dome symbolism and significance. This is tempting since little historical evidence has been discovered to fundamentally change our current art historical models. Nevertheless this dissertation would not be complete without an analysis of the symbolism and iconography of Byzantine domed churches. This section assesses pertinent literature on the subject and provides an iconographical interpretation based on Pseudo-Dionysius and Maximus the Confessor.

Various meanings behind domed architecture were discussed at length by Baldwin Smith in his *The Dome: A Study in the History of Ideas* (1950). Smith, a specialist in Early Christian art history at Princeton, was a pupil of Charles Rufus Morey and Howard Crosby Butler. The latter was the foremost American archaeologist of Early Christian (Syrian) architecture in his day. Smith hoped that his book would present the “domical ideology and evolution in one study.” He soon realized that “no one could expect to enjoy indefinitely a monopoly of domical ideas” and published merely “partial study of the dome.”⁶⁶ His work was foreshadowed by earlier studies on dome iconography by Karl Lehmann and the development of martyria by André Grabar.⁶⁷ Remarkably, Lehman and Smith studied the heavenly symbolism of the dome independently of each other but reached similar conclusions.

In order to assess Smith’s motivation and methodology, one must understand the discipline in the mid-twentieth century. Smith stated that “Ever since the nineteenth century it has been generally believed that the dome from its inception was a functional means of vaulting.”⁶⁸ He referred to architectural theories posed by Jules Quicherat and modernist tendency towards functionalism.⁶⁹ Smith also argued against the aesthetics of abstraction and “purism” fostered by the commercialism of his day. A watershed moment in architectural history was the 1932 *International Style* exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in New York.

The show showcased the work, and more importantly, the philosophies of Ludwig Mies Van der Rohe, Walter Gropius, J. J. P. Oud, and Le Corbusier, which successfully advanced the notions of “form follows function.” Modernists approach to architecture of the present, and of the past, was firmly established. Smith did not accept this movement away from iconography.

He argued that architecture usually begins with a shape in nature and later becomes an idea in the mind of the architect. He wrote “the dome, it must be realized, was first of all a shape and then an idea...As a shape (which antedated the beginnings of masonry construction), it was the memorable feature of an ancient, ancestral house.”⁷⁰ Therefore Smith sought significance in natural forms: the *kalube* (*qubâb*, ancient hut, tent), conoid baetyl (memorial stone marker), omphalos, egg, pinecone, helmet, etc. He explicated that such forms had cultic and therefore cosmic significance, and that these forms were transferred to architecture with their associated meanings intact. His primary thesis was that domed buildings were first constructed out of wood. If this is so, then the practical adoption of masonry domes was less consequential, since they were built primarily for an idea rather than a function.

Smith assumed that architectural shapes were “embodiments of social needs, conventions and aspirations.”⁷¹ His hypotheses were less dependent on textual evidence than on forms and shapes found on ancient coins, statues, reliefs, and interpreting them to fit his specific thesis. Since he begins with prehistoric art, his analysis seems purely speculative. This reservation was offered by George Forsyth:

Immediately the critically minded reader is on his guard lest purely subjective modern interpretations creep in—and doubtless Smith would agree that such an attitude of skeptical resistance is quite proper. The problem is indeed a delicate one. We can describe the characteristic forms of a dead architectural style, analyze its structural procedures, and note our own aesthetic reactions to it. But how can we re-people the buildings and eavesdrop on the original inhabitants and hear what they really felt about their architectural environment? The answer is, of course, that we cannot expect proof positive in these matters. All we can hope for is circumstantial evidence. And unless one is a skeptic of the forlornest type, he will admit that such evidence can be fully convincing.⁷²

Smith’s analysis was overly ambitious, limited in its textual references, and spanned too many centuries. He never explained the catalyst for the transferal of meanings from one society to another. He assumed that the dome was a universal idea without explaining why.

Six years later Smith published *Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages* (1956) which continued his dome studies. This research, however, was based on the imperial

Roman heritage of Christian art, especially what Thomas Mathews called “The Emperor Mystique.”⁷³ Besides Jocelyn Toynbee’s criticism that Smith’s theses are “very long-winded work, in which a wearisome repetitiveness often tries the reader’s patience sorely,” few have critically argued against him.⁷⁴ The reason why is that it is very difficult to argue against speculation without the provision of new evidence. Admittedly this dissertation does not provide new evidence, but rather reconsiders the old evidence which is often overlooked in scholarship.

VI.3.4. Dome of Heaven

In our experience as human beings we perceive the earth as a flat plain, with the sky as a dome above. That is why ancient writers, from Plato to Ptolemy, described the heavens as a sphere.⁷⁵ It was believed that the entire sky was a large piece of architecture, held together at the apex by a keystone.⁷⁶ The French/Italian word for dome *coupole/cupola* is derived from the Latin word *cupula* that denoted a small drinking vessel—like the English word *cup*. Likewise the Greek word for ciborium ($\kappa\iota\beta\omega\eta\omega\nu$) refers to a bulbous drinking vessel. In other words, the sky resembled an upside-down bowl. Since the dome’s shape corresponded with the sky, the architectural form connoted both the atmosphere and its metaphysical counterpart *heaven*.

The “Dome of Heaven” as a motif in art was outlined by Karl Lehman in 1945. He argued that decoration in domed vaults of classical Rome influenced the type of ornament found in Byzantine churches. This decoration referenced the sky or the heavens. For example, historical sources described the triclinium of Nero’s Domus Aurea as having a great dome adorned with cosmic imagery that mechanically revolved signifying night and day.⁷⁷ Since most decorations on Roman ceilings do not survive, Lehman used floor mosaics as examples. His theory was seemingly confirmed by cosmic imagery in Syria, namely at the Temple of Bel at Palmyra, produced in the first century.⁷⁸

While Lehman’s work was highly influential, some scholars have doubted whether the dome actually symbolized the heavens.⁷⁹ Ćurčić observed that the placement of the dome was not standard in the Early Byzantine Period (sometimes it was over the bema, at other times it was directly over the nave).⁸⁰ He implied that the dome was perhaps more a practical means of vaulting rather than a carrier of ideology. Then in a 1982 article, Thomas Mathews wrote “The cracks in Lehman’s ‘Domes’” which challenged the evidence for the thesis. While he did not deny that Christian domes symbolized the heavens, Mathews questioned the data Lehman provided, particularly, the floor mosaics.⁸¹ And finally, Vincenzo Ruggieri proposed that domes

were adopted in Eastern churches only because they made buildings earthquake-proof.⁸² While interesting challenges to the Dome of Heaven thesis, these theories have not refuted the underlying fact—that Early Christian and Medieval vaulting tends to represent cosmic imagery. For example, stars are depicted in the vaults of the mausoleum of Galla Placidia (Ravenna), Sant'Apollinaire(Ravenna), martyrium at Casaranello, Sant Marco (Venice), Koimesis Church (Nicaea), Albenga Baptistry, Kariye Camii (Istanbul), San Giovanni (Naples), etc. Furthermore as described in Chapter Four, the dome fresco at Agia Paraskevi consists of motifs commonly found on floor mosaics, partially affirming Lehman's contention. These include canopies and globes—common representations for the celestial objects.

It is important to note that the cross-section of both the barrel-vault and dome is simply an arch. The Greek word for rainbow τόξον means “bow” (as in bow and arrow) whereas the Latin translation is *arcus*, from which English derives *archery*, *arch*, *arcade*.⁸³ Before the Roman Period, most ancient structures used post and lintel construction. In some limited contexts, such as the Treasury of Atreus (Mycenae, Greece) and the prehistoric houses at Choirokoitia (Cyprus), stone vaulting was employed. However, it was the Etruscans who exploited arches and barrel-vaults, and their practices were adopted by later Romans, who used the term *fornix*. Classical writers Ennius (239-169 BC) and Hyginus (64 BC–17 AD) likened the heavens to a vault (e.g. *caeli ingentes fornices*).⁸⁴ Moreover, ancient geometers were well aware that a barrel-vault was a series of arches, while the dome is an infinite series of arches around a single axis.

The rainbow, as a cosmic arch, conveyed a powerful symbol in Christian theology and architecture. In terms of theology, it represented quite literally, the cross-section of the heavenly sphere, and figuratively, Christ's throne; but it was also a symbol of grace under the new covenant:

And God said “This shall be a symbol of the covenant (*σημείον τῆς διαθήκης, signum foederis*)...the rainbow shall be in the cloud; and I will look upon it remembering the everlasting covenant between God and every living creature... (Genesis 9:16).

This symbol was later adapted by Christians; for example the water of Noah's Flood was equated with baptism—both symbols of cleansing.⁸⁵ In terms of architecture, the arch became an important form because it mimicked the rainbow of the sky. By the fourth century, there was considerable debate concerning the sky's structure and composition.⁸⁶ Scriptures provided clues

to cosmic architecture and God—the cosmic architect. The Old Testament clearly described the heavens as bowl-shaped, affirming earlier Greek cosmology. For example, one passage stated:

Is not God high in the heavens? See the highest stars, how lofty they are! Therefore you say, ‘What does God know? Can he judge through the deep darkness? Thick clouds enwrap him, so that he does not see, and he walks on the vault of heaven.⁸⁷

Therefore the cosmic arch, manifested in the rainbow, was a symbolic reference to the vault of heaven.⁸⁸ Before the adoption of domes, Early Christian churches conveyed this symbolism in their arcades; often the cross is depicted at the apex of the arch with three concentric circles around it, like a mandorla (e.g. the fifth century church of the Acheiropoietos, Thessaloniki) (**fig.VI.16**). The original arch decorations in the windows and barrel-vaults of Agia Sophia (Constantinople) also continue this motif (**figs.VI.17, 18**).

Besides the cosmic decoration, we have several historical sources that referred to the Dome of Heaven motif. For example, John of Gaza described a public thermae decorated with the heavenly bodies including the angels and Agia Sophia.⁸⁹ He mentioned three circles radiating out from the dome’s apex with a cross in the center, reminiscent of the bema cross at Agia Sophia (Thessaloniki) and the mandorla around Christ in the St. Catherine’s apse mosaic (Sinai) (**fig. IV.21**). It seems that this earlier iconography was transmitted down to the artists decorating the Umayyad bathhouse at Qusayr ‘Amra in Jordan.

The decoration of baths coincided with written descriptions of sixth century churches. Procopius described the dome of Agia Sophia in Constantinople as a “golden dome (*σφαίρα*) suspended from Heaven (*ουράνοι*).”⁹⁰ Likewise, a mid-sixth century Syrian hymn described the church of Agia Sophia of Edessa in cosmic terms:

Its ceiling is stretched like the heavens—without columns, vaulted and closed—and furthermore, it is adorned with golden mosaics as the firmament is with shining stars. Its high dome is comparable to the heaven of heavens; it is like a helmet, and its upper part rests solidly on its lower part. It’s great, splendid arches represent the four sides of the world; they also resemble, by virtue of their variegated colors, the glorious rainbow of the clouds.⁹¹

Such correlation between the heavens and the ecclesiastical domes survived into the Middle Byzantine Period. The earliest motif placed on Christian domed architecture was the cross, with the exception of the Rotunda (Thessaloniki) that depicted a full length figure of Christ. It was also common to have the image of an enthroned Christ on half-domes, as at Hosios David

(Thessaloniki) and Santa Pudenziana (Rome). However, starting in the sixth century the image of the Theotokos (with or without the infant Christ) became more popular within apse decoration.

Further modifications to the “Dome of Heaven” scheme took place between the sixth and eighth centuries. While the dome and vaults of Agia Sophia (Constantinople) were decorated throughout with crosses, the Council of Trullo (692) made it the law. In Canon 73 the cross was forbidden to be represented on the floor lest it be trampled; this coincided with Canon 82 that forbade Christ to be represented as a lamb but rather as a “figure in human form.”⁹² These were important mandates for the iconology of Christ. The cross, as a cosmic symbol, was not appropriate for the floor, because it was more than just a depiction of the timber upon which Christ was nailed. Its gold and jewels (symbolizing stars) embodied the name of Christ (the monogram *I*, for *IΗΣΟΥΣ*, and *X*, for *ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ*)—the Word of God (**fig. VI.19**). This association was observed by Paul the Silentary who wrote “...at the very navel summit [of Agia Sophia’s dome], the sign of the cross is depicted within a circle by means of a minute mosaic so that the Savior of the whole world may forever protect the church.”⁹³ This “minute mosaic” brings to mind the dome decorations at Agios Varnavas in Cyprus (§V.2.3).

In the artworks and descriptions mentioned above, gold was the color of heaven. Gold crosses came to symbolize Christ’s divinity, which could not be re-presented, but signified.⁹⁴ In order to convey the two natures of Christ (divine and human), two forms—the cross and the human bust—were sanctioned by the Church. This should not be seen as a new formula, but an affirmation of a traditional model, as represented at Sant’Apollinaire (Classe) and St. Catherine’s (Sinai), and in every halo where the cross is joined with Christ’s bust. The Cypriots, represented by their archbishop, were involved in these lengthy discussion at the same Council, where their autocephaly (Canon 39) was affirmed (see above §III.2.1).

It was a matter of time before Christ’s human form was placed in the apex of domes instead of the cross. During the iconoclastic controversy (730-787, 814-842) crosses replaced both the image of the Theotokos and Christ within apses. Iconoclasts believed that Christ’s icon was idolatrous, emphasizing the humanness of Christ over his divinity.⁹⁵ They overcorrected by emphasizing the cross. After the iconoclastic controversy, primary sources recorded that Christ’s portrait replaced the cross within the dome of Agia Sophia and the Holy Apostles (both at Constantinople); these were probably similar to well-known images of the Pantocrator at Daphni monastery (near Athens, ca. 1100) and the Capella Palatina (Palermo, 1142/3).⁹⁶ Perhaps the emphasis of Christ’s human form was orthodoxy’s overcorrection of iconoclasm.

The church of Agia Sophia in Thessaloniki is a key transitional monument, displaying one of the first images of Christ in a nave dome after iconoclasm (**fig. VI.20**). The mosaic, dating from the late eighth century, depicts Christ's ascension. He is enthroned on the rainbow surrounded by his apostles and with the Théotokos. The rainbow represented the dome of heaven, and served as God's throne according to the scriptures:

...a throne stood in heaven, with one seated on the throne...And he who sat there appeared like jasper and carnelian, and round the throne was a rainbow that looked like an emerald (Revelations 4:2-3)⁹⁷

and,

Thus says the LORD, "Heaven is my throne and the earth is my footstool. Where then is a house you could build for me? And where is a place that I may rest? (Isaiah 66:1, quoted in Acts 7:49).

The domed church responded to this rhetorical question. Ironically, while scriptures highlighted the impossibility of God residing in a building, the artists nevertheless tried to capture his image within the church. This metaphorical idea of the Dome of Heaven serving as Christ's throne is illustrated in a tenth-century Anglo-Saxon manuscript known as the *Genesis Poem*.⁹⁸ This shows Christ both sitting and standing on the dome of heaven above the stars, creating life on earth (**fig. VI.21**). Such a formula is based on Isaiah 40:22: "It is he who sits above the circle of the earth." The rainbow throne became a common theme in Early Medieval Art, with its first appearance on the nearby apse mosaic at Hosios David.⁹⁹

Eventually, this enthroned Christ developed into the images known as the Pantocrator, consisting of Christ's bust. The Pantocrator should be seen as the same kind of image as Christ enthroned on a rainbow, but instead of passively sitting, Christ actively bends down to look at the congregation from the great heights of heaven. The rainbow is still depicted, but it is doubled and forms the oculus through which God face appears [as at the Daphni monastery, Chora Church (Kariye Camii, Istanbul) and Agia Sophia (Kiev)], similar to the double rainbow in the bema of Agia Sophia (Thessaloniki).¹⁰⁰ Also at Agia Sophia, a circular mandorla frames the Lord, consisting of three concentric circles, corresponding to its bema cross mosaic. These are similar to the cross mosaic described by John of Gaza. The cross does appear in the Pantocrator, but lies behind the head of Christ within the halo, combining the two natures of Christ (divine and human) with its two symbols (cross and human bust).¹⁰¹ Apparently this solution was

sanctioned in order to counter Iconoclast mandates that separated Christ's divinity from his humanity in depicting the cross alone.

While direct references to the Dome of Heaven cannot be found in later Middle Byzantine history, Armenian documents do survive, as Robert W. Thomson wrote:

The *Teaching of Saint Gregory* (the Illuminator) as found in the *History of Agathangelos* [late 5th century] opens with a brief description of heaven, earth, and the void. Heaven is domed (*khoranard*), with a firm roof (*?hastayark*), suspended in the void...the domed area [refers to] the shah's audience chamber. Such a dome is an image (*arrinak*) of the sky. Another term, also found in the Armenian bible, is even more frequently used of the vault of heaven: *kamar*, which renders the *zaphaq* of Isaiah 40.22...Anania Shirakats'i) [610–685] describes the vault (*kamar*) formed by the fire and air which surrounds the earth. Gregory Magistros [990–1058] speaks of the firmament above as a *kamar*. Gregory of Narek [951–1003] refers to the 'celestial *kamar* of heaven not made by human hands.' And the later historian Vardan describes in detail the three spheres (*kamark'*) of fire, water, and air, each above the other, which encircle the earth.¹⁰²

Therefore there is compelling art historical and historical evidence that the Dome of Heaven played a vital role in how churches were designed. Initially, the arch and barrel-vault were just as symbolically important as the dome; but in time the latter became the primary form due to its association with eternity.

Concomitant with the development the Dome of Heaven motif in architecture was the Christianization of Neo-Platonism. The chief proponent of this new philosophy called himself Dionysius the Areopagite (who is now referred to as Pseudo-Dionysius). Several of his treatises, written in Syrian and dating from the sixth century, described the universe in terms of hierarchies with all creatures emanating from God. In this pyramidal system, variety and multiplicity were at the base, far removed from God—earthly plants and animals belong to the lowest strata. The top stratum is singularity and unity within the Godhead. In between heaven and earth are nine strata of angelic and celestial beings. As a metaphor to this hierarchy, Pseudo-Dionysius describes the sun as the pinnacle, shining down upon the other strata. The closer one travels to the sun, the more concentrated the light, the closer to illumination.

This ordering of the universe is not only applied to theology and cosmology, but spiritual growth and mystical understanding. In his *Celestial Hierarchy*, Pseudo-Dionysius focuses on the singularity which is the source of light, the symbol of wisdom:

...it under exalted imagery as Sun of Righteousness, as Morning Star rising divinely in the mind, and as Light illumining without veil and for contemplation...those who are

illuminated should be filled full with Divine Light, ascending, to the contemplative state and power with the most pure eyes of the mind; those who are being initiated, holding themselves apart from all imperfection, should become participants in the Divine Wisdom which they have contemplated.¹⁰³

Of course “Divine Wisdom” would be synonymous with “Holy Wisdom” (*Αγία Σοφία*). This correlation between light and wisdom was not ignored by the contemporaries of Justinian’s palace church. For example, the sixth century *kontakion* of the church proclaimed:

This sacred church of Christ evidently outstrips in glory even the firmament (*στερέωμα*) above, for it does not offer a lamp of merely sensible light, but the shine of it bears aloft the divine illumination of the Sun of Truth and it is splendidly illumined throughout by day and by night by the rays of the Word of the Spirit, through which the eyes of the mind are enlightened by him (who said) “Let there be light!,” God.¹⁰⁴

The flood of light within the church, channeled through forty windows around the drum, corresponds to the Neo-Platonist scheme (fig.VI.22).¹⁰⁵ These ideas are also found in the hymn pertaining to Agia Sophia at Edessa; as one scholar wrote, “...the verses pertaining to the architecture itself, and especially to the dome, were interpreted in the manner of Pseudo-Dionysian writings.”¹⁰⁶

In Pseudo-Dionysius’ *Ecclesiastica Hierarchia*, there is an emphasis of variety, movement, and procession during the mystical rites of the liturgy, while there is a metaphysical focus on unity and illumination. This ideology is manifested in the majestic central dome of Agia Sophia—it represents the zenith of the Pseudo-Dionysian pyramid (fig.VI.23). The cross mosaic is fixed in the dome’s apex, the symbol of Christ’s divinity and the “Word of the Spirit.” This is appropriate because the Liturgy of the Word took place in the ambo directly below the dome. The center of the cross was the absolute singularity. From this point downward was an increasing plurality: three rings of the mosaic, then forty ribs of the dome and forty windows, next four pendentives, four arches, two half-domes, two tympanums, and 32 windows, and so on. Light emanates downwards, constricted at the windows above, fanning outwards towards the lower strata. The viewers’ eyes also quickly look up towards the highest point, following the movement from “the many” to “the one.”

Justinian’s chief architects would have been considered cutting-edge philosophers in their day.¹⁰⁷ Certainly they would have understood current intellectual trends. The Neo-Platonic scheme is evident in smaller churches, such as Ss. Sergius and Bacchus (Constantinople) and San Vitale (Ravenna). Moreover, the multiple-domed churches of the Holy Apostles and St. John

(Ephesus) each contain a singularity, manifested in the single central dome pierced with windows in the center of the crossing-arms, conforming to the Pseudo-Dionysian framework. This revolutionary hermeneutic (if not a working architectural theory) was confined to Constantinople and imperial commissions. Perhaps Pseudo-Dionysius, being a Syrian, was identified with Monophysitism, since his theory implied an ultimate single divine nature. Such a change in traditional design was presumably looked upon with suspicion by conservative orthodox clerics. Perhaps this is why Justinian chose to build a wooden-roof basilica in Jerusalem along traditional lines as to not offend the city's patriarch.¹⁰⁸

VI.3.5. Orbiting the Domes of Heaven

The question still remains concerning how the Cypriot multiple-domed basilicas fit into the Dome of Heaven iconology. All Cypriot examples have a plurality of three domes of roughly equal size along the nave; two churches have additional domes in the aisles. Since there is no dominant single-dome, there is no singularity. Furthermore, all these churches, except for Agios Varnavas, originally had very dark interiors with limited lighting. Without a singularity and an emphasis of lighting, it is not possible to apply a Neo-Platonic scheme to these churches. Moreover, our surviving data attests that Cypriot domes were ribbed, except the small domes of Agia Paraskevi. The use of ribs precludes the representation of the Pantocrator, thereby indicating that their domes belong to a tradition prior to the eleventh century (when the Pantocrator was more common in the Eastern Mediterranean).¹⁰⁹ It would seem, therefore, that the ideology behind the Cypriot churches was formulated between the seventh and tenth centuries, before the Pantocrator was introduced into the island.

The writings of Maximus the Confessor (580—662) can help us understand the Cypriot three-domed naves. After serving as secretary to Emperor Heraclius, Maximus grew tired of the pomp and corruption of Constantinople and became a monk. His writings betray the Church's growing disaffection with imperial meddling in spiritual affairs (i.e. caesaropapism). He fled to Jerusalem, where he studied under Sophronius, who later became the Patriarch. Moreover, he had allies in Cyprus and probably lived there between 626 and 630. During the Monothelite controversy, Maximus convinced the Cypriot archbishop to maintain his orthodoxy against the Emperor Heraclius.¹¹⁰ He also instigated a small ecumenical synod at Agios Epifanios (Salamis-Constantia), which condemned Monotheletism in 643—just seven years before the Arab

invasion. Even after Maximus left Cyprus he maintained close correspondence with a Cypriot priest named Marinus.¹¹¹

Maximus continued to criticize the Heraclian Dynasty and defended the Roman pontiff's rights over the Constantinopolitan Emperor. In 662 Maximus was arrested and brought to Constantinople, where he was anathematized, beaten, and had his tongue and right hand amputated, and then sent into exile in faraway Georgia, where he shortly died. His brutal treatment illustrated just how dangerous his ideas were to the Byzantine Empire. Before he died he published two key treatises—the *Scholia* and *Mystagogia*—these were modeled after Pseudo-Dionysius. The former tome was a commentary explaining the symbolism of Neo-Platonism in simpler terms; the second was a continuation of the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*. While Maximus admitted his deference to Pseudo-Dionysus, his ideas are not derivative but original.¹¹²

In regards to the Cypriot multiple-domed churches, the *Mystagogia* provides important information concerning seventh century worship. Maximus explained that

...since the symbols in the sacred rite of the holy liturgy have been interpreted in a manner worthy of his largeness of soul by the all-holy Denys the Areopagite (a true revealer of God!), in his treatise on *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, let it be known that what is here written does not cover the same ground as he.¹¹³

To the contrary, his *Mystagogia* fundamentally reinterpreted liturgical symbolism. His diametrical opposition to Pseudo-Dionysus leaves us to wonder if Maximus' deference was meant sarcastically. There are five main differences between their hermeneutics. First, Pseudo-Dionysus was concerned with *vertical* elevation from earth towards heaven (from floor towards ceiling); in contrast, Maximus discussed the *horizontal* procession from nave to sanctuary. Second, the dome above symbolized heaven to Pseudo-Dionysus, while Maximus wrote: “the sanctuary reminds one of the sky, the dignity of the nave reflects the earth.” Third, while the former was concerned with *meditation* and *contemplation* (wisdom and illumination), the latter emphasized *progress* and *action* (virtue and “contemplation with action”). Fourth, Pseudo-Dionysus was chiefly concerned with focusing on singularity, in order to achieve mystical union or “becoming one” with God; Maximus concentrated on plurality in balance with unity (i.e. *e pluribus unum*), such as his ideas of the “one ray of threefold Light shining down uniformly” and the “Holy Unity is a Trinity.”¹¹⁴ This unity in diversity is a theme absent in Pseudo-Dionysius.¹¹⁵ Maximus’ description of church architecture indicates that the basilica is an ideal structure for worship rather than a

centrally-planned building. While Maximus was quite familiar with Justinianic architecture in Constantinople, he seemed to specifically omit references to domes or vaulting, while emphasizing a rectangular ground plan, three aisles, and the sanctuary (*bema*).¹¹⁶

These differences illustrate how Maximus was trying to harmonize Neo-Platonism and Judeo-Christian thought. Platonic philosophy sought unilateral enlightenment away from earthly existence; whereas Semitic religion sought harmony bilaterally between seemingly polar opposites: heaven and earth, sanctuary and nave, God and man, clergy and laity, Unity and Trinity, holiness and profanity, etc. To the Platonic mind, heaven and the gods (ideals, spirit) were “up there” and far removed from debased earth (the physical nature, the real). To the Judeo-Christian mind, heaven and wisdom co-existed with the earth, where God and angels brushed shoulders with the lowest of men.¹¹⁷ In other words, heaven was on earth, readily accessible by the believer.¹¹⁸ This follows Christ’s teaching:

The kingdom of God is not coming with signs to be observed; nor will they say, ‘Lo, here it is!’ or ‘There!’ for behold, the kingdom of God is in the midst of you (Luke 17: 21-22)

This non-Platonic idea is encapsulated in Maximus’s philosophy:

For this visible world is verbally present in the world of thought; the world of thought is present in the visible images. Their end result or work is all one, as...a wheel in the middle of a wheel...Any person who has been able to learn all this sensibly and wisely through what is done in church, has really made his own soul a church of God (Θεού Ἐκκλησία)—a divine thing.¹¹⁹

These are significant changes in liturgical hermeneutics. The shift in emphasis indicates dissatisfaction with the Neo-Platonic scheme. However, it is not clear if Maximus was merely describing changes which took place over a century, or affirming an alternative hermeneutic tradition that was just as old, if not older than Pseudo-Dionysius.¹²⁰

Another important aspect of Maximus’ *Mystagogia* is his emphasis on three particular liturgical performances: the First Entrance, the Reading of the Word, and the Great Entrance. Concerning the symbolism of the First Entrance (*Introit*), he wrote: “the priest’s first entrance into the holy church at the sacred liturgy is a figure and image of the first time the Son of God, Christ our Savior, came into this world.” This was a reference to Christ’s humble nativity, signifying a holy mystery ($\tau\alpha\ \mathbf{\Delta}\chi\rho\alpha\mathbf{n}\tau\alpha\ \mathbf{M}\u03b9\sigma\tau\mathbf{h}\rho\iota\alpha$, or a paradox)—the King ($\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\mathbf{u}\mathbf{c}$) who becomes the lowly servant ($\delta\mathbf{i}\alpha\kappa\mathbf{o}\nu\mathbf{o}\mathbf{s}$). Next, Maximus highlighted the

Liturgy of the Catechumens, when Scriptures are read: “the Word of spiritual contemplation, visiting them [the congregation] like the High Priest from heaven.” This pointed to another mystery or paradox—the Divine Word (*λόγος*) that became Flesh (*σάρκα*) (or, the ideal [*θεωρία*] that becomes sensual or the real [*ιστορία*]).¹²¹ And lastly, concerning the priest’s descent from the synthronon to the altar (the Great Entrance, *Μεγάλη Εισοδος*), Maximus wrote: “the revelation of the mystery of our salvation, hidden in the center of the divine secrecy...the mysterious unity of divine simplicity.” Here he referred to another mystery or paradox—the High Priest (*αρχιερεὺς*) who becomes the sacrificial Lamb (*αγνής*).¹²² By emphasizing these three performances equally, Maximus countered Pseudo-Dionysus’ single emphasis on the Reading of the Word.

These three liturgical performances corresponded to the placement of the three domes within the nave of the Cypriot basilicas. The westernmost dome demarcated the first mystery, the First Entrance, since the dome rested immediately over the main doorway. The priest with his deacons crossed the threshold, symbolizing the all-powerful deity coming into the world as a helpless baby. Next, the middle dome, hung over the second mystery, the Liturgy of the Word. Like Agia Sophia (Constantinople) where the dome rested above the ambo, the Cypriot churches most likely had moveable pulpits in the nave; this practice continues today, where wooden pulpits rest under the central dome in all Cypriot churches. Here the Divine Word becomes manifested in audible language. The third, eastern dome serves as a ciborium resting over the altar. This dome demarcated the third mystery, the Great Entrance, when the priest with his deacons descends the synthronon and broke the Eucharistic bread. The priest played the role of Christ, the High Priest, who is sacrificed on his own altar.¹²³

Cypriot multiple-domed basilicas, therefore, should be seen as a synthesis between the Dome of Heaven motif and Maximus’ *Mystagogia* (Fig.VI.24). The verticality of the dome is a reference to the firmament of the heavens, while the repetition of each bay represents the progression of time. The dome demarcated a sacred performance, punctuating each stage of the priestly procession. In other words, the priest played the role of Christ in three sequential phases of his theophany. Like a comic strip, each domed bay showed the progression of Christ’s life, teaching, and ultimate sacrifice as the liturgy unfolded. Each bay contained the Dome of Heaven decorated by a cross, serving as an orbiting halo and signifying the divinity of Christ. The priest completed the iconography

by representing the human nature of Christ. Congregations witnessed a type of multimedia sensation, incorporating theatricality and architecture, with music and audience participation.¹²⁴ Every sense was utilized: sight, smell (incense), sound (hymns and chants), and taste (communion). The architectural stage was where the supernatural intersected with the natural, as Maximus stated:

Jesus Christ our God and Savior clearly transforming us into Himself...He rids us of the symptoms of corruption, and grants us the original, archetypal mysteries represented here to the senses under symbols.¹²⁵

Under the symbolic Domes of Heaven, each mystery was revealed in time horizontally. The fact that each dome was the same size meant that each revelation was equally significant, and fits within Maximus' emphasis on unity in diversity. In contrast, the Pseudo-Dionysian single-dome model emphasized the central space, and the Liturgy of the Word over the other rites; this corresponded with the Neo-Platonic unilateral quest for Holy Wisdom through enlightenment alone.

Maximus' *Mystagogia* can also be applied in interpreting the side-aisle domes at Agia Paraskevi and Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion. Just as the western dome demarcated the clergy's entrance, the north and south domes in the aisles distinguished the entrance of the laity. In this instance, these domes signified the transition between the inner sacred spaces from the outer profane world. This is the same reason why Roman, Byzantine, and Islamic palaces usually had a domed reception hall or gatehouse—to demarcate a shift between the outer ordinary world and the inner extraordinary realm.¹²⁶ Moreover, Maximus explained that lay people play an important role in the liturgical performance: "the people entering the church with the priest symbolize unbelievers being converted from ignorance and deception to the recognition of God."¹²⁷ Moreover, he could have been referring to the women's aisle, when he wrote "Come here women who come from a show...come away...from wandering around gazing at the outward appearance and show of sense objects."¹²⁸

The use of Maximus' ideological scheme also aids in explaining why Cypriots continued to use the basilican ground plan. The emphasis was on progression and movement. Furthermore, the priest's actions role-played Christ's history on earth. In other words, the priest represented Christ in a passion play. The whole church was a stage,

using the basilica or royal palace as a backdrop. Maximus' emphasis on Christ's kingship was, perhaps, a reflection of the Cypriot's own dissatisfaction with their earthly king, the Byzantine Emperor.

Though Maximus the Confessor's symbolic interpretation of the liturgy was well known to theologians, Hans Urs von Balthasar's *Kosmische Liturgie* (1941) first revealed its importance to a wider public. Balthasar explained that Maximus viewed the liturgy and Eucharist as cosmic events, when history repeated itself before worshipers' eyes and where heavenly beings populated the earthly temple. Each ceremonial act corresponded to an historical event; parts of the church represented holy locations; and each mystery signified a spiritual reality. Celebrants and congregation participated in the mystical acts of worship, elevating the local church as a unit without division. Such an interpretation is still used in catholic congregations today. Furthermore, Maximus' particular interpretation is significant, not only because it is a unique survival, but because it appears at a transitional period in Byzantine history.

Art historians usually emphasize the liturgical symbolism described by Germanus (ca. 641-733) over Maximus the Confessor. For example, Germanus' writings were included in Mango's *The Art of the Byzantine Empire* (1986), whereas Maximus was omitted. The reason why is simple: Germanus, as patriarch of Constantinople, described the meaning behind Agia Sophia's liturgy; whereas, Maximus' emphasis on horizontality and the basilica, seemed out-dated or provincial. But it is important to remember that Germanus, himself, closely followed Maximus' *Mystagogia*, embellishing its commentary rather than altering its basic ideas. Thus his knowledge of the *Mystagogia* indicates that Maximus' ideas were still current in the eighth century. It is not possible to establish whether the Cypriots were familiar with Germanus' work, since the patriarch was banished during the ensuing Iconoclastic controversy, in which the Cypriots avoided contact with the Byzantine capital.

VI.3. Historical Context and Cypriot Identity

Throughout this dissertation there has been an underlying theory regarding Cypriot cultural identity, and how the multiple-domed basilicas manifested that identity. The concept of *identity* has been bandied about by several disciplines, and has been applied to a wide range of subjects, sometimes encompassing different meanings.¹²⁹ Therefore, it is necessary to explain how the term is here applied.

Cultural identity is a set of characteristics recognized as peculiar to a certain population, either by the population itself, or other groups outside the population. In other words, the population in question might not realize that they are peculiar. It is important to note that a population's idiosyncrasies do not necessarily result from a difference in kind, but rather a difference in degree.¹³⁰ In regards to the Cypriot population during the Period of Neutrality, little survives in terms of documentary history written by Cypriots themselves. And yet sufficient evidence affirms that the Cypriots were viewed by the Byzantines as *different* compared with other subjects of the Empire. So, on the one hand, it is impossible to affirm if the Cypriots had self-identity without their opinions; yet, on the other hand, Byzantine sources immediately following that period recognize Cypriot peculiarity. Therefore this dissertation suggests that this historical context was conducive to the forming of cultural identity.

There is considerable debate among scholars concerning Cypriot identity during the Period of Neutrality. For example, several scholars believe that the Cypriots retained a Pan-Hellenic identity since they kept the Greek language. For instance, one scholar wrote:

Despite the fact that Cyprus had slipped from the exclusive political domination of the Byzantines as a result of the political and military weakness of Byzantium, the culture of the Cypriots, and consequently of Cyprus, did not cease to be clearly Byzantine: language, art, and religion.¹³¹

While there is no doubt Greek continued to be spoken on Cyprus, it is also clear that the architecture, art, and religion did not reflect Constantinople (as discussed below). Moreover, language alone cannot negate the affects of cultural identity. There are sufficient examples of diverse populations that speak the same language but maintain separate cultural identities, such as the Irish and the Australians, or the Arabic-speaking Christians and Muslims of Lebanon. Furthermore, scholars who have applied Pan-Hellenism to Cyprus have done so because of their political sentiments rather than compelling historical evidence.¹³² With that being said, there is a consensus that Cypriots were historically distinguished from Christians living in neighboring lands. Language was also a key factor: Syrians and Armenians spoke their respective languages, while Christians living in Palestine and Egyptians adopted Arabic.

Nevertheless there are four characteristics of the Cypriot population during the Period of Neutrality which set them apart from other Byzantine provinces. Their religious denomination, geography, economy, and governance were substantially different from other provinces. These facets separated the Cypriots from the Empire, not only in a geographical sense, but in identity.

VI.3.1. A Particular Cypriot Culture

First, in terms of religion, the Cypriots had an autocephalous Church with both apostolic foundations and traditions. Their moral laws, beliefs, and behavior were regulated by the church hierarchy. The island's twelve bishops elected their leader—the archbishop—without external influence (§III.1.2). Since the fifth century, the Byzantine Empire had honored both spiritual and temporal rights of the archbishopric, making him one of the most powerful religious figures in Christendom. The independent church of Cyprus retained its orthodoxy while emperors and patriarchs were successively Monothelete (649-713) and Iconoclastic (730-787, 814-842). During these years, the Cypriots were not only marginalized by the Empire, but actively avoided the capital and its Councils (§III.2.4). And it is highly probable that the Cypriots continued making icons throughout the Iconoclastic period.¹³³ Also, there is much evidence for an Arabic colony practicing Islam in Cyprus. As discussed above, Muslims used the Cypriot churches as mosques as they travelled around the island (§IV.1.5). The Cypriots' peace accord with Muslims provided experiences that other Byzantine subjects did not have.

VI.3.2. A Particular Cypriot Landscape

Cyprus' culture was further shaped by its position in the world. The island is located at the heart of the eastern Mediterranean where Europe meets Africa and the Middle East. The Sea was a major conduit for the exchange of people and ideas. As a result, Cypriots enjoyed a pluralistic society of travelers, pilgrims, tradesmen, merchants, farmers, and clerics. During the Period of Neutrality, the island served as a refuge for Christians fleeing Arab Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, while providing a safe haven for iconoclasts and anti-imperialists (§ III.2.4).

Besides the ethnic plurality, the island has a range of various climates. The coastlands are hot and arid, yet suitable for fishing. The central Mesaoria plain was covered with dense forests and fertile meadows. The Troodos and the Kyrenia mountain ranges are tall enough to accommodate cooler weather, allowing Cypriot farmers to grow citrus at the base, and apples and cherries at the peaks. Ancient vineyards on the southern coast grew large, sweet grapes—ideal for wine-making. Vast pastures of the Karpas Peninsula and Troodos foothills are covered in long grass suitable for cattle and sheep. In short, the Cypriots were always well provided with timber, food, and natural resources, even without external trade.

VI.3.3. A Particular Cypriot Economy

Absence of coinage and glazed pottery in the archaeological record further underscores Cyprus' independence from the capital during the Period of Neutrality. The number of coins discovered in excavation peaks with the mid-seventh century types, when gold coins of Heraclius are well represented. The number of coins sharply decreases near the end of the seventh century. It is only during the eleventh century that there is a gradual increase in coin circulation. The negative evidence of coinage throughout the island points to a natural economy, based perhaps on a sharing or barter system. From studying the numbers and distribution of coins, Pitsillides and Metcalf concluded that:

The decline of urban life, and above all the lack of firm government from the centre, doubtless meant that Cyprus reverted almost everywhere to a non-monetized economy. References in the written sources to taxation, whether by the Byzantine Empire or by the Caliphate, remain difficult to understand, unless the taxes were collected in kind.¹³⁴

Of course, if coinage was used for paying taxes, those examples would have been collected and then exported to Constantinople and Damascus.

In regards to ceramics, there was a sharp decline in imports.¹³⁵ Few examples of Constantinopolitan wares have been found in Cyprus.¹³⁶ More common are African amphorae, inscribed with Kufic letters, found in the southwestern areas, demonstrating some trade with Islamic countries.¹³⁷ The lack of Byzantine coins and pottery reflect an inability to purchase, or disinterest in, imported goods. Marcus Rautman has argued that many economic woes during the Period were due to depopulation. The drastic decline in manpower caused a fundamental shift in society. He wrote:

Surveys across the island have reported a sharp reduction in the occupation of the countryside, with few places clearly inhabited during the 8th and 9th centuries. The decline or consolidation of rural activities is especially clear along the coast, no doubt referencing the diminished fortunes of nearby cities. As elsewhere in the Mediterranean, the related phenomena of deurbanization and rural abandonment may reflect political instability but also other factors, ranging from plague to climatic change and economic reorientation. The magnitude of this shift is emphasized by [the] demise of the traditional exchange network that had long supplied standard types of glass and pottery to the island. Coins and other metropolitan trade goods are no better attested. This implies that a general turn toward self-sufficiency took place across much of the island, with a corresponding shift from permanent settlement to seasonal encampments that depended less on traditional communication networks.¹³⁸

Even with this decline in trade, money, and population, archaeology has clearly shown that the Cypriot church continued to thrive.¹³⁹

VI.3.4. A Particular Cypriot Government

Beginning with Constantine, the Church's administration was modeled after the diocese system of the Empire. As a result, the Church developed along with the State, and in due course, shared in the responsibilities of governing society. Social programs and judicial rights allowed clergy to fill in the power vacuum left by the fleeing Roman administration. Even before the Arab invasion, as mentioned above (§ III.1.2.) the archbishops of Cyprus restored aqueducts—by all accounts a secular matter. And also, the archbishop had the regalia of a temporal rulers (could sign his name in red ink, wear a purple cloak, and held a scepter rather than a crosier).¹⁴⁰ The place of the Late Antique church allowed it to play a more secular role, once the Roman administration failed. Furthermore, the archbishop of Cyprus was also given the title of “proedros” ($\pi\varrho\delta\varrho\varsigma$) or “president.”¹⁴¹

Upon their return from Cyzicus in 708 (an absence of seventeen years), Cypriots started to rebuild the island's infrastructure. Some stability and peace returned with the affirmation of the treaty between Emperor Tiberios III and Caliph Abd al-Malik.¹⁴² The archbishop soon became the spiritual and cultural “president” and “exarch” of the people.¹⁴³ With supreme authority, the archbishop came to represent the fountainhead of Cypriot identity, culture, and leadership. During the subsequent centuries, the population looked towards Salamis-Constantia rather than Constantinople for guidance. The significance of the Church's role (between 650 and 965) was originally suggested by Dikigoropoulos. He wrote:

With the breakdown of the Byzantine administration [on] Cyprus in the second half of the seventh century and the enforced neutralization of the Island the most important, indeed the sole heir of Byzantine authority in Cyprus must have been the Church...But such administration must have been under the supervision and direction of the Church which alone had the experience and the ability to exercise authority and, what was more important, could exercise authority with legality.¹⁴⁴

Dikigoropoulos based this theory on the nature of archaeological evidence: new constructions on the island were ecclesiastical and the bulk of surviving lead seals were ecclesiastical.¹⁴⁵ Moreover, the few historical references by Arab and Byzantine writers concerned the Church.

With the neutralization of the island, any “secular” Byzantine administration was presumably more diplomatic and ambassadorial than legislative and executive.

Historian Robert Browning followed Dikigoropoulos’ hypothesis closely. He argued that the Cypriots did not “theoretically...form an independent political community” while they were practically ruling themselves apart from normative Arab or Byzantine administration.¹⁴⁶ Other scholars, however, have argued that Cyprus was divided into two secular zones with the Arabs administering the southwestern region, centered in Paphos, and the Byzantines administrating the northeast region, based in Salamis-Constantia.¹⁴⁷ This has led to the popular idea of the “Condominium” or joint governance of the island. There is only one historical source for this, coming rather late (977) from Mohammed Abu'l-Qāsim bn Hawqal:

Cyprus was different from Crete, because the position of its inhabitants was not the same. It was divided into two, a part for the Byzantines and a part for the Moslems who had a prince and a governor on the island. The Moslems had control of the Christians in their vicinity and the Christians were divided into two groups.¹⁴⁸

However archaeological, as well as historical, evidence has not confirmed this gerrymandering. Furthermore, it seems highly unlikely that such an arrangement would have been feasible and left undocumented by Byzantine historians.¹⁴⁹

According to the scholar Muhammad Hamidullah, Cyprus during the Period of Neutrality would have been viewed by Arabs as a “tributary independent state” which “apart from the obligation to pay tribute, the non-Muslim state [Cyprus] remains completely independent.”¹⁵⁰ Regarding the Arab government there are historical references to a *Hākim*, *Imām*, and *Amīr*.¹⁵¹ *Hākim* is a generic name for governor or judge; *Amīr* constituted a head or leader, whether the head of a family, community, or nation; and *Imām* was a spiritual leader, who could have managed the mosque or presided in judicial cases.¹⁵² Unfortunately these titles do not convey how Cyprus was settled or administered. Did these individuals serve and govern only Muslim colonists? Did they merely collect taxes? Was legislation provided by Damascus? It seems that Christians were under their domain, as recorded by Hawqal (quoted above) and al-Tabari. The later wrote: “The Cypriots had to choose a Patrician among them to serve as a mediator between them and the Muslims.”¹⁵³ Archaeology also does not provide any clear answers. As described in Chapter Three (§III.1.3), the Arabs left behind graves, inscriptions, lead seals, coins, and ceramics mostly in Paphos.¹⁵⁴ Besides the Panagia Limeniotissa (Paphos),

probably rebuilt as a mosque, there are no archaeological remains of Arabic structures (§II.1.3). This information buttresses only the conclusion that Paphos was the center of Arab activity. During the Iconoclast Period, the Cypriots—being alienated from the Empire—learned to live peacefully with Arabs and shifted their trade eastwards.

After the Iconoclast Period, the Cypriots normalized their relations with the Empire, shifting their allegiances westward. Naturally, the Arabs grew mistrustful. This was further agitated by the Empire’s growing encroachment into Moslem waters. By the end of the eighth century, the Empire established the Cibyriat theme—a type of province administered by a navy—which policed the southern coast of Asia Minor.¹⁵⁵ While Cyprus was not officially part of this theme, the navy would patrol the waters around Cyprus. In 789 the commander (*στρατηγός*) of the theme, Theophilus, unsuccessfully attempted to rout the Arab fleet near Cyprus and was himself captured and beheaded. To the Arabs such impetuous behavior was a *casus belli*. A few years later, in 805 the Arabs “dispatched a fleet to Cyprus, destroyed the churches there, deported the Cypriots, and, by causing much devastation, violated the peace treaty.”¹⁵⁶ This strife continued into ninth century, when the Arab governor of Syria led attacks on Rhodes and Cyprus.¹⁵⁷

While Cyprus was caught between the Byzantine and Arab warfare, the general welfare of Christians in Moslem territories worsened. Theophanes reported, under the year 812, that large numbers of Palestinian refugees immigrated to Cyprus.¹⁵⁸ On the one hand, refugees drained Cypriot resources; on the other, they brought books, relics, and some of their most treasured possessions. The fact that a portion stayed in Cyprus indicates that the island was hospitable, safe, and open to settlement. Probably at this time “300 Alemani saints” arrived in Cyprus (if there is any truth in their hagiographies) arriving from Palestine.¹⁵⁹ It is also possible many Monophysites entered Cyprus, clashing with the local Cypriot Church.¹⁶⁰

The animosity between Cyprus and the Arabs would not last for long. In 815 Emperor Leo V convened the Second Iconoclast Council in Constantinople. History repeated itself. Cypriot bishops opted not to attend. And for about thirty years, iconoclasm ruled the Empire, causing the Church of Cyprus to distance itself. During this time there were no Arab raids on the island, leading to societal stability and prosperity. For example, there is evidence that Cypriots continued to export timber.¹⁶¹

Two hagiographical accounts provide a glimpse of the internal condition of the island in the ninth century, the *Vita S. Constantini quondam Iudeus* and *De Sancto Demetriano Episcopo Chytraeo in Cypro*.¹⁶² The first story was written between 847 and 886. It recounts how

Constantine “the Jew” visited Cyprus after being prompted by St. Spyridon in a dream. Three significant details are recounted. First, Constantine had no problems finding passage to and from Cyprus. The text indicated that transport between Asia Minor and Cyprus was commonplace from the port of Kyrenia. Second, Constantine visited two shrines: *Άγιοι Φανέντες* (St. Phanedes) and *Τερψν Έπτά Μαρτύρων* (Holy Seven Martyrs). The former was located near Kyrenia at Agios Epiktitos village (today called “Çatalköy” by locals) and the latter, was located in Paphos, now known as Agia Solomeni.¹⁶³ It is rather remarkable that these two humble shrines survive today.¹⁶⁴ Clearly Cyprus, in Constantine’s day, was perceived as an “ιερωνήσι” or “Holy Island” –a land of relics and sacred locales. Third, Constantine prayed at Agios Ioanos Prodromos, where several Moslems were performing “τὰ εἰωθότα αὐτοῖς συμπαίζαντες” (“their usual mockeries”?).¹⁶⁵ It seems that Moslems and Christians shared the same sacred spaces for worship. This goes far in explicating why Arab mosques have not been uncovered on the island.

The second text recounted the life of St. Demetrianos, a bishop of Chytroi (about 15 miles or 25 km west of Salamis-Constantia), written around 914. Two significant details were provided. First, it described a woman begging for alms, but the venerable bishop did not have cash, and so instead gave her a cow. This reflects the archaeology—Arab and Byzantine coinage were sparse at this time—causing a *Naturalwirtschaft* (barter economy) system to emerge. Second, an Arab raid was described in which several Cypriots were taken captive from the rural town of Chytroi. Demetrianos then departed to Baghdad in order to plead for the release of his flock. Usually, it was secular authorities or imperial agents responsible for such a mission. In this case the bishop was recognized as having temporal authority to confront the Caliph.

As Jenkins pointed out, this particular Arab raid was the subject of a letter sent from the Patriarch Nicholas Mysticus’ (the regent of the young Constantine VII) to the Caliph Al-Muqtadir.¹⁶⁶ In 911 the Byzantine general Himmerus landed in Cyprus and killed some Arab residents. The Cypriots, weaponless and defenseless, could not defend their Arab neighbors. Arab chronicler Mas‘ūdi accused Cypriots of aiding Himmerius, thus breaking the treaty. Regardless, Damian the “emir of Tarsus” attacked the island and captured some citizens, as a punitive measure. In the Patriarch’s letter, he lays the onus on the Arabs rather than the islanders for breaking the treaty. His line of reasoning is important. He insinuated that Cypriots would have protected their Arab neighbors if they had arms, but because of the treaty, they were powerless. He further argued that Cypriots “violated nothing [regarding the] payment of taxes or in other service due from them to the Saracens, and can be charged with not a single criminal

act...”¹⁶⁷ In other words, the Cypriots faithfully kept the treaty. Also there were two underlying assumptions: since Cyprus was under the Treaty of Neutralization, it could not be punished for the actions of the Byzantine Empire—and on the flip-side, the Byzantine Empire really had no obligations under the same treaty. Apparently, the Caliph agreed with the Patriarch’s arguments, since he released the Cypriot captives to Bishop Demetrianos, who took them back to Chytroi. The absence of imperial agents in this account underscores their impotency in Cypriot affairs.

Regarding the Byzantine administration on Cyprus, traditional historical sources are completely silent. Fortunately lead seals survive from the Period of Neutrality (fig.VI.25). In a comprehensive and exhaustive reanalysis of these seals, David Metcalf concluded that a robust imperial administration occupied the island. The seals record: eight *archons* (governor), eight *consuls* (honorary title of high-rank), five *dioiketes* (tax collector), six *droungarioi* (general, like a centurion), one *kleisourarches* (commander), one *komes tou stalou* (high ranking official in charge of military horses), three *kommerkiarioi* (fiscal official, overseer of trade), one *pistikos* (maritime agent), one *protospatharios* (commander of a theme, or an honorary member of the senate), six *spatharioi* (honorary title, literally a “sword bearer”), and one Cypriot *strategos* (military governor). These seem to be secular administrative titles, but their exact duties are not understood. For example, *archon* designated a provincial governor during the seventh century; but by the eleventh century, the title could be applied to any chief magistrate.¹⁶⁸ All together more than seventy examples of civic posts were recorded on lead seals from the Period of Neutrality.¹⁶⁹

These seals indicate that Cyprus’ administration was not governed as the other provinces.¹⁷⁰ Usually the military under a *strategos* played a key role in enforcing laws, collecting taxes, and keeping the peace. However, in Cyprus the military was prohibited by their treaty with the Arabs. Cypriot lead seals, found both in Cyprus and Constantinople, prove that the island was not completely cut off from the Empire. Yet the seals themselves say little else. Besides the few specifically inscribed “of Cyprus,” the majority found on the island could have originated in any part of the Empire. Furthermore, seals that did belong to Cypriot administrators shed little light on the nature of their administration (whether it was large or small, local or federal). Therefore, the thesis proposed by Dikigoropoulos still stands—that the civil administration answered to the archbishop. As Metcalf stated “In the time of Michael III (842-67) there is documentary mention of an archon of Cyprus, who ranked after the metropolitan [archbishop] and among the *spatarokandidatoi* [middle-ranked officials].”¹⁷¹ Cyprus was a land where

Byzantine officials could not be supported by the military—the source of their authority and effectiveness. As a result, the officials relied on powers of persuasion exercised by the Church.

Moreover, it should be mentioned that the *illoustrioi* titles were the most numerous types of Cypriot seal (about 82 have been discovered). Exactly what an *illoustrios* did is unknown; it probably denoted class rather than a specific civil position. Christides wrote

at the second level of the administration, members of the local aristocracy participated in the administration and represented Cyprus also in foreign affairs. A hereditary nobility had developed in Cyprus which by the 6th century AD had become a closed professional nobility connected to the administrative center of Constantinople. Members of the nobility secured administrative posts and were appointed by the emperor. During the period of neutralization, references to this nobility are reported.¹⁷²

Ruling families of Cyprus owned most of the island's land and businesses. It is highly possible that Cypriot aristocrats were given civic titles, like those mentioned above, in order to convey a sense of Byzantine society, without these individuals necessarily serving as imperial administrators. There is one historical account of these Cypriot aristocrats called Phangoumeis, charged with representing the Byzantine Empire in the court of the Caliph in 708.¹⁷³ Such Cypriot aristocratic families would have been more inclined to serve the local interests of the archbishop, rather than the aloof and apathetic emperor. Several *illoustrios* seals bear the bust of St. Epiphanius, thereby conveying a sense of loyalty to the archbishop (fig.VI.25b).¹⁷⁴

Cyprus was, therefore, theoretically subjected to the Byzantine Empire but practically independent. Cypriots divided their tax revenues between the Empire and the Arab Caliphate; however they received no civil services in return. Apparently these taxes were more like extortion ("i.e. protection money"), preventing both powers from abusing the population. Their yearly tribute effectively kept the island defenseless and safe from any military occupation. And without a military, there was no means to enforce laws; without laws, there was neither political control nor the need to maintain an administrative system. The Church, to the contrary, did not need a military to enforce its moral laws. Therefore, it would be erroneous to treat Cyprus as "an ordinary Byzantine province."¹⁷⁵ It was extraordinary. And besides, if the island was considered part of the Empire's jurisdiction throughout the Period of Neutrality, why would Emperor Nicephorus II Phocas feel the need to conquer it in 965?

VI.3.5. A Particular Cypriot Identity

The four particular circumstances outlined above would have led the Cypriots to identify themselves as unique, fostering the idiosyncrasies in their art. As mentioned above, we do not have primary sources that state their worldview. However, there is indirect evidence. First, there is an artifact dating from the seventh century testifying to Cyprus' unique place in the world. Second, we have several historical accounts that indicate the island's aversion to Byzantine control after the reconquest in 965.

VI.3.5.1. The Metropolitan Tyche Cup

At the Metropolitan Museum of New York there is a unique chalice (Inv.17.190.1710) (**fig.VI.26a**).¹⁷⁶ It is 6.16 inches high (15.65 cm) and 4.76 inches (12.10 cm) in diameter made from three sheets of gold with some silver. It was discovered in a treasure trove in Vrap, Albania in the early twentieth century. On its surface is a low relief depicting four tyches in a repoussé technique; an inscription above them reads:

¤ ΚΩΝСТАНТНОΥΠΩΛΗС	¤ ΠΩΛΗС КВПРОС
¤ ΠΩΛΗС РΩМНС	¤ ΠΩΛΗС АЛНС АЛЕΞАНΔРНА

And translated into English:

¤ Constantinople	¤ Polis of Cyprus
¤ Polis of Rome	¤ Another Polis of Alexandria

In terms of iconography, a *tyche* was a representation of a city or nation, wearing a crown of fortified walls. It was a commonplace motif, for example, at Salamis-Constantia a sixth century tyche in marble relief probably represents the city (**fig.VI.26b**). On the chalice the figures are bust length with long wavy hair. They are draped in loose-fitting clothes with two ribbons that unfurl behind them like wings. Each carries a scepter with clusters at the head. The Constantinople and Rome tyches also hold orbs with clusters on top.

For many years this cup baffled art historians because of its eclectic elements. Iconographically, the tyche is a classical Greco-Roman motif. Stylistically, the piece resembles Islamic or Sassanid metal work. Regarding its provenance, it was found in Albania, in a treasure hoard containing a hodge-podge of wares, including Sassanid and Islamic artifacts. In terms of subject matter and inscription, it clearly concerns the Byzantine Empire. Yet there are problematic parts to the chalice, such as the removal of the cross from the orbs and scepters,

and the hint of wings on the tyches. The inscription is clumsy, with spelling and grammatical errors—not common for a Constantinopolitan workshop.¹⁷⁷ These elements have caused disputes concerning dating.

Josef Stryzgowski dated it to sometime between 431 to 647 (i.e. the Council of Ephesus and the Arab invasion).¹⁷⁸ He assumed that it commemorated the autocephaly of the Church. Joachim Werner further argued the chalice was a Eucharistic vessel.¹⁷⁹ Kathleen Shelton suggested it was an Early Medieval (early seventh century) copy of a Late Antique (fifth century?) piece.¹⁸⁰ The latest scholar to propose a date was Dora Piguet-Panayotova:

The unification of Cyprus as ΠΟΛΙC, was formal and admissible in such an artistic context. For the goldsmith who made so many mistakes in the inscriptions, the term ΠΟΛΙC went with the images of all of them...The enigma of the cup with tyches and their discrete Christian signs lead to the hypothesis that this was commissioned by a high ranking [seventh century Bulgarian] official of the Empire...satisfied with...the work of Bulgarians and Sermesians in the tribal migration style.¹⁸¹

None of the above theses are credible, since these scholars failed to examine the history of Cyprus—the most conspicuous and puzzling figure on the cup. First, if this piece memorialized autocephaly, why is it inscribed *Cyprus* and not *Salamis-Constantia* where the seat of the archbishop resided? Also the crude rendering of the inscription and the figures precludes a fifth or sixth century date. Moreover the omission of crosses on the globes and the non-Christian subject matter greatly casts doubt on its use as a liturgical vessel. Regarding Shelton's thesis, if this cup is a copy of a classical piece, why was the inscription copied wrong? The spelling errors are consistent: **H** where there should be **I**, and **ω** where there should be **ο**. A copyist might copy one letter wrong, but not miscopy one particular letter consistently, especially letters that are morphologically dissimilar, but phonetically the same. Piguet-Panayotova's hypothesis obviously ignores the crux of the problem—why is Cyprus counted among the great ancient cities? And besides, why would a Bulgarian commission a piece dealing with Cyprus?

In fact, we must place the tyche chalice in the context of the Period of Neutrality to account for its peculiarities. This attribution seems reasonable when placed alongside the *Bamberg Tapestry*.¹⁸² Titos Papamastorakis recently attributed the *Tapestry* to the reign of Nicephoras Phocas (**fig. VI. 27**).¹⁸³ He has argued that the two tyches flanking the equestrian figure are personifications of Cyprus and Crete paying homage to the Emperor, after his reconquest of Cyprus in 965 and Crete in 960. This is significant, because it demonstrates that the tyche motif

was current up until the tenth century. Therefore the tyche cup represented the eparchy of Cyprus, rendered independent by the Byzantine-Arab treaty.¹⁸⁴ The piece could have been commissioned as a gift to the Cypriot archbishop, perhaps forged by Arab metal smiths, either in Cyprus or Syria. The removal of Christian symbols in the orbs and scepters was a compromise, in order to not offend the workmen. This also explains the spelling and grammatical idiosyncrasies. Regarding the provenance, the cup was probably pillaged during an Arab punitive raid on Cyprus and, in turn, traded or pillaged later on, ultimately arriving far from Cyprus—this would also explain the other artifacts within the treasure hoard. This remarkable tyche cup, I believe, is positive evidence for Cypriot identity and independence.

VI.3.5.2. Liberty from Byzantium

From 649 to 650 the Byzantine Empire made no serious attempt to conquer the island, even after the Arabs lost interest after the eighth century. Cyril Mango provided a persuasive argument that the Empire viewed the Cypriots as “other” or different than them.¹⁸⁵ He also entertained the possibility that “the local population was not eager to be absorbed into the Empire” during the Period of Neutrality.¹⁸⁶ Later sources provide two clues concerning why the Cypriots felt this way. First, the Cypriots had a low tax burden and were free from the labyrinthine civil laws of the capital. Second, the Cypriots were free to choose their leaders (bishops and archbishops) from among themselves—a type of democracy.

After the Byzantine reconquest, the Empire gradually raised taxes on the province. By 1191 the Cypriots were paying 336% more than they were in 965.¹⁸⁷ Such high taxes caused Cypriots to revolt three times within 150 years: in 1042/3 led by Theophilus Eroticus; in 1092 led by Rhapsomates; and from 1185 to 1192 led by Isaac Comnenos.¹⁸⁸ The new Byzantine administration burdened the citizenry with arbitrary laws and corruption. This is recorded in a candid poem written by Nicholas Mouzalon, the archbishop of Cyprus (1107-1110), who later became Patriarch of Constantinople (1147-1150):

...the condition of the Cypriotes to have been miserable in the extreme: their food was such as the Baptist ate, they went naked to the day, sheltered in caves; the fruits of the labours were taken from them, those who could not pay their taxes were hung up, and dogs were hung up beside them and pricked on to tear their flesh...the clergy were equally oppressed; bishops were hanged and tortured to death, deacons sent to the galleys, relics stolen and sacred vessels used for profane purposes; all such offenses were condoned by the secular authorities.¹⁸⁹

In short, the “emancipation” of the Cypriots from the Arabs ushered in a more oppressive, Constantinopolitan-style slavery. The high taxes were never reinvested in the island. In fact, historical and archaeological evidence points to further economic decline—coins do not become widely circulated and brick churches were not built until the late eleventh century.

VI.3.5.3. Cypriot “Otherness”

There were other reasons for the Cypriots to revolt. During the Period of Neutrality, the Cypriots appointed local families to civic and clerical positions. However soon after the reconquest, local rule ended. The Emperor made it a point to interfere with Church personnel and the ruling families. As Mango wrote, “It would appear from what little data we have that the ruling class of Cyprus was not of native origin...what is significant, however, is that the top posts in the Church were also occupied by aristocratic appointees from the capital.”¹⁹⁰ One account survives concerning Emperor Basil II’s unsuccessful attempt to recruit Euthymius of Mount Athos for the Cypriot archbishopric.¹⁹¹ Another example is Patriarch Nicholas Muzalon who was not a Cypriot by birth; as soon as he was appointed Cypriot archbishop, he took great pains to resign the position.¹⁹² Other outside appoints are also known such as Basil Kinnamos’ appointment to the see of Paphos in 1166 and Niketas Hagiostephanites to Tamasos in 1180.¹⁹³ The emperors trampled on the ancient rights of Cypriots by appointing clergyman from outside the island. Surely there were strategic reasons for this blatant violation of Church law. Since the archbishops wielded both temporal and spiritual powers, the Emperor viewed them as rivals. Also the Empire established three powerful monasteries (Agios Ioannos Chrysostom, Kykko, and Machairas) which exerted dominance over the older establishments and secular Church hierarchy.¹⁹⁴ The latter two monasteries are the wealthiest, most powerful institutions on the island today.

Eventually Cypriot resistance to Byzantine control resulted in Constantinopolitan prejudice. Islanders were viewed as non-Roman (i.e. non-Byzantine). Mango wrote “It is interesting to note that Skylitzes refers to them as το ἔθνος τῶν Κυπρίων, and we know that the term *ethnos* was normally applied to foreigners and barbarians, not to ‘one of us.’”¹⁹⁵ Certainly, after three hundred years there were noticeable differences between the Cypriot dialect and Constantinopolitan Greek language.¹⁹⁶ Mango continued:

Constantine Manasses who visited the island in 1161/2...describes Cyprus as evil-smelling and depressing...Rather more distressing, however, is the following humorous incident that Manasses relates: when once he attended church, he found himself standing next to a Cypriot, “more senseless than all other Cypriots” (*πάντας δέ νικῶν ἀφροσύνη Κυπρίους*), who was reeking of wine and garlic. Manasses, who was about to faint from the unbearable stench, told the man to move away. This produced no result, so Manasses repeated his request. Still no reply. Then, losing his patience, the Constantinopolitan scholar struck the man in the face and was so delivered of the offender. The unfortunate Cypriot, who may not even have understood the words addressed to him, knew better than to hit back.¹⁹⁷

Manasses further wrote “the land of Cyprus, the very worst of fortresses...a Hades without escape, having no exits...Anyone unfortunate enough to be held on Cyprus would not easily escape from there.”¹⁹⁸ These sentiments convey the impression that provincial Cypriots were rather marginalized by more sophisticated Constantinopolitan society. Time and again, history illustrates that persecuted people tend to unite, discovering their common identity when confronted with prejudice. This seems to be the case with the Byzantine Cypriots.

Conclusion

Past scholars have always measured the Cypriot multiple-domed basilica against Constantinopolitan examples. This led to their categorization as “provincial,” “derivative,” “regional,” or simply “unimportant.” This chapter has challenged these notions, by placing the Cypriot churches in their historical context, and providing a historical explanation for their design. The type followed an iconographical scheme popularized by Maximus the Confessor, and was at odds with the Pseudo-Dionysian scheme adopted by imperial architects. The repetition of a congruous domed bay highlighted three significant liturgical performances. The Cypriots, being independent from Constantinople, were free to experiment in different church typologies. The multiple-domed church was not modeled on any previous Constantinopolitan ground plan, such as the Holy Apostles. Instead all the churches were based on the innovative design of Agios Epifanios—their chief cathedral. The archbishop held a powerful position, as the spiritual successor of Epifanios and the Apostle Barnabas, as well as the temporal leader—the president and eparch of the island. The multiple-domed basilica came to symbolize not only the archbishop’s leadership but Cyprus’ independent status and orthodox traditions.

Chapter VII: Summary and Final Remarks

VII.1. The Multiple-Domed Basilicas of Cyprus

In 649 the first Arab raids ushered in a new political and cultural era on Cyprus. Politically, the island remained a neutral zone divided among Arabs and Byzantines. As a result, Cypriots enjoyed independence like no other Mediterranean province. Their internal government was led by the temporal and spiritual head of their people—the archbishop was an ethnarch. Culturally the island ceased to have a classical society. Its landscape was dotted with monasteries and churches, rather than hippodromes or amphitheatres. Great works of Late Antique art—mosaics and sculpture—gave way to frescos and icons. Ethnically, the Cypriot aristocracy maintained their Greek language, while interacting with travelers and merchants from across Europe, Africa and Asia. At times the Church of Cyprus broke from the unorthodox leanings of the Empire, further alienating themselves from Constantinople. However, when the Byzantines reinstated orthodox practices, the Cypriots rejoined their communion. Throughout the Period of Neutrality, the island was a nexus where eastern and western, Christian and Muslim, pilgrims, refugees, and merchants gathered, if only to travel to some other destination.

This rich context set the stage for the design and construction of multiple-domed basilicas. Agios Epifanios cathedral was the first example rebuilt in this fashion. Its conspicuous three domed design became the symbol of the Cypriot Church. They adopted a design encapsulating the theological formulas of the seventh and eight centuries and the mystification of the liturgy. By synthesizing the Dome of Heaven motif formulated by Pseudo-Dionysius and the *Mystagogia* of Maximus the Confessor, church leaders sought to harmonize teaching (orthodoxy) with practice (orthopraxis), form and function.

The multiple-domed basilicas were constructed prior to the 965 Byzantine reconquest of Cyprus. The evidence at hand suggests that the Empire did not invest in Cyprus's infrastructure until the late eleventh century.¹ The katholicon of Agios Ioannos Chrysostom (Koutsovendis) monastery is firmly dated to 1090.² It is a single-aisle structure classified as a domed octagon (**fig. VII.1**). There are several churches of this type in northern Cyprus: Theotokos Apsinthiotissa, Antiphonites Monastery, and Agios Hilarion (Hilarion Castle) (**fig. VII.2-3**). These have characteristics that point to Constantinopolitan architecture: the predominant use of brick, the large single-dome, and an emphasis on the central apse (side-apses are either

diminutive or reduced to niches). All these domed octagons belonged to monasteries built far away from the metropolitan centers on the coast, lying within the Kyrenia Mountain range. As “closed” monasteries, they served a rather different purpose than the “open” multiple-domed basilicas constructed for the inclusion of the lay community. Agios Ioannis Chrysostom had an imperial charter and was founded by an individual with ties to the Emperor.³ Since Cypriot domed octagons are located close together and have the same style, they probably had some connection with each other. These newer monasteries, along with Kykko and Machairas, played a greater role in church affairs in the twelfth century and afterwards.⁴ Whether these institutions undermined the autocephaly of the Church of Cyprus is matter for further research.

VII.1.2. Byzantine Architectural History

The question still remains regarding how the Cypriot multiple-domed basilicas fit within Byzantine architectural history. While it has been argued that Cyprus retained a sense of identity and independence apart from Constantinople, technically, the island was still considered part of the Byzantine Empire throughout the Period of Neutrality. In order to classify the wide variety of monuments, previous scholars tended to categorize Byzantine architecture into dichotomies: metropolitan/provincial, rural/urban, center/periphery, Constantinopolitan/regional, etc. This thesis rejected such binary oppositions since they contain value-laden assumptions, often undefined by the scholars who use them. The reduction of Byzantine culture to such binaries, masked the historical reality—that the Empire was far from monolithic, containing diverse ethnic peoples, languages, political establishments, and religious sects. Another model was needed which would account for the complexity of the political situation, while accommodating the diversity of cultures surrounding the Mediterranean Sea. The end result was a pluralization of structuralist modes. In other words, instead of a “center/periphery” construction, I used a “centers/peripheries” model. While Salamis-Constantia could not be placed at the same level as Constantinople in terms of size and prestige, it might have exerted more power or influence over the smaller cities in its hinterland, while having less affect on cities outside its dominion. Salamis-Constantia was just one of several centers within the Empire that could generate its own peculiar type of architecture, without outside interference. This model is useful because it does not replace one center (Constantinople) with another (Salamis-Constantia), but rather emphasizes how other urban centers could rival each other with varying success.

This model can also be applied to other regions of the Byzantine Empire with their own peculiar customs and tastes. Large urban centers, such as Jerusalem, Damascus, and Alexandria continued to exert influence into the Middle Byzantine period. Armenians, Syrians, Slavs, Georgians, and Copts continued to mold and modify Byzantine society. Monophysitism, the Latin Church, and Islam further affected Byzantine culture. Therefore the wide variation of architecture and art can be attributed to local rather than Constantinopolitan workshops. While this might seem like a dramatic shift in how Byzantine art history has been constructed, this model is actually in keeping with earlier hypotheses. Scholars, such as Kurt Weitzmann, recognized that Palestine and Egypt had the potential to develop their own artistic styles apart from Constantinople. Furthermore, art historians have always recognized Armenian or Coptic Art as distinct from Byzantine developments.

VII.2. Scope for Further Research

The Cypriot multiple-domed basilicas served as transitional monuments. They maintained the Early Christian basilica shape while integrating domed vaulting. They occupy an important place in architectural history, bridging the temporal gap between Justinianic and Romanesque multiple-domed churches (**fig.VII.4**). This research addressed the Justinianic matter (*see* above §VI.2.2); however, just how Cyprus relates with later churches remains uncertain. Unfortunately this dissertation could not explore these lines of inquiry. Therefore the next section proposes six areas of further research.

VII.2.1. Cypriot Single Domed Churches

Several single-dome churches were built during the Period of Neutrality in Cyprus. These structures seem to have a ninth or tenth century date. Two were briefly mentioned above (§V.3.), Agios Antonios (Kellia) and Agios Procopios (Syncrase). To these we can add the third phase of the Panagia Angeloktistes (Kiti), Holy Cross monastery (Anogyra) (**fig.VII.5**), Agios Tychikos (Palodia), and Agios Philon (Karpasia) (**fig.VII.6**). If such structures were built contemporaneously with the multiple-domed churches—as I think they were—how does this change our interpretation of Cyprus’ architectural history? Were lesser, more rural churches given only one dome, whereas more significant, urban locations were given multiple domes? Or

perhaps, these examples indicate a shift in Cypriot attitudes towards the liturgy in the ninth century, along the lines of Germanus' *Mystical Contemplation* (*Μυστικὴ Θεωρία*)?

VII.2.2. Stavrovouni and Agios Synesios

Two multiple-domed churches were omitted from this dissertation: Stavrovouni Monastery and Agios Synesios (Rizokarpaso). My preliminary research leads me to believe that they belong to the same line of development. The monastery of Stavrovouni is located about eleven miles from Larnaka and three miles directly south of a Lusignan royal chapel at Pyrga.⁵ During the Late Antique period the mountain became associated with the True Cross.⁶ Originally the church had a triconch east end, perhaps dating from the fifth century; these remains can be discerned in the eastern foundations.⁷ By the mid twentieth century, the central apse was dismantled and not rebuilt. Today the church is a twelve bay structure with two domes in the nave (fig.VII.7). The church was excluded from this dissertation because most of the superstructure was rebuilt. History records that the monastery was destroyed and rebuilt several times: Mamlukes pillaged it in 1426; then in 1492 it suffered earthquake damage; and in 1570 the Ottomans burnt it down.⁸ Its masonry and ground plan are unlike the other multiple domed basilicas, leading me to conclude that what we see today is a rather late reconstruction.

Agios Synesios (Rizokarpaso) is a large church on the Karpas peninsula. Today it is a two domed, barrel-vaulted basilica (fig.VII.8). Its eastern dome bay and apses are the oldest portions, dating to the early tenth century, if not earlier. Its central dome is much later, perhaps a fifteenth century construction, and the barrel-vaulted western end is neo-Gothic, perhaps nineteenth century. The strange conglomeration of three vastly different periods gives the church an eclectic aesthetic. Because of its strange proportions, I hypothesize that it was originally meant to be a three-domed church, much like Agios Varnavas. Either the first phase of the church was never finished, or its western portion collapsed at a later date. Unfortunately the church has yet to be excavated and its earliest mention comes from the mid-eighteenth century.⁹

VII.2.3. Multiple-domed Coptic Churches

This dissertation initially set out to compare the multiple-domed churches of Egypt with those of Cyprus. This was spurred on by Richard Krautheimer, who said that Cypriot examples had “Possible links to Egypt [and] warrant further exploration.”¹⁰ These connections remain unestablished. One obstacle pertains to the dating of Coptic churches.¹¹ The best monograph on

a multiple-domed Coptic church pertains to the monastery of Ss. Anthony and Paul (near Deir al-Maymun).¹² Like the Cypriot churches, it has three large domes in the nave and two smaller domes over the side-aisle apses. No archaeological excavation has been carried out, and so its architecture is dated somewhere between 700 and before 1200 based on the style of painting. Given these parameters it is hard to place Ss. Anthony and Paul within a historical context, from which we could then compare it with the Cypriot churches. Furthermore, the techniques of construction and layout of the particular bays are also rather different between the two regions. Nevertheless, there was a Coptic population in Cyprus by the mid-fifteenth century.¹³

VII.2.4. The Multiple Domed churches of Apulia (Italy)

Charles Diehl, George Soteriou, Grigore Ionescu, and Camille Enlart suggested that the Cypriot churches had an affinity to multiple-domed churches of Apulia.¹⁴ Unfortunately, no major publication has either refuted or supported the thesis with evidence. Apulia had a history similar to Cyprus: it was a Byzantine province from the sixth to eleventh century, and was in close contact with, and sometimes ruled by, the Arabs of neighboring Sicily. The region's earliest multiple-domed churches include: in Apulia, San Sabino (Canosa), San Scolastica (Bari), Santa Maria (Calena), Ognissanti di Cuti (Valenzano) (**fig.VII.9**), San Benedetto (Conversano), Sant'Egidio Vecchio (Bitonto), and San Vito (Polignano); and in Potenza, San Luca (Rapolla).¹⁵ Today there is an impasse among architectural historians concerning the classification of Apulian medieval architecture. Some scholars argued that Apulian churches were Byzantine monuments, based on their use of domes and ground plans.¹⁶ However, this suggestion was never fully accepted because architectural details, such as blind arcades and cornices, were more characteristic of local, Italian practices. These traits allowed other scholars to suggest that Apulian architecture belongs solely to the developments of the Lombards.¹⁷ While the Cypriot churches predate the Apulian examples, the nature of their relationship has yet to be defined.

VII.2.5. The Multiple Domed churches of Aquitaine (France)

As discussed above (§I.3.1), Camille Enlart strongly believed that French multiple-domed basilicas were related to the Cypriot examples. Although Romanesque domed churches number well over 250 (and that figure pertains only to the Périgord region) many scholars have characterized these churches as “anomalies” or “accidental.”¹⁸ The reason for this low opinion is due to their peculiar design that challenges tidy architectural history. In other

words, it is a simple matter to trace the evolution of the wooden-roofed Early Christian basilica into the rib-vaulted High Gothic church. The domed churches, though quite popular, do not fit within this diachronic development. Yet this dissertation has shown that Cyprus' examples were much earlier, and so, it is quite possible that Enlart was correct. Therefore a reexamination of his thesis must be carried out, in light of the Cypriot churches.¹⁹ One factor remains certain: the type of masonry construction and the symbolism of the Cypriot churches were not translated over into the French churches (**fig.VII.10**). Early Medieval French architects had their own ancient tradition of limestone construction, and did not have the need to import outside masons.

VII.2.6. Agios Andreas (Peristerai, Macedonia)

The only comparable multiple-domed church in the Byzantine Empire is Agios Andreas near Thessaloniki.²⁰ Fortunately, the biography of its founder survives, describing how St. Euthymios the Younger left the monastery of Mount Athos and built the church with the help of three locals around the year 870.²¹ His relics (the complete corpse) are on display in the north transept arm today. The church is cruciform in plan, with the central square domed bay supported by four marble piers, flanked by domed triconches on each side. Next to the eastern triconch (which serves as the apse and bema) are two barrel-vaulted chambers with apses. On the exterior, the church resembles Cypriot examples, such as Agia Paraskevi, with rubble-course masonry (**fig.VII.11**). However, the interior is quite different. The central dome is taller and larger than the other four domes (**fig.VII.12**). Each conch and apse is preceded by a recessed arch, providing an added sense of dynamism to the space. Since the entire interior surface is plastered, it is difficult to ascertain if the fine articulation of the walls is due to plaster or masonry. The use of pillars gives the church an added sense of verticality and loftiness, more so than the Cypriot churches. Agios Andreas was a unique church in the Byzantine Empire, having no predecessors or successors with the same ground plan. Further research is needed to establish possible connections with this structure and Cypriot examples.

VII.3 Final Remarks

In 1960 Makarios III, Archbishop of Cyprus, became the first secular president ($\pi\kappa\delta\kappa\sigma$) of the independent Republic of Cyprus. History again seemed to repeat itself. Throughout his tenure as archbishop he encouraged the people of Cyprus to protest British

occupation of the island—so it was only natural that the people would look to him as their cultural and political leader soon after the colonial government left. In preserving the independence of the island, Makarios was despised by Greek Cypriots who longed for unification with Greece. In making concessions to the Greek Cypriots, he alienated the Turkish Cypriots, who felt neglected in the new state dominated by the Christian majority. Conflicts culminated in 1974 when Makarios' own military—seeking Greek unification—deposed the archbishop-president. Immediately Turkey invaded, preventing Greece from taking action. Ironically, the Turks and Turkish-Cypriots only accepted Makarios as the true leader of Cyprus and would not negotiate with the coup leaders.²² Eventually the island was split into two territories: the Turkish north and Greek-speaking south. The division continues today. Consequently, war with Turkey dissolved any hope of union with Greece and rooted out the “Imperial-Savior tale” once and for all.

After the Cypriots accepted their independence and began to control their own destiny, they proved to be very resourceful. Since the early 1980s Cyprus’ cultural life and economy has boomed. The Cypriots have shown that rural farmers and shepherds could, within one generation, transform themselves into shrewd bankers, brilliant statesmen, ingenious scientists, great builders, and gifted artisans. Today the island ranks forty-seventh in gross domestic product (per capita), outranking Russia and China.²³ This remarkable success story illustrates that we should not underestimate the power of independence and liberty, nor marginalize a people because their territory is small.

Much of Cyprus’ struggles in recent history is foreshadowed by its past. Over a millennium ago Cyprus found itself an independent nation trying to survive under the shadows of mighty empires. A brief glimpse of its culture is represented in the multiple-domed basilicas. Today these churches have been reestablished as symbols of Greek Cypriot identity. A model of Agia Paraskevi represents Cyprus on the map in the European Union headquarters at Brussels. For decades Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion graced the Cypriot five pound note (**fig.VII.13**).²⁴ Since 2004, UNESCO has reviewed both of these churches for inclusion in the World Heritage list. The Republic of Cyprus has recognized the inherent value of their cultural patrimony:

[they] exhibit an important interchange of human values...on developments in...monumental arts...[they] bear a unique...testimony...to a civilization...which has disappeared...[and they] are an outstanding example of a type of building...which illustrates a significant stage in human history...²⁵

¹ “...navigantes venerunt in insulam Cyprum, quæ est inter Græcos & Sarracenos... Cypri sedebant inter Græcos & Sarracenos, & inermes fuerant; quia pax maxima fuit & concilatio inter Sarracenos & Græcos” (*Acta Sanctorum, Vita seu Hodaporicon, auctore virgine consanguinea Sanctimoniali Heidenheimensi* II.16).

² Dikigoropoulos 1961: 43-44; *The stolen treasures of Cyprus* [catalogue of an exhibition at Haags Gemeentemuseum, 25 October - 22 December 1997] (Den Haag: Haags Gemeentemuseum, 1997); Michael Jansen, *War and Cultural Heritage: Cyprus after the 1974 Turkish Invasion* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2005); James Brundage, *The Crusades: A Documentary History* (Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 1962): 166-74; *Looting, theft and smuggling: a report to the President and the Congress* (New York: The Cultural Property Advisory Committee, 1993).

³ There are other churches on the island with more than one dome, such as Agia Anastasia (near Pano Polemidia), Agios Theodoros/ Georgios of Chortakia (Sotira), and the Panayia Chryseleousa (Empa). However these churches date to 11th to 12th century and were originally centrally-planned and single-domed. Their second dome was added later as an expansion. These churches are omitted from the discussion here, simply because they were not originally multiple-domed basilicas, and therefore, belong to a different tradition.

⁴ 1986: 285.

⁵ 1974:79.

⁶ Ibid, 82 [*my emphasis*].

⁷ Slobodan Ćurčić, Book Review of *The Church of the Panagia Kanakaria at Lythrakomi in Cyprus: Its Mosaics and Frescoes* in *Speculum* 55.4 (1980): 812-816.

⁸ Megaw 1946:53; his later article of 1974 does not state that domes were built as a response to fire, but were results of the Arab raids. The theory was actually better articulated by Papageorghiou (1966a:221, quoted below, see § II.3.7.)

⁹ Andreas Dikigoropoulos first suggested that the Early Christian churches were destroyed by earthquakes in the seventh century in his seminal work on Cypriot architecture (1961:181 n.2). Vincenzo Ruggieri argued that Middle Byzantine architecture was adopted because of its “anti-seismic engineering” properties (1991:141-152). Professor Ćurčić followed these arguments (1999: 71-94).

¹⁰ For St. John in Alasehir (Asia Minor) see Buchwald (1999). For even earlier examples in Syria, see Smith (1950: figs. 196, 200, 202).

¹¹ Soteriou 1940: 401-409, 1937:3-15; Wharton 1988:53ff; Papageorghiou 1998: 205-224; Chotzakoglou 2005: 465-789.

¹² The date of the Byzantine motto “Βασιλεύς Βασιλέων Βασιλεύων Βασιλευόντων” could be as early as the 4th century AD, but most scholarship identifies it with the Palaeologan dynasty (D. Cernovodeanu, “Contributions à l’étude de l’héraldique byzantine et post-byzantine,” *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinik* 32.2 (1982) : 409-22. The motto betrays not only the theocratic underpinnings of the Byzantine Empire, but its overconfidence in theological terms.

¹³ T. W. Bizzaro, *Romanesque Architectural Criticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992):33. It must be noted that there is some merit to the “troglodyte theory” of medieval architecture—many churches are found in grottos or associated with catacombs or underground shrines, both in Cyprus and throughout the Mediterranean. Obviously the supreme examples of this are the tomb of the Holy Sepulcher, the Grotto of Gethsemane, and the Grotto of Bethlehem. In fact, the 10th century Byzantine *Suida Lexicon* has an entry for the term *adyton* (ἀδυτον) which was defined as “a cave, or the secret area of the sanctuary” (σπήλαιον, ἡ το ἀπόκρυφον μέρος του).

¹⁴ “Je fais bien quelques réserves sur la justesse de cette boutade de Quicherat ‘que l’histoire de l’architecture au moyen age n’est que l’histoire de la lutte des architectes contre la poussée et la pesanteur des voûtes,’ car il y a autre chose, en cet art, qu’une industrie matérielle et qu’une question pratique, mais n’empêche qu’il a certainement raison sur presque tous les points” (*La Cathédrale*, 1898: Chapter III)

¹⁵ Numerous other examples of the “idealist approach” can be cited—just to name a few—Christian Norberg-Schulz’s *Intentions in Architecture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1965) and Daniel H. Weiss’s “Architectural symbolism and the decoration of the Ste.-Chapelle” *The Art Bulletin* 77.2 (1995): 308-320.

¹⁶ The iconographic approach was developed by twentieth architectural historians in reply to the twentieth century’s proclivity for formalistic approaches. One of the earliest formalistic treatises was provided by G. E. Moore’s “The Refutation of Idealism” [*Mind* 12. 48 (1903):433-453]. The materialist approach to art history came via Marxism; see the critique in John R. Martin’s “Marxism and the History of Art” [*College Art Journal*, 11.1 (1951):3-9].

¹⁷ 1969b:130.

¹⁸ I agree with the main thrust of Professor Paul Crossley’s argument concerning “the limits of iconography (1988:116-121). However, I must point out the flaws in Crossley’s summation of Krautheimer’s work: “He noted that certain ancient and venerable structures were frequently copied in early medieval architecture, not accurately in order to produce an exact reproduction, but approximately and vaguely, with just enough of the essential features of the prototype to evoke its meaning, to allow the viewer to experience, at second hand so to speak, the essential qualities of the original” (116).

This summary indicates that Crossley missed the point of Krautheimer’s argument. The copies were not engineered to provide “just enough” similarities to the original, in terms of form and design. The essential qualities of the original did not need to be “reproduced” at all, because those essentials were timeless and boundless truths understood by the medieval architect, patron, church-goer, etc. Historically, as it was believed, the Holy Sepulcher was where Christ

died and was resurrected. It was a historical truth as well as a ritualistic reality. Hundreds of years afterwards, it remained a truth, reenacted at churches all over the world during the Eucharistic celebration. The “copies” of the Holy Sepulcher were associated with the original through rituals and ideas, rather than “approximate and vague” formal qualities. Since these are issues of truth and not observable phenomena, it is a philosophical question rather than a merely scientific one. The formal similarities do exist and those are important for formal analysis and can bolster the iconographical evidence—but iconography does not depend on it. Crossley’s positivist/Marxist viewpoint fails to incorporate theology and ritual practice, and is, therefore, unable to grasp architectural iconography.

¹⁹ The work of Baldwin Smith (1950, 1956) is of this type.

²⁰ The Bible became canonized after the Third Synod of Carthage in 397. By 400 the Latin Vulgate of Jerome was complete, affirming the synod. The earliest surviving Greek, Byzantine bibles are part of the same tradition.

²¹ This logic is simple. If five plus x equals ten, then x can be reasoned to be “five”. Likewise if we know the start and end of a phenomenon, we can reasonably reconstruct what happened in the middle.

²² The third edition was published by Cambridge University Press. Other Byzantine architectural historians, such as Robert Ousterhout follow this approach (see “Contextualizing the Later Churches of Constantinople: Suggested Methodologies and a Few Examples,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000): 241-250).

²³ The Republic of Cyprus has an official guide to the English-translation of Greek-Cypriot toponyms (Christodoulou and Konstantinides 1987). Though the committee seems to have used an arbitrary method and did not take into account previous, more common, English toponyms, I must respect the Cypriot scholars and their government who have adopted this standard.

²⁴ 1976a:89.

²⁵ Weitzmann 1971: 176-223.

²⁶ A co-dominium implies co-governance and co-operation—all archaeological and historical evidence points to the contrary. In actuality, Cyprus was abandoned by Damascus and Constantinople, and merely excised taxes (Christides 2006: 33-36; Jenkins 1953: 1006-1014; Browning 1977-79: 101-16; Kyrris 1994-1998: 185-236, 1984: 17-40, 1982: 144-175).

²⁷ The best English study on the matter has been written by J.B. Ward-Perkins (1954:69-90). However there are some problems with his assertions. For example, he writes “It must, therefore, have been from the late classical or the Hellenistic world that the Romans borrowed the word, and, with it (presumably), the architectural form to which it was applied” (pg. 70)—why should we assume or presume that *form* follows *association*? In other words, if *basilica* is indicative of royal association, it need not follow the form of previous buildings. He also states “the practical use of the basilicas of Republican Rome...was commercial rather than judicial”—

however, we know that the Julius Caesar's Basilica Julia was chiefly judicial. Furthermore Ward-Perkins qualifies this statement by explaining Langlotz's theory of their derivation from Ptolemaic (palatial) audience halls and that "under the later Republic they had come to acquire a secondary and more official function, through the transfer to them of the seat of certain of the magistrate's courts" [See also Valentin Müller's "The Roman Basilica" *American Journal of Archaeology* 41.2. (1937): 250-261; Katherine Welch's "A new view of the origins of the Basilica," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 16.1 (2003): 5-34].

²⁸ *Geographica* (5.3.8):

And again, if, on passing to the old Forum, you saw one forum after another ranged along the old one, and basilica-stoas (*βασιλιάς στοάς*) and temples, and saw also the Capitolium and the works of art there and those of the Palatium and Livia's Promenade, you would easily become oblivious to everything else outside. Such is Rome.

Clearly Strabo used this term to describe the Latin basilicas; he qualifies term *basilica* in this context by combining it with the more common Greek word for such buildings *stoa*. Other examples of Greek usage are either not datable, or date from the Roman period (PS: Hiller von Gaertringen 1895:12.326.18; PS: Dittenberger 1905: 511.15). We find the term earlier among Roman sources, such as Plautus (250-184 BC) in his *Circulus* (line 472) and Vitruvius (ca. 80-70 BC) *De Architectura* (5.1.4). Therefore it would seem that the *basilica* as a building type was a Roman invention, based on a resemblance to Greek royal halls of various types. In the eastern Christian context, the early writers of the New Testament seem aware of Hellenistic palace architecture, as the use of the term *basilion* implies (Luke 7:25). Furthermore they make sure to distinguish between the Roman/Latin/Imperial *caesar* and the Jewish/Greek/monarchical *basileus* (e.g., John 19:15):

"Pilate said to them, 'Shall I crucify your **king**?' The chief priests answered, 'We have no **king** but **Caesar**.'

[Αυτὸν λέγει αυτόις ο Πιλάτος τὸν βασιλέα υμῶν σταυρώσω αρχιερεῖς οὐκ ἔχομεν βασιλέα εἰμή Καίσαρα].

Also the biblical designation of Christ as "a king" is well documented: "King of kings and Lord of lords" (*βασιλεὺς βασιλέων καὶ κύριος κύρων*) (*Revelations* 19:16) and the "King of the Jews" (*Ιησους ο Ναζωραιος ο Βασιεθς των ιοθδαιων*) (John 19:19).

²⁹ Katherine Welch's argument is compelling and explains why Constantine and Early Christians would readily accept this building for their type of worship (see note I.27 above).

³⁰ The republic (*res publica*: 'an affair of the population') was based on a Greek system of democracy (*δημοκρατία*: *demo* "population," *kratos* "rule").

³¹ That is why the Greek poet Tyrtaeus could speak of "The heaven-appointed kings" which Plutarch [*Vitae* (Lycurgus): i.1-3] quotes.

³² In fact, at times, though rarely, the word *regia* was used as a synonym for *basilica* [see John C. Rolfe's "Notes on Suetonius," in *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 45 (1914): 35-47]. The name for a basilical audience hall was subsequently used by the Holy Roman emperors exemplified by Charlemagne's *aula regia* near the Aachen Palatine Chapel (see Warren Sanderson's "The Sources and Significance of the Ottonian Church of Saint Pantaleon at Cologne," *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 29.2 (May, 1970):94-95). Herodotus used the term βασιλεῖον to describe Egyptian royal palaces (*Histories*, I.30).

³³ Plutarch, *Vitae* (Numa):I. See also, Françoise Van Haeperen's *Le collège pontifical* (Brepols/Études de Philologie, d'Archéologie et d'Histoire Anciennes 39 : Brussels, 2002)

³⁴ The *rex sacrorum* sacrificed a lamb to Janus on January 9th according to an inscription [*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (Berlin) i2: 306]; obviously paralleled with the first month, 14th day, of the Hebrew calendar *Nissan*, when the high priest sacrificed a lamb during Passover (*Pesach*) [Leviticus 23:12]. According to Ovid, King Numa added two months to the Roman calendar—January and February, both associated with royalty and expiation (*februari* means “purification”); he also suggests that the day called *Agonium* is derived possibly from the words *agnes* (lamb) or agony [*Fasti* I.1]. I propose that the Roman practices could be easily conflated with Hebrew practices in the minds of early Christians. If this was the case, then the arguments in the book of *Hebrews*, which equates Christ with the Salem high priest, could be made also for the Roman high priest—an important crux where Latin religion could unite with the Hebrew.

Why would the Christian be sympathetic with the cult of Janus? Janus was known as the *divom Deus* (God of gods) and the god of the door/gate (*ianua*) according to the *Hymn of the Salii* and Varro's *De lingua latina* 7. 27. Janus, a former king of the Latins, could be argued as a foreshadow of Christ, who likewise has similar names. For example, Christ's title “King of kings and Lord of lords” [see Evangelos K. Chrysos’ “The Title Βασιλεὺς in Early Byzantine International Relations,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 32 (1978):29-75] and Christ's proclamation “I am the gate/door” (*ego sum ostium*, John 10, Mathew 7:13-14). The two-faced, key-holding Janus could be argued as a misunderstanding of the Father and the Son's unity in the Godhead, and equivalent to Christ's proclamation: “ego Alpha et Omega primus et novissimus principium et finis” (Revelations 22:13), who gives the keys to Peter, first bishop of Rome. For the best discussion concerning the ancient priesthoods see Françoise Van Haeperen's *Le collège pontifical* (3ème s. a. C. - 4ème s. p. C.) (Brussels: Brepols, 2002).

³⁵ The Gothic and Lombard rulers of the “western Roman empire” like Odoacer (476-493) and Desiderius (756 - 774) were called *regis* due to their barbarian lineages rather than their official leadership of the empire (for example, consult the titles in Agnellus of Ravenna's *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis* [ca. 840]). Eusebius calls Constantius Chlorus a king (βασιλεὺς) even when the titles of emperor (αυτοκράτορα, Σεβαστών) were used in the same context—perhaps Eusebius does this to indicate the newly established dynasty (*Historia Ecclesiastici* 8.13.12). Nevertheless that title was not official. The only eastern emperor who assumed the title was Heraclius who called himself Βασιλεὺς in 629 AD (Chrysos, *ibid.*), the title of his vanquished foe, the Persian king Chosroes II. Perhaps, merely coincidental, the pope called himself *pontifex maximus* about the same time. Gregory I (pope 590-610) is credited for adopting that title, though Leo I (440-461) seems to have occasionally used it [H. Leclerq, “Pontifex,” in: *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1907-53): 1424; Judith P. Hallett's “Over Troubled

Waters': "The Meaning of the Title Pontifex" in *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 101 (1970): 219-227.

³⁶ Some have argued for "Evidence which strongly suggests that the 'megaron' was an Anatolian rather than a Greek invention" *New Scientist* (9 May 1963): 301. Glanville Downey published an important article concerning the use of basilica in Byzantine contexts which supports my arguments ["The Architectural Significance of the Use of the Words *Stoa* and *Basilike*" in Classical Literature," *American Journal of Archaeology* 41.2 (1937): 194-211]. Examples of Greek basilicas are not unlike the Hellenistic market stoas, such as the Basilike Stoa on Thera (early 2nd century BC?). For the "Royal Stoa" at Athens see John M. Camp's *The Athenian Agora: Excavations in the Heart of Classical Athens* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1992): 53. Pausanias wrote "...the Royal Stoa (*στοά Βασιλείος*), where sits the king (*βασιλεὺς*) when he holds the annual magistracy called the kingship (*βασιλεῖαν*) (I.3.I-2). Josephus also writes of a Royal stoa (*Βασιλείος στοά*) built by Herod in Jerusalem (Josephus, *Antiquities* 15.411-16).

³⁷ Baldwin Smith, "The Megaron and Its Roof," *American Journal of Archaeology* 46.1 (1942): 99.

³⁸ For Archilochus' poetry, see M.L. West (ed.), *Iambi et Elei Graeci*, I (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971-2); Herodotus, *Histories* (III.80ff.).

³⁹ Besides *basileus* the ancient Greek kings were also called *ανάχ* (lord) and *Διοτρεφής* ("upheld by Zeus"). The later term refers to the idea that Zeus founded the early kingdoms. Not unlike St. Paul's idea: "Let every person be subject to the governing authorities (*ἔξουσιας*). For there is no authority except from God, and those that exist have been instituted by God...for kings [archons, *ἄρχοντες*] are not a terror to good conduct, but to bad" (Romans 13:1-2).

⁴⁰ It is difficult to determine when *basilica* was first used in a Christian context. The earliest examples I could find are Tertullian (c. 211 *De corona*) Ambrose (340-397 AD, *Epistles* 20, 22) and Paulinus of Nola (354-431 AD, *Epistles* 31.4). A 5th century inscription in the Church of St. Ursula (Cologne) calls the church a "basilica." The term is not so common in the Greek-speaking context, where Christians preferred the term *ecclesia* (*εκκλησία*) or assembly hall (which also corresponds to democratic buildings in the agora with the same name).

⁴¹ The earliest basilicas erected for Christian use were built by Constantine: St. Peter's (Vatican), St. John Lateran (Rome), the Holy Sepulchre (Jerusalem), and the Church of the Nativity (Bethlehem). Earlier Christian churches, such as the so-called "House of St. Peter" (Capernaum), Dura Europos, and Megiddo (discovered in 2005) were all non-basilical structures [see Vigilio Corbo's *Cafarnao I: Gli edifici della città* (Jersalem:Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, 1975); Michael Rostovtzeff, *The Excavations at Dura-Europos. Final report* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943); Chris McGreal's "Holy Land's 'oldest church' found at Armageddon," *The Guardian (Unlimited)*, (Monday, November 7, 2005)].

⁴² One of Eusebius' favorite titles for Christ (and God) is "universal king" (*summum omnium Regem*) in the *Vita Constantini* (I.5, 6, 48) and *Historia ecclesiastica* (VIII.13, X.1,4, etc.). Furthermore, Eusebius relates how Constantine was a prince "like Moses raised in the king's palaces" ("in tyrannorum aedibus, sicut Moses, educatus sit," *Vita Constantini* I.12). The

“universal king” is akin to the idea of “God Almighty” or “Pantokrator” (Παντοκράτωρ), very important for the Greek-speaking church during the Middle Byzantine period. Compare the first lines of the Nicene Creed:

Greek: Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓνα Θεόν, Πατέρα, **Παντοκράτορα**

Latin: Credo in unum Deum, Patrem **omnipoténtem**

Translation: We believe in one God, the Father, **the Almighty**

Eusebius also adopts Herodotus’ judgments that a tyrant is simply a bad or unjust king. The *Historia ecclesiastica* is a story of just kings and unlawful tyrants, with God as King over them all.

⁴³ The exact date when this inscription was placed in the apse is controversial, but I would argue that it dates from either Constantine’s founding or that of his son’s (Constantius) completion. It read: “CONSTANTINVS AVGVSTVS ET HELENA AVGVSTA HANC **DOMVM REGALEM SIMILI FVLGORE CORVSCANS AVLA CIRCVMDAT**” (*Liber Pontificalis* 34.17). See the alternate translation in Caecilia Davis-Weyer’s *Early Medieval Art (300-1150)* (Toronto: Medieval Academy, 1986): 13; for the issues involved with this inscription, see Richard Krautheimer’s “A Note on the Inscription in the Apse of Old St. Peter’s,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987): 317-320.

⁴⁴ An interesting development, though pure speculation, concerns the adoption of the terms for Christian priesthood. The Early Church used the words cleric (χλήρος, “inheritors”) and presbyter (πεσβύτερος, “elders”) but the Greek *ιερός* or the Latin *flamen* and *augur* are never used. It was inappropriate to appropriate and/or assimilate the pagan offices, except for two instances—*pontifex* and *sacerdos*—because, which I am arguing, they have connections to the ancient monarchial systems, which were essential for the success of Christianity’s proselytism.

⁴⁵ “Roman and Medieval Architecture” (book review of Smith’s *Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages* [1956]), *The Classical Review*, 8.2 (1958): 177.

⁴⁶ *Etymology* 15.4.11: “Basilicae prius vocabantur regum habitacula, unde et nomen habent; nam *Basileus* rex et basilicae regiae habitations. Nunc autem ideo divina templa basilicae nominantur, quia ibi regi omnium Deo cultus et sacrificia offeruntur” [“initially was the name of the king’s residence, which is how it got the name, for *Basileus* means *king* and *Basilica* the king’s house. Now however, for that reason sacred churches are called basilicas, because there the God of all lives and sacrifices are offered to the king”] (my translation).

⁴⁷ *Homilies. Certayne sermons, or homilies, appoynted by the kynges maiestie, to be declared and redde by all personnes vicars, or curates, euery Sondaye in their churches* 1547; *the seconde tome of homelyes* 1563 (1859). Similar definitions can be found in Robert Etienne’s *Dictionarium Latino-Gallicum* (1538, Paris): “Basilique signifie un palais royal, ou bien le lieu ou les sénateurs et magistrats rendent ordinairement le droit et justice au peuple.” This ambiguous definition was adopted by Thomas Philipot in his *Antiquitas theologica & gentilis, or, Two discourses the first, concerning the original of churches...* (1670): “Antiquity call’d the Basilica’s, or their greater Churches, & which we now stile Cathedrals, which were erected about the Year 300 (pg. 163).

⁴⁸ The *Dictionnaire de L'Académie française* [6th Edit. (1832-5)] stated “Il se dit encore aujourd’hui de Certaines églises principales, construites selon le plan des anciennes basiliques.” Certainly this is based on an earlier tradition found in 16th century where the term is defined as an “édifice civil rectangulaire” [*Décades de Titus Livius*, 2nd vol., 85; from entry in *Trésor de la Langue Française*, ed. Paul Imbs (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1971)]. J.B. Ward-Perkins continued and upheld this etymological tradition (see note I.27 above).

⁴⁹ Krautheimer 1986: 518.

⁵⁰ Strzygowski 1903: 110-1. Stephen Hill (1996: 45) traced the term *Kuppelbasilika* back to Strzygowski and assumes he coined it; this was accepted by Marcus Rautman [Book Review of *The Early Byzantine Churches of Cilicia and Isauria* by Stephen Hill in *Speculum* 73.2. (April, 1998):533]. It was used again in the same manner in *The Art Bulletin* 18.4 (Dec., 1936):552-569. For the life of Strzygowski, see E. Kleinbauer’s *Modern Perspectives in Western Art History* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971): 23; and Christina Maranci’s “Medieval Armenian Architecture in Historiography: Josef Strzygowski and his Legacy” (Unpublished Dissertation, Princeton University, 1998).

⁵¹ 1903:110-111.

⁵² A notion repeated by Hill (1940: 45-50) and Krautheimer (1986: 245).

⁵³ S. Hill’s argument for the development of the *domed basilica* (i.e. a domed church with rectilinear foundations) in Cilicia and Isauria presents no new evidence. Therefore, the theories of Forsyth and Gough, which argue for a wooden pyramid or gable on these churches, have equal footing (Forsyth 1957: 223-36; Gough 1972: 199-212).

⁵⁴ 1901:87 [my emphasis].

⁵⁵ Lowrie was indebted to previous scholarship: H. Holtzinger, *Die Altchristliche Architektur in Systematischer Darstellung* (Stuttgart: Ebner & Seubart, 1889-99); G. Dehio and G. v. Bezold, *Die kirchliche Baukunst des abendlandes* (Stuttgart: J.G. Cotta, 1884-99), and Choisy (1883).

⁵⁶ Lowrie (1868-1959) studied Early Christian archaeology at Princeton, and was a fellow at the American Academy at Rome, where he conducted most of his research. His work drew from both German and French scholars (see note I.55 above). Though Lowrie’s influence has been overlooked, recent scholarly studies points to a much needed reassessment: D. H. Fox, *The Complete Bibliography of Walter Lowrie* (Princeton: Fox Head Press, 1979) and *The Long Life of Walter Lowrie* (thesis for Princeton Theological Seminary, May 1985). According to the *Dictionary of Art Historians*, his *Monuments of the Early Church* “was one of the early required texts to be listed in the course catalog for the art history classes of Princeton University” (see Lee Sorensen, entry in <<http://dictionaryofarthistorians.org/lowriew.htm>> May 12, 2006). The book was reprinted as *Christian Art and Archeology* (2003) by Kessinger Publishing—Lowrie’s original title.

⁵⁷ In architectural history the term *basilica* was used to denote a particular idea, such as a “royal hall” rather than a particular form: “Il signifioit dans son origine un palais royal...Depuis on

appella de ce nom les palais où se rendoit la justice par les grands Magistrats...Ensuite on donna ce nom aux principales Eglises...*La basilique de saint Pierre...la basilique de saint Jean de Latran* &c” as quoted in the *Dictionnaire de L'Académie française*, 1st Edition (1694).

⁵⁸ Khatchatrian, *Les baptistères paléochrétiens* (Paris: Impr. nationale, 1962): 117 ; Syndicus, *Die frühchristliche Kunst* (Würzburg : Paul Pattloch Verlag, 1960): 96-103, respectively).

⁵⁹ 1940: ix [italics are *my emphasis*].

⁶⁰ A truism commonly attributed to Sir Winston Churchill (1874-1965).

⁶¹ 1940: 257.

⁶² For example, see Arthur Kingsley Porter [“Spain or Toulouse? and other questions,” *Art Bulletin* 7 (1924): 4ff.] and the general survey in Conant (1954). Though dealing with Early Christian Art, Josef Strzygowski’s *Orient oder Rom: Beiträge zur Geschichte der spätantiken und frühchristlichen Kunst* (Leipzig: JC Hinrichesche Buchhandlung, 1901) was highly influential in this debate (see section II.2 below).

⁶³ Kleinbauer provides a brief sketch of Vernilh’s and Lenoir’s contribution to Byzantine studies (1992:lvii).

⁶⁴ Verneilh 1851: i-v. Lenoir’s scholarship is best gleaned through his seminal work in *Architecture monastique* (Paris: Impr. nationale, 1852-1856).

⁶⁵ Ibid, 115-121. Verneilh was not able to distinguish the 10th and 12th century portions of the building.

⁶⁶ Verneilh wrote: “...qu’enfin Saint-Marc est un original dont. Saint-Front n'est que la copie...La basilique de Saint-Front serait la sœur de celle de Saint-Marc au lieu d'en être la fille. En les comparant l'une à l'autre, on aurait encore le meilleur point de départ pour des recherches sur l'architecture byzantine en France. La basilique de Saint-Front serait la sœur de celle de Saint-Marc au lieu d'en être la fille” (ibid, 16, 18).

⁶⁷ Jules Quicherat (1814-1882) was the first person in France to hold a chair in art history at L’École des Chartres in 1821; he agreed with Verneilh’s thesis (Bazin 1986: 467). Venetians claimed that St. Mark’s relics were contained within the church, showing an apostolic relationship to the Holy Apostle’s church. St. Front, the historical figure, was believed to have been sent by St. Peter to Périgueux as an apostle to France—another apostolic link to the Holy Apostles.

⁶⁸ 1851: 298.

⁶⁹ Vitet, “L’Architecture byzantine en France, réponse à M. Félix de Verneilh,” *Journal des Savants*, (Jan., Feb. and May 1853); Brutails, “La Question de Saint-Front,” *Bulletin Monumental* (Caen: H. Delesques, 1895) and *La géographie monumentale* (Paris: Impr. F. Paillart, 1923); Choisy, *Histoire de*

l'architecture (Paris: Gauthier-Villars 1899); Bertaux, *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale de la fin de l'Empire romain à la conquête de Charles d'Anjou* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1903).

⁷⁰ “Saint-Front de Périgueux et les églises à coupole du Périgord et de l’Angoumois,” *Bulletin Monumental* (1897):1-47; *Architecture East and West* (London: Batsford, 1905).

⁷¹ His two major works *Origines françaises de l'architecture gothique en Italie* (Paris: Thorin, 1894) and *L'art gothique et la Renaissance en Chypre* (Paris: Thorin, 1899) focused on identifying original medieval works, rather than supporting the 19th century conception of Gothic (contra Viollet-le-Duc).

⁷² This idea was earlier proposed in the seminal work on Latin Cyprus by Louis de Mas Latrie (1855, 1879).

⁷³ 1899: 706-7.

⁷⁴ This and all subsequent translations are the author's: “On sait que des relations suivies existaient entre Chypre et les pays qui ont le plus mêlé leur architecture romane d'éléments byzantin : le Périgord, Venise et la Pouille ; or, les églises à coupole de ces trois régions, telles que Saint-Étienne de Périgueux, la cathédrale de Cahors, Saint-Marc de Venise et plus tard Saint-Front de Périgueux, la cathédrale d'Angoulême et celle de Molfetta ont le plus grand rapport avec certaines églises de Chypre que les pèlerins d'Occident ont certainement visitées dès avant la fondation du royaume latin. Ces églises, dont malheureusement on ne connaît pas les dates, sont surtout Saint-Lazare de Larnaca et Saint-Barnabé près Famagouste, situées l'une et l'autre sur des points d'escales et pourvues de reliques très vénérées, et l'église de Hieroskypos, tout près de Paphos, où nous savons que les pèlerins descendaient fréquemment. Les premières ont des coupole sur tambours et sur arcs brisés et de gros pilier carres percés d'arcades ; la troisième est cruciforme et couverte d'une suite de coupole sur tambours. Tous les éléments de Saint-Front de Périgueux se trouvent donc en Chypre dans des monuments que beaucoup d'occidentaux ont certainement visités. Ces faits pourraient donner matière à un livre...” (*Ibid*, 706-707).

⁷⁵ 1926 :721. Jean-Auguste Brutails (1859-1926), an archaeologist who worked for the French department of antiquities, wrote the first major theory against Verneuilh. Brutails described the similarities of vernacular domed buildings of the southwest France and how its “primitive” forms were adopted to suit larger churches. Twenty years later he expanded his argument to encompass the entire southwest region of France.

⁷⁶ Rey wrote: “Rejetant la thèse qui voit dans les coupole françaises une importation de l'île de Chypre (1), il rappelle l'objection d'ordre géographique, qui vient naturellement à l'esprit : pourquoi les coupole romanes se sont-elles multipliées dans l'Aquitaine plutôt que dans le voisinage des ports méditerranéens en relations constantes avec l'Orient?” (1925: 64). This argument has been weakened by the arguments provided by Raymond Oursel and Ann Wharton (1983: 79-90). R. Oursel suggested that “la région d'Apulie, c'est-à-dire le talon de la «botte» italienne faisant face aux terres byzantines, a vu éclore dès le 11th siècle une architecture d'églises dont la nef principale est couverte de coupole en file contrebutées - surcroît de précaution - par

les demi berceaux des bas-côtés” (1991 : 254). Stalley adds “...domed churches of southern Italy are impressive monuments, but as they fit comfortably into traditions neither east nor west, they have been dismissed as peripheral by scholars, both Byzantine and Romanesque” (2000:20). The best study of Apulian domed churches is contained in Michael Ludes’s thesis “Die romanischen Kuppelkirchen Apuliens” (1985).

⁷⁷ 1926:129-152.

⁷⁸ Pope Calixtus II also consecrated other domed basilicas in 1119 such as Angoulême and Fontevrault.

⁷⁹ 1926: 138-9.

⁸⁰ Much of the records of Aquitaine were destroyed by the French Revolution. However Guyon of Maleville, a chronicler of the diocese of Quercy, writing in 1604-1614 quotes from a supposedly medieval text that “le luxe et usage des habits de soie fut porté d'Orient...des maîtres grecs furent amenés en France pour travailler” Rey dismisses this text as “fort symptomatique” while Enlart admits “Les termes sont vagues et la source du renseignement est inconnue” (Rey 1925: 209; Enlart 1926 :137). For the credibility of Guyon de Maleville, see *Société des études du Lot* (Cahors) (1900): 182-185.

⁸¹ Conant 1993; Atroshenko and Collins 1986; and W. Stoddard. *Art and Architecture in Medieval France* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972). However Enlart has contemporary critics (i.e. Stalley 2000:18). A new assessment of Enlart appeared in Alon Lior’s Ph.D. dissertation “Entre Occident et Orient: la cathédrale Saint-Front de Périgueux et les églises à file de coupoles en Aquitaine, étude comparée avec les églises à coupoles byzantines de Chypre,” (2003).

⁸² Krautheimer mentions the Cypriot domed basilicas, but does not provide an explanation to their design (1986: 401). Mango does not mention them, but remarks on the domed octagons of Cyprus (1976a:40).

⁸³ This is the common theme of Byzantine architectural history, exemplified by these texts: Texier 1864; Choisy 1883; Wulff 1914-1924; Ebersolt 1934; Mango 1976a; and Krautheimer 1986.

⁸⁴ Though only about 400 miles (650 km) from Constantinople, Cyprus is surrounded by rough waters and a series of high mountain ranges (the Taurus, Kyrenia and Troodos) separating it from the capital. At least this is what is argued [e.g. Wharton 1988: 53]. However, numerous examples can be cited concerning the accessibility of Cyprus from Anatolia, Syria, and Egypt from the perspective of invaders (i.e., Hill 1940; Christides 2006). Even during the three-month winter season, when the waters of the Mediterranean are rough and stormy, Cyprus is an ideal port of call.

⁸⁵ This problem is best described by Professor Ousterhout: “Another misconception about Byzantine architecture is based on qualitative associations with scale—that creativity is linked with size and that big implies better. As a consequence, our picture of Byzantine architecture is

dominated by the immense presence of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. Americans appreciate big things, like Texas Cadillacs, the Grand Canyon, and the Sears Tower...However, by its size Hagia Sophia is something of an anomaly in Byzantine architecture. It was designed to be unique, and so it remained, at least until the sixteenth... Moreover, for much of its later history it was a white elephant, difficult to maintain, expensive to staff and next to impossible to repair" (1998: 82).

⁸⁶ In terms of historical documentation, Cyprus has had a history of destruction. Earthquakes and pillaging invaders (Arabs, French, Venetians, and Ottomans) destroyed most primary source material that once existed. Regarding the current situation: In 1974 the Greek government along with the Cypriot national guard sponsored a *coup d'état* against the president, Archbishop Makarios. The failed coup resulted in chaos. In order to "protect" the Turkish Cypriots, Turkey invaded the island and occupied the northern two-fifths of the land. Ever since then, the island has been divided between the two communities. The southern area is ruled by the Republic of Cyprus, while the north is occupied by Turkey (Kyrris 1985: 386ff]. Unfortunately many art historical and archaeological monuments in the northern areas have been neglected or vandalized. Since no country (except Turkey) recognizes the northern "officials," scholars cannot obtain legitimate permits to study the monuments.

⁸⁷ 1897: 1-93. At the time, Smirnov was working as a private tutor; two years later he would become curator of medieval and renaissance materials at the State Hermitage Museum. Among his pupils was André Grabar [see entry in *The Dictionary of Art* ed. by Jane Turner (New York: Grove's Dictionaries, 1996); and Megaw and Hawkins (1977: 1, 161-170)].

⁸⁸ The British Governor of Cyprus, Sir Ronald Storrs, wrote of Jeffery: "[Some of our officials]...have been here too long, a few have passed their entire (and wearily prolonged) careers within the Island, as often as not in key positions. To name but one, not of the first importance, the Director of the Museum is far better qualified to occupy than to administer the shelves of which he has been in nominal charge for the past quarter of the century" [quoted in G. Georgallides' *Cyprus and the Governorship of Sir Ronald Storrs* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre. Texts and studies of the history of Cyprus, Vol. 13, 1985): 46]. The diaries of Jeffery are currently in publication, edited and commented by Dr. Despo Pillides at Department of Antiquities of Cyprus (personal communication, 10/02/06).

⁸⁹ 1915-6: 106-134.

⁹⁰ Ibid, 118, 124-125, 116.

⁹¹ 1935:15; 1940: 401.

⁹² 1931: 477-90.

⁹³ "Ο τύπος δεν μάς είναι γνωστός εξ άλλων βυζαντινών μνημείων, είναι όμως κατά τούτο μεγάλης σπουδαιότατος, ότι μάς δίδει ό κυπριακός ούτως τύπος ιδέαν των με πέντε τρούλους εις τούς άξονας βυζαντινών ναών. Το πλήθος τούτο των παλαιοχριστιανικών μνημείων τής Κύπρου δεικνύει την μεγάλων άκμον τής νήσου μέχρι των επιδρομών των Αράβων και διαφωτίζει πολλά προβλήματα τής παλαιοχριστιανικής αρχιτεκτονικής" (Ibid, 483).

⁹⁴ Regarding mislabeled pictures, here are two examples: Plate 21a is Agios Lazaros, Plate 21b is Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion (these labels are inverted in the text); Plate 15a is the Panagia Chrysotissa in Afentrika (he labeled it as Agios Philon, Karpasia).

⁹⁵ Soteriou made this commitment in his article (1940: 401). Like Soteriou, several scholars promised to provide systematic studies of Cypriot medieval architecture, but such promises were never realized. Enlart wrote that he would continue his research on Cyprus, but died unexpectedly a year later. In his 1926 article Enlart mentioned that the Italian archaeologist, Ugo Monneret de Villard (1881-1954) was attempting a broad survey of Byzantine architecture on Cyprus—that research was also never published (140).

⁹⁶ 1937: 3-15.

⁹⁷ Other authors include this church in their surveys, but do not provide a comprehensive analysis [e.g., Megaw 1974:78; Ćurčić 1999: 77; *see also* Buchwald 1999: 301-18].

⁹⁸ An idea he had in 1931. It was clearly derived from Verneilh, Enlart, and Diehl (1931:483; *see* notes I.66 and I.74 above).

⁹⁹ He wrote that “...la présence n'a pas encore été expliquée...” (1940: 409).

¹⁰⁰ For an account on Peter Megaw's biography *see* Herrin (2001: 11).

¹⁰¹ Unfortunately, not much is published about Dikigoropoulos' life after he left Dumbarton Oaks in the 1963. He died in 2005. Much of this information in this section was communicated to me by his daughters Lia Dikigoropoulos (New York) and Merope Dikigoropoulos (Nicosia) on 6/15/07. Concerning his ousting from the Department of Antiquities, Dr. Vassos Karageorghis provided this account:

“My colleague Mr. Andreas Dikigoropoulos, who finished his studies at Oxford one year earlier but got a scholarship at the British School at Rome, returned [to Cyprus] in 1952, like myself, and was appointed Assistant Curator (Medieval). Mr. Megaw arranged that we should both participate in an excavation at Salamis... Dikigoropoulos was very much against the struggle [for Cypriot independence]...Dikigoropoulos had been given two [increases in salary] and thus, in spite of the fact that we were appointed as Assistant Curators in the same year, he was considered my senior in matters of promotion. It became very clear that this was all conceived by Megaw, when he tried desperately to push Dikigoropoulos ahead of me in 1960...The Governor, briefed no doubt by Megaw, supported very strongly the name of Andreas Dikigoropoulos, a known anglophile who did not hide his allegiance during the period 1955-59...One day at Salamis he [Megaw] saw me asking Dikigoropoulos to help me put a new film in a camera which I was handling for the first time. He used this as one of the arguments that Dikigoropoulos had much more experience in technical matters! [However]...The Curator of the Cyprus Museum, which housed objects of the pre-Christian period, could not be a Medievalist. Dikigoropoulos asked to be given ‘loss of career money,’ some £13,000, and he opted to resign and leave Cyprus, together with other senior British Officials” (2007: 33, 41-43, 65).

¹⁰² Dr. Alice-Mary Talbot, current director of Dumbarton Oaks, has informed me that “Dikigoropoulos...worked briefly at Dumbarton Oaks in the...1960s as an assistant to Philip Grierson in the cataloguing of our Byzantine coin collection” (personal communication, 04/16/07).

¹⁰³ After serving as Curator of Ancient Monuments, Papageorghiou served as the director of the Department of Antiquities from 1989 until his retirement in 1991. Since that time he has worked for the Orthodox Church of Cyprus and has managed their cultural heritage, playing a key role in tracking down looted Byzantine art from the northern Turkish-occupied territories.

¹⁰⁴ His early work has been ignored in recent studies (Curčić 1999, 2000; Wharton 1988); but acknowledged in others (Megaw 1974; Papacostas 1999). Papageorghiou’s most relevant articles are: 1964: 153-162, 209-216, 274-284, 349-353; 1968: 77-82; and 1966: 151-173.

¹⁰⁵ See Papageorghiou (1982a: 468-478).

¹⁰⁶ So far only one monograph has been produced (1998:205-224); his plans to publish were mentioned by Wharton (1988: 174 n. 32, n.50).

¹⁰⁷ Mango called them “the Dark Centuries” (1976a: 89). This term was applied to Cyprus by a number of scholars, such as C. N. Constantinides and Robert Browning [*Dated Greek manuscripts from Cyprus to the year 1570* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1993): 10-15].

¹⁰⁸ Mango 1976a: 89.

¹⁰⁹ Megaw 1974: 79, 82 [my emphasis].

¹¹⁰ Megaw originally presented this article at the Dumbarton Oaks Symposium on “Art, Letters, and Society in Byzantine Provinces” in May 1973—clearly indicating his leanings. A. Papageorghiou agreed with Megaw—he believed that the domed basilicas were built prior to the Byzantine conquest of the island in 965—therefore, they were not “Byzantine” *per se* 1986: 468-478).

¹¹¹ This lecture was sponsored and published by the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, Nicosia.

¹¹² Čurčić first applies the term *regional* in a 1999 article “Byzantine Architecture,” on Cyprus.” Without a clear definition, “regionalism” can be bandied about, depending on the subjective view of the historian and, therefore, its usefulness is questionable. Likewise, Wharton’s study *Art of Empire: painting and architecture of the Byzantine periphery* relegates Cyprus, as the title infers, to the *periphery*, which Čurčić seems to endorse (Wharton 1999; Čurčić 2000: 8 n. 3). Wharton attempted to explain how the domed basilica was exported from the capital, Constantinople, to the rest of the empire, such as Cyprus, Macedonia, and Apulia—an interesting theory, with no

convincing evidence. The thrust of Wharton's arguments can be found in an earlier article (1983:79-90).

¹¹³ R. Jenkins' scholarship has influenced subsequent research on this issue—he calls the period a “condominium” in which the Arab Caliphate and the Byzantine Empire equally ruled (co-ruled) the island (1953: 1001ff); a term adopted by other scholars, such as Pitsillides and Metcalf (1995: 1-13). However, a “condominium” arrangement is absurd given the hostile relationship between the two arch-enemies. M. Hamidullah writes that Cyprus was viewed as a “tributary independent state” which “apart from the obligation to pay tribute, the non-Muslim state remains completely independent” (1937:103-104). I will discuss this historical context in Chapter Six below. Recent research on Arabic sources has shed light on the time period between the first Arab raids on Cyprus and the Byzantine conquest of 965. (e.g., Christides 2006: 32ff; PS: Mansouri 2001; *see also* Beihammer 2002: 41–62; Papageorghiou 1986-1988: 167-175; Dikigoropoulos 1965-66: 237-279.

¹¹⁴ “Приступ типологији петокуполних цркава у византијској архитектури,” *Saopštenja* 22-23 (1990-91): 41-76.

¹¹⁵ “βυζαντινή αρχιτεκτονική και τέχνη στην Κύπρο,” in T. Papadopoulos’ *Iστορία της Κύπρου 4: Βυζαντινή Κύπρος* (Nicosia: Archbishop Makarios III Foundation Press, vol. 4, 2005): 465-789.

¹¹⁶ Wharton’s study of the so-called “Condominium Period” was minimal—she did not consider Dikigoropoulos’ publications or Papageorghiou’s articles from the 1960’s, or even Megaw’s 1986 article “Betwixt Greeks and Saracens” (1988:53-90).

¹¹⁷ 1988: 66; *See* Professor John Lowden’s measured review in *The Burlington Magazine* 131.1035 (June 1989): 425.

¹¹⁸ 1990-91:66 [translated by Ainsley Morse].

¹¹⁹ His doctoral work was supervised by Cyril Mango at Oxford University. Professor Oosterhout has made some valid criticisms of Ruggieri’s work in *Speculum* 68.2 (1993): 559-561. Chapter Two provides arguments against his earthquake design theory, based on more recent studies (e.g. Gavrilović et al. 2004; Gavrilović 1999: 199-235).

¹²⁰ 1991 I: 136. As discussed in the final chapter, the three-domed design is based on the symbolism of the liturgy.

¹²¹ His M.Phil research was supervised by Marlia Mango, while his Ph.D. was supervised by Cyril Mango, both at Oxford University.

¹²² 1991 I: 19.

¹²³ In Papacostas dissertation he continually referenced his earlier M.Phil. thesis as the source for his dating of the multiple-domed churches. This is problematic for three reasons. (1) In the British system, M.Phil. theses are meant to be general, concise studies rather than authoritative

tomes. (2) Since only one version of Papacostas' M.Phil. thesis is available to the public [held in the Sackler Library in its "Rare Book" collection, at Oxford University], it can only be viewed by appointment and cannot be photocopied, limiting the number of scholars who could critique his views. As a result, his doctoral thesis omits an in-depth analysis of multiple-domed churches and their dating, leaving his other conclusions unpersuasive.

¹²⁴ Papacostas' three main conclusions are problematic. He wrote (1) "It should be obvious by now that the 'dark ages' of Cyprus...starts later than in the central provinces early 7th century," (2) There is little indication of an economic revival after the "silent reconquest" of the Byzantine Empire in the 10th century; (3) "The 'dark age' of Cyprus does not end until the late 11th century, which marks the beginning of a period of sustained building activity" which he associated with the Comnenian dynasty (1999 I: 214, 217, 219). Papacostas never defined what he meant by "dark ages." The term usually denotes a period when few historical texts exist. It seems that Papacostas adopted this definition for Cyprus, referring to a period when Byzantine sources record very little about the island. He associated economic decline to these "dark ages." He further associated with the "dark ages" a decline in church building. As a result, he associated building activity in Cyprus with the period when Byzantine sources mention the island. Therefore, with this line of reasoning Papacostas placed the majority of Cypriot churches outside the "dark ages" in the 11th century. As a result, his thesis is an exercise in circular reasoning. His initial aim was "to investigate the Byzantine buildings of Cyprus in an attempt to reconstruct aspects of the island's cultural and economic history which the written record fails to elucidate...". However, he ended up using the written record to reconstruct the economic history, which was used to date the churches. While it is certainly possible that the written record coincided with economic activity, which in turn, coincided with the building of churches—such an assumption simply begs the question. In fact, Papacostas contradicts his own conclusions by placing the churches of Afentrika, Anogyra, Geroskipou, and Kellia in the "dark ages."

¹²⁵ "[τρουλλαίας βασιλικής] οι οποίες φαίνεται πώς ανεγείρονται στον πρώιμο 10^ο αιώνα και μαρτυρούν το ενδιαφέρον της πρωτεύουσας για την Κύπρο, διαψεύδοντας παλαιότερες απόψεις περί τής αυτοκρατορικής αδιαφορίας για το νησί" (2005: 490-491).

¹²⁶ My italics here are referring to George Hill's quote (*see* note 59 above, § I.3).

¹ Actually only a few surveys of Early Christian churches have been carried out: Delvoye 1972: 17-21, 1976: 2-60, 1980: 313-27; Michaelides 2001b: 179-239; Papageorgiou 1985b: 299-324; and Megaw 1976: 3-29. However, many short articles have featured specific studies on Early Christian Cyprus, which are too numerous to list here.

² This information comes from *Acts of the Apostles* 13:31-14. For the later *Vita* of Barnabus see PS: Deun 1993 and Halkin 1964: 133-70.

³ See Douglas Campbell, “Possible Inscriptional Attestation To Sergius Paul[us] and the Implications for Pauline Chronology,” *Journal of Theological Studies*, NS, Vol. 56, Pt 1, April (2005): 1-29. Either the same or a different individual named “Sergius Paullus” was also mentioned on two other inscriptions, one in Turkey and one at Rome—if it was the same person, this would indicate that he was a major administrator in the Eastern Mediterranean in the first century. Bruce Mitford was first to doubt whether the inscription referred to the person mentioned in the book of Acts (1950: 105-165).

⁴ The list of Cypriot saint-martyrs from the 2nd to late 3rd century include Athansios, Demetriaonos, Aristocles, Conon, Lucius, Nemesios, and Philonides. These names can be found in the 10th century *Constantinopolitan Synaxarion* where, for example Athanasios is found under the heading June 23, along with Aristocles and Demetrianos (see also Delehaye 1907:161-301).

⁵ The early Christian art was intentionally ambiguous or non-Christian, and therefore, difficult to identify (Finney 1994).

⁶ For example, the catacombs of Agia Solomoni and Agios Lambrianos (both in Paphos) or the rock-cut basilica shrine Agia Thekla (near Agia Napa) have no original architectural or decorative details which can be dated. The frescos and associated buildings date to the high Middle Ages, but they obviously have earlier uses, based on the Roman red-slip littering their floors.

⁷ Filippo Giudice, “Campagne di scavo (1988-1990) nell’area di Garrison’s Camp a Nea Paphos,” *Acts Cypria* 2 (1992):91-103; Guidice et al. “Paphos, Garrison’s Camp. IXa Campagna,” *Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus* 2004: 271-315.

⁸ *Vita Hilarioni* §42.

⁹ This information is provided in Eustathios Raptou and Diana Conroy, “The built tomb in Icarus Street, Kato Pafos,” *Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus*, 2006: 317-343.

¹⁰ Gagniers and Tinh 1985.

¹¹ Papageorgiou 1966b: 17-33.

¹² Ino Nicolaou, “The transition from paganism to Christianity as revealed in the mosaic inscriptions of Cyprus” in Herrin (2001:13). Unfortunately the Cathedral of Tremetousia (Τρεμετούσα), Agios Spyridon is occupied by the Turkish military and cannot be visited. On

March 15th, 2005 and May 21, 2007 I visited the Erdemli military base and attempted to gain access to this church, but at both times my requests were denied.

¹³ Socrates I.12; Symeon Metaphrastes, *Vita Spyridonos*; Sozemonos I.11.

¹⁴ According to the *Vita* of Auxibios, he was the first bishop of Soloi, who was ordained by the gospel-writer John Mark after returning to Cyprus with Barnabus (Noret 1986: 445-452; Papageorghiou 1986-1988: 167-175; Gagniers and Tinh 1985).

¹⁵ Megaw 1976:12.

¹⁶ Gagniers and Tinh 1985: 11-15. In 2001 Megaw continued to defend his position claiming that the Christian inscription “can have nothing to do with” the original building (2001: 171-180). Megaw, who did not visit the site, did not realize that the mosaics were repaired in the 6th century, and perhaps, in the late seventh century. The mosaicists were able to integrate the new mosaic with the earlier ones, which makes the mosaics appear as one single period. From 01/06/07 to 03/06/07 I was able to study the mosaics, and it is clear to me that two separate styles of mosaics exists on the same layer, and that different periods could be discerned by the resulting seams.

¹⁷ Concerning the Early Christian churches, George Hill wrote that the Cathedral of Salamis-Constantia was “the mother of them all” (1940:321). This generalization was defended by subsequent scholars: Delvoye 1972: 18, 1976:10-12, 1980: 313-27; Michaelides 2001b: 196-198; Papageorghiou 1985b: 301-302; Megaw 2001:172.

¹⁸ The *Vita Epiphanius* recounts: God instructed Epiphanius to build a larger church (Chapter 72); the construction of the church started with much animosity from the pagan administration of the city; one of Epiphanius’ critics Faustinus was mortally wounded when the construction workers accidentally drop an ashlar block on his head; immediately Epiphanius fell on Faustinus and healed him, resulting in his conversion; after Epiphanius dies, his disciple Drakon asked permission from Emperor to bury Epiphanius within this same church (Chap. 130); Arcadius allowed Epiphanius’ relics to be buried in church where he healed Faustinus, in the south aisle apse (Chap.132) (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 41 col.23-114; Rapp 1991, vol. 2). From henceforth the *Patrologia Graeca* and *Patrologia Latina* will be abbreviated to *PG* and *PL*, respectively.

¹⁹ Due to its influence and subsequent rebuilding as a multiple-domed basilica, its history and form is discussed in the next chapter.

²⁰ Delvoye 1972: 11-18.

²¹ In 1985 Papageorghiou counted 56 churches, since then nine more have been found: Garrison’s Camp (Paphos), three at Kalavasos-Kopetra, Agioi Pente (Geroskipou), two basilicas at Polis, the Panagia Limeniotissa (Kourion), and Ayios Georgios (Nicosia). Most of these churches have been excavated, but only a few were fully published (1985b: 300).

²² We only start to see influence from Constantinople and Asia Minor concerning the use of the ambo in the middle of the nave, as in Agias Trias (Yialousa) and Basilica A (Cape Drepanon). However, influences from Antioch/Syria and the Greek isles are not readily apparent (Delvoye 1972: 17-21; 1976: 2-60; 1986: 490-504; 1985b: 299-324).

²³ Michaelides 1992; 1993: 69-113.

²⁴ Delvoye 1972:21.

²⁵ Rautman 2003; 2001a:307-18; 2001b; Rautman and McClellan 1994: 289-307.

²⁶ Papageorghiou 1963b: 84-101; Megaw 1974: 77-78. I am assuming that Papageorghiou's ground plan is rather misleading, where he illustrates square pillars—he is actually trying to demarcate the square bases of round piers. He calls these *πεσσών* (piers) rather than *χίονας* or *κολώνα* (columns). However, he provided pictures of columns from the site. Megaw also assumed that Papageorghiou was referring to square piers (1974:77-78). I have tried to verify if Papageorghiou used the terms interchangeably. Today the town of Μαραθόβούνο is called Ulukısla by the Turkish population. The area known as "Petrera" immediately north of the city cannot be identified and, is perhaps, part of the Turkish military base which occupies the majority of the town. On May 22, 2007 after several hours of trying to locate the remains, enduring the 110 degree weather and angry glares of the armed soldiers, I was forced to give up.

²⁷ The historical circumstances for the Arab invasion of Cyprus are discussed in detail in the next chapter.

²⁸ 1948:56.

²⁹ Schick 1995. For a general account of Arabs raping, pillaging, and desecrating holy sites in both Arab and Byzantine sources see Ye'or (1996).

³⁰ Dikigoropoulos 1961:230; Karageorghis 1968:351; 1969:564-66; Papageorghiou 1969:82-88, 1996:6, 55.

³¹ Megaw 1988:135-136.

³² Both Paul the Deacon (8th c., *Historia Miscella*, PL 95, 1049) and Theophanes the Confessor (early 9th c.) stated that the invasion took place during the seventh year of the Emperor Constans II 648/9. For the Arabic sources, see PS: Mansouri 2001; Christides 2006: 19ff.

³³ English translation is the author's, after Feissel 1987: 380-381; Tran Tam Tinh 1985; and Papageorghiou 1986-88: 167-175.

³⁴ They write of "black earth so fine as to resemble sand" and "a thin layer of burnt earth, it is early loose and mixed with all sorts of debris" (Munro and Tubbs 1891: 102-103).

³⁵ Hill 1940:254; Dikigoropoulos 1961: 186; Megaw 1956b: 30.

³⁶ 1961:186 n. 1. Dikigoropoulos also wrote: “Various factors may have contributed to the abandonment of the great basilicas. Arab action in the seventies of the seventh century, when an Arab garrison may have been established on the Island is not known. But it is not impossible that it was adverse to the maintenance of a large basilica...by a shrinking population. Earthquakes, which are recorded in the region of Palestine during this period...may have struck Constantia causing irreparable damage to the great basilica. Of this however, we have no record” (1961: 182 n.2). The same argument was adopted by Papacostas (1995:16).

³⁷ 1991: 140ff.

³⁸ Guidoboni 1994.

³⁹ 1999: 209-210. This train of thought was clearly based on the work of Dikigoropoulos (1961:266) which Papacostas does not acknowledge here. Dikigoropoulos formulated his thesis because at that time “...one would expect to find some evidence that the abandonment of some 58%, if not more, of the Island’s rural settlements took place as a result of sacking or destruction by raiders. Such evidence is not, however, forthcoming.”

⁴⁰ 1999: 73

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² A few scholars have expressed to me that they have accepted this earthquake theory. Other scholars, such as Robert Ousterhout, were not persuaded by Ruggieri’s arguments (see note I.119).

⁴³ While an earthquake was reported in Palestine in 640, Cyprus belongs to a separate fault line and was probably not affected. Only one historical earthquake was massive enough that it could have impacted Cyprus: in 796 a devastating tremor in Constantinople, Alexandria, and Crete (Ambraseys 1965: 25-48; Guidoboni 1994).

⁴⁴ Kleinbauer 1999; 2004: 17ff.

⁴⁵ *Historia Miscella*, PL 95 col. 1309 (Roberts 2000:55).

⁴⁶ Dionysius of Tel-Mahré, *Chronicle* (PS: Palmer 1993:174 [my emphasis]).

⁴⁷ Gavrilović et al. 2004: Gavrilović 1999: 199-235.

⁴⁸ Criminal behavior cannot be ruled out. However, it is hard to believe that homicidal rogues would go to so much trouble to deposit their victims within an enclosed monastery, in the sight of the brethren, especially since there is plenty of uninhabited wasteland in the area. It is also difficult to imagine that monks themselves were the culprits!

⁴⁹ AM 6238, AD 745.

⁵⁰ See note 36 above.

⁵¹ There are other factors which can be further explored in critiquing Ćurčić's earthquake hypothesis: (1) There is no available data that demonstrates domed buildings being more stable than wooden ones; (2) All churches seem to be susceptible to earthquakes, both wooden-roof structures and domed; (3) Timber-trussed buildings were built throughout the medieval period in earthquake zones; (4) Early Christian wooden-roof churches survive in Thessaloniki (such as the Acheiropoietos Church and Agios Demetrianos) survived dozens of earthquakes over the centuries; (5) Accretions in Cypriot structures may account for the overall ageing of the building rather than seismic activity; (6) Accretions have not been demonstrated to help during seismic activity; (7) Accretions occur on medieval monuments that are not in earthquake zones.

⁵² See the next chapter, §III.1.3.

⁵³ This “both/and” approach is supported by ambiguity of the data. For example, the second part of the Soloi inscription, which the archaeologists reconstructed as mentioning both earthquakes along with the Arab pillaging. The initial translation by Tinh read “[σει]σμός ἀλλο[ς]” which he translated as “un autre tremblement de terre”; however, most scholars agree with Feissel’s suggestion, that this fragment should be read as “[έμπρη]σμος” (fire, arson) (Feissel 1987: 380-381; Tran Tam Tinh 1985).

⁵⁴ Megaw 1958: 34. He wrote in his original report “It had three aisles, separated by arches carried on square pillars of masonry. It was probably erected after the Arab raids of the mid-seventh century when the first church may have been destroyed” (Dikigoropoulos 1961:85, based on Megaw’s report in the Department of Antiquities file).

⁵⁵ Dikigoropoulos 1961:187-188; Karageorghis 1960:296.

⁵⁶ Megaw 1960:345-351; 1974:74. Megaw promised to write a monograph on the Panagia Angeloktisti but this was never realized.

⁵⁷ 1965a:42; 1966a:221; 1975:190-91; 1982a:469; 1993: 46.

⁵⁸ PS: Halkin 1964: 133-70; PS: Esbroeck 1985: 115-62.

⁵⁹ Theodore of Paphos was the author of the *Vita* of St. Spyridon (PS: Van den Ven 1953:89).

⁶⁰ Aupert 1996:83 ff; *Annual Report of the Department of Antiquities* 166:14; *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 90 (1966):386, 91 (1967):363, 99 (1975):836).

⁶¹ I analyzed this church on March 20th, 2005 and again on June 23rd, 2007.

⁶² Excavations at the Kourion cathedral discovered a coin hoard at the bottom of a well, with the latest issue dating from the 640’s (1991: 53-67).

⁶³ 1961:81-82.

⁶⁴ Concerning this citadel, Hogarth wrote “The summit of this rock bears ancient remains as interesting and perhaps as primitive as anything in Cyprus, for the entire ground-plan of the building, whether palace or fortress, which once crowned it, has been preserved by the fact that the lower portion of all its chambers were excavated in the living rock, to a depth of from 2 to 4 ft. The walls are therefore so far intact as to determine the position of the doorways and the character of the approaches: the outer walls are generally 2 to 2 1/2 ft. thick, and the party-walls vary from 1 to 1 1/2 ft., but no trace is left of the masonry, which must have been superimposed. From the appended plan it will be seen that the building was approached from the south-east by a gate and wide passage, on the left of which are two chambers: a flight of four steps and another gate whose sockets remain lead into an inner chamber, which again opens into a third, the largest of all. On the east a considerable ‘margin’ of uncut rock has been left, and a smaller one on the right, but on the north, overlooking the city, the precipice falls away sheer from the outer wall of the chamber. To this rock-cut dwelling it is difficult not to assign great antiquity: this eminence must always have been the acropolis of any city built here (for nature has provided no other), and on such acropolis must have been a fortress. Now the fact that a tomb belonging to this site bears a Cypriote inscription of a particularly archaic character proves the existence of the town at an early period, and these rock-chambers must be coeval with its foundation. They recalled to me the strange remains of a similar fortress, cut to a depth of several feet in the living rock of the acropolis of Kumbet in Phrygia, and ascribed by Professor W. M. Ramsay to the same period as the neighbouring city of Midas: and I have little doubt that the plan of a fortress or dwelling-place constructed by very early Asiatic immigrants into Cyprus has been preserved at Aphendrika” (1889:86).

⁶⁵ Hogarth wrote “On the summit of the ridge behind the city has stood a large village [Agridial] of later times, among whose ruins stand the shells of four churches of no special interest. To this securer position the inhabitants of Urania, like those of Carpasia, may have retired to avoid the Arab corsairs” (*Ibid*, 87). From May 21 to May 24, 2007, I attempted to locate these churches. Either they are now buried or they are not directly south of Afentrika.

⁶⁶ Hogarth was unaware of these tombs, but described similar ones at Rizokarpaso, just five miles away: “The tombs are all empty, and many, to judge from the crosses cut on walls and roof, have been re-used in Christian times: one is lined with plaster” (*ibid.*, 92).

⁶⁷ *Ibid*, 86; Papageorghiou 1993:40, fig. 9.

⁶⁸ The British cartographer Richard Pococke passed the ruins in 1837 and said the locals called the place “Asphronisy” (PS: Cobham 1908: 258). The British diplomat Alexander Drummond wrote twenty-five years later, “About two miles eastward are fine ruins of a village, which they call Athendrae, though I cannot find it in any map I have seen: however, in many circumstances it answers the description of the ancient Carpasia, built by Pygmalion...” (Letter dated 11/13/1750, PS: Martin 1998:98).

⁶⁹ There are three possible explanations for this name. First, it could be associated with the classical term *ἀρένος* (riches) as used, for example, by Hesiod in the phrase “the riches of the

gods” (Hesiod, *Theogony* 112). Second, it could be a corruption of the Byzantine Greek word *αρέντης* (lord). *Αρέντης* is a synonym of *άρχοντας* (*άρχον*, archon) and where the Turkish term *effendi* was derived. The Modern Greek phrase *αρεντάδικη ζωή* (“life of grace” or “the high life”) also provides how this word could also be applied. Third, it could be a corruption of the name Aphrodisium (Αφροδίσιον), the name given to the entire Karpas peninsula by Strabo, who gives this name to the narrowest area of land, and associated it with the far easternmost tip where the famous temple of Aphrodite Acraea once stood (probably under the modern monastery of St. Andrew, which has Byzantine foundations) (*Geography* 14.6.3). David Hogarth’s survey of this area gave credence to this claim (1889:81–82). His suggestion that Afentrika was the ancient Urania was accepted by Papageorgiou (1985; fig. II.34, Map C). [Regarding the suffix *-ικα*, it is a common diminutive way of specifying a place, such as Thessalonia was gradually transformed into Thessalonika.] The second explanation is preferable for two reasons. First, as aforesaid, the name is always associated with a church or monastery. For example, there is a town with a similar name near Nicosia called Mandres Aphendikes (Μάντρες Αφεντικής) which means “the lord’s sheepfold,” connoting either a prosaic or a religious site. And second, the term *αρέντης* was a widely used term in the Byzantine era, whereas *αρενός* is restricted to the classical age. With this being said, the third explanation is perhaps more interesting and is associated with Hogarth’s attribution discussed in the body of the text.

⁷⁰ *Bibliotheca historica* 20.47. Karpasia was originally a sea port, where the church of Ayios Philon is now located. This city was first recorded by Strabo and flourished in the Early Christian period. During the 4th century a disciple of St. Epiphanius (archbishop of Salamis-Constantia), named Philo, was established as bishop here. He was a well-known theologian and known to have written a commentary on the “Songs of Solomon” (*Vita Epiphanii*). The citizens of Karpasia probably moved further inland to the city known as Rizokarpasia (Ριζοκαρπάσο) which means “Root/Base of Karpasia” during the Arab raids of 648/652.

⁷¹ *Theogony* 188–206; *Iliad* 5. 349, 370–417, 883.

⁷² The ubiquitous Aphrodite cult is well attested on the island by archaeology. At Palaio-Paphos, the remains of the enormous cult center were excavated in 1888 and in the cella of the temple, Aphrodite’s original cult statue was uncovered [M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, “New discoveries at the most celebrated Temenos of Aphrodite,” *The Owl* 8 (1888):59–64]. The object was a large conical black stone, much unlike later human portrayals of her. Tacitus wrote: “The goddess is not portrayed in the likeness of a human. Her image resembles a truncated cone tapering from a broad circular base to a top of slender circumference. The reason for this is obscure” (*Histories*, 2.2–4). The worship of black stone, perhaps meteors, were common in antiquity, such as the cult statue of *Mater Matuta* in the Palatine palace which had a black uncarved stone for a face, and brings to mind the Ka’ba stone (*Rukn-al-Aswad*) sacred to Islam.

⁷³ According to some ancient texts, the word Cyprus—or *κυπρός* as was then known—referred to sexual intimacy. In a poem about a young girl begging her lover not to abandon her, she cries out: “Love has taken hold of me, I don’t deny it. Beloved/Stars and lady Night, my fellow-lover, send me now/To the man to whom *Cyprus* hands me over as hostage, and for whom/Great Passion has conquered me” (*Fragmentum Grenfellianum* 8–16). And in an earlier text, the playwright Euripides noted that “husbands wishing to live in a happy home [should] show affection

[στεργούσσουν] by keeping their eyes on *cypus* [i.e. sexual relationship] in their marriage" (*Andromache* 179-80).

⁷⁴ Plato was first to make this distinction and it was followed by Neo-Platonists, both Christian and Pagan (Plato, *Symposium* 180). The Virgin Mary as "Queen of Heaven" (*Regina Caeli, Παντάνασσα*) incorporated many traits from *Aphrodite Urania*. For example, compare the mosaic of Ayia Maria at the Panayia Angeloktisti (Kiti, Cyprus) with the statue of Aphrodite Urania at the Musei Vaticani, Rome) (see Thomas Mathew and Norman Muller, "Isis and Mary in Early Icons," in *Images of the Mother of God: perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium* ed. by M. Vassilaki (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005): 3-9.

⁷⁵ Pocock mentioned a fortification wall running down to the sea (see note 68 above).

⁷⁶ 1889:85.

⁷⁷ 1985b:316.

⁷⁸ Roux 1998; Portions of the walls at the 5th century church Qal'at Si'man (Syria) and the 6th c. fortress at Haïda in North Africa (Krauthemier 1986: 260) also have this type of construction.

⁷⁹ The Early Christian church at Andaval (Cappadocia), apparently suffered at the hands of the Arabs, only to be rebuilt as a barrel-vaulted basilica. Like the Panayia Afentrika, this Cappadocian church still has its early Christian columns in situ between the later square pilasters. Nichole Thierry wrote: "À Andaval, sur la route des pèlerinages, la petite basilique de Constantia survit aux désastres successifs. Après la ruine des guerres arabes, on l'avait réduite à sa nef voûtée au-dessus de forts piliers. La basilique dévouée mononеf fut peinte vers la fin du XIe siècle" (Thierry 2002: 78, fig. 46).

⁸⁰ Papageorghiou 1965a:94-96.

⁸¹ Papageorghiou supervised a cleaning of this church in the 1960s, removing the fallen debris and exposing the eastern floor (1966a:221).

⁸² Other scholars omit to discuss this detail: Enlart 1899; Papageorghiou 1965a, 1966a; Jeffery 1918:257-58; Soteriou 1931: 482; Gunnis 1936:167; Dikigoropoulos 1961:230.

⁸³ Papageorghiou 1966a:221.

⁸⁴ Hogarth called this church Agios Demetrios and it is not possible to determine which one was the original name (1889:86).

⁸⁵ Stylianou 1980 *op. cit.* 57ff. Actually the site of Agia Varvara is closer to the prehistoric ruins of Nitoviklia on the coast.

⁸⁶ 1889: 70.

⁸⁷ The road leading to the church is a goat path used by the local Turkish farmer. In the ruts made by the tractor are antique coins, whole amphorae, and ancient glass.

⁸⁸ PS: Grégoire 1907: 209-12.

⁸⁹ Also a few yards to the northwest of the church is another church marked “Agia Yeorgios (ruins)” (Kitchener 1885).

⁹⁰ The “hanging” corbel used to support a transverse arch is common in the Binbirkilise region of Anatolia, perhaps as early as the sixth century (Lienhardt 1965: 300-303; Ramsay and Bell 1909:41-51). Krautheimer has argued the architectural technology and design of the Binbirkilise region is derived from Syria; however, I have not found any examples of “hanging” corbels in Syria. Many barrel-vaults in the Binbirkilise region have neither piers nor transverse arch support. The basilica at Tolmeita (6th c.) in North Africa had a barrel-vaulted nave with transverse arches supported by wall corbels; however, the corbels rest directly above the aisle piers, and so, they are not really “hanging” but inset within the wall supported by the piers (Krautheimer 1986:275).

⁹¹ Hogarth wrote “That the Carpass was entirely unmolested by the Turks is disproved by the existence of so many ruined churches in its area, and of Greek-speaking Mahometan villages like Galinoporni and Korovia, sure traces of a forced conversion of the conquered” (1889:59). The Panagia Afentrika at Sykhada lies two miles between Galinoporni and Koroveia.

⁹² This date is speculative. The small, squat size of the figure, reminds me of the 9th/10th c. figures depicted in the fresco at Agios Antonios at Kellia (Stylianou and Stylianou 1997:433-437; Wharton 1988:57-60).

⁹³ Megaw and Hawkins 1977.

⁹⁴ Dikigoropoulos wrote: “The evidence includes a coin of Constans II of the year 656/7 from below an *osteothekē* east of the apse of the church, and a Kornos ware sherd from the mortar of the reconstructed north wall of the church (1961:230 n.2). For the use of Kornos ware pottery for dating see (Catling and Dikigoropoulos 1970: 43-59).

⁹⁵ 1961:230.

⁹⁶ My translation, 1996:56. Unfortunately the Limeniotissa’s excavation was not published. The evidence for Papageorghiou’s conclusions therefore must be taken carefully. All our conclusions must be gleaned from the various brief reports: *Annual Report of the Department of Antiquity* 1967:18, 1968: 17-18; *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique* 84 (1960) 292, 92 (1968): 351, 93 (1969): 564-66; *Archaeological Reports* 1968-69:53-54; Papageorghiou (1969):82-88; 1985b:318, 1986:501 Megaw (1988): 140 n. 12; Maier & Karageorghis (1984:301).

⁹⁷ Neophytus recorded a violent earthquake in 1159 which destroyed fifteen churches in Paphos alone (Nikolaou 1969).

⁹⁸ Enlart 1899: 395-401.

⁹⁹ Soteriou 1931: 482; Soteriou 1935: pl.10a, 11a, & 15a (mislabeled as Agios Philon).

¹⁰⁰ Jeffery 1918:257-58; Gunnis 1936:167.

¹⁰¹ 1946: 48-56.

¹⁰² Hill remarks that Megaw advised on this section concerning Byzantine architecture (Hill 1940: 322). Megaw quotes from Hill in this defense of this date (Megaw 1946:48).

¹⁰³ Megaw 1948:56.

¹⁰⁴ 1961:193.

¹⁰⁵ “In the same year many of the Christians of Palestine, monks and laymen, and from all of Syria arrived in Cyprus, fleeing the excessive misdeeds of the Arabs. For, as a result of the general anarchy that prevailed in Syria, Egypt, Africa, and their entire dominion, murders, rapes, adulteries, and all manner of licentious acts that are abhorred by God were committed in villages and towns by that accursed nation. In the holy city of Christ our God the venerable places of the holy Resurrection, of Golgotha, and the rest were profaned. Likewise the famous *lavras* in the desert, that of St Chariton and that of St Sabas, and the other monasteries and churches were made desolate. Some Christians were killed like martyrs, while others proceeded to Cyprus and thence to Byzantium....to those who had remained in Cyprus, both monks and laymen, he sent a talent of gold and provided for them in every way” (Theophanes, *Historia*, AM 6305; PS: Mango and Scott).

¹⁰⁶ In footnotes, Dikigoropoulos wrote: “Professor Soteriou has also revised his views since then and now agrees to a dating within the period of the Arab wars” (1961: 192 n.1); and “Mr. Megaw tentatively dated the Aphendrika churches to the period after the Byzantine reconquest of 965; he has, however, revised his view since then and is now of the opinion that they belong to the period of the Arab wars. I understand Mr. Megaw is going to comment on the Aphendrika churches in a paper he is reading at the Byzantine Congress, at Ochrid, in September, 1961” (1961:191 n. 1). However, no trace of his paper exists, nor have I been able to verify if he attended. In his 1974 article, Megaw mentioned that his dating changed, but provided no evidence (76 n.80).

¹⁰⁷ 1966a:221; see also 1982a:468-470.

¹⁰⁸ Megaw and Hawkins 1977:31 n.130.

¹⁰⁹ 1986: 518.

¹¹⁰ The “Middle Byzantine” evolutionary model has been pointed out by Ousterhout (1999:32).

¹¹¹ Tinh 1985: 98, 112; See also *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 93 (1969):555.

¹¹² Picirillo 1992: 25ff. This pattern is not common in Late Antiquity, but widespread in Ummayad Palestine. The dating of the Panagia at Madaba was discussed by Leah Di Segni [“The Date of the Church of the Virgin in Madaba,” *Liber Annus* (1992): 251-57]. It is described by Balmelle as a “pattern of rows of tangent and intersecting circles, in interlaced and tangentially interlocked bands (Balmelle 1985-2002: I. Pl. 235, pg. 368) The same pattern is found on the island of Cos, but is not dated (Pelecanidis 1974: I. no.250).

¹¹³ Thierry 2002: 78, fig. 46.

¹¹⁴ Megaw’s monograph of the church was an important contribution to Cypriot architectural history, but contains many problems concerning its chronology and reconstructions. This will be discussed at length below. The anecdotal destruction of the mosaic by Arabs was initially discussed by Jakov Smirnov (1897: 1-93).

¹¹⁵ Megaw and Hawkins 1977.

¹¹⁶ 1961:199.

¹¹⁷ The foundations of this narthex were first uncovered during the cleaning of the area (Papageorghiou 1965a:94-96).

¹¹⁸ In the nave the central dome is slightly larger than the other two, measuring about 11 feet in diameter. George Soteriou’s plans are approximately correct, but not labeled correctly (1935).

¹¹⁹ 1965: 96.

¹²⁰ 1974: 78.

¹²¹ The fine masonry of the barrel-vaulted basilicas led Enlart to hypothesize that a French Romanesque architect built them (1899: 395). There is no difference between the barrel-vaulted basilicas and Agios Georgios.

¹²² 1974:74,76.

¹²³ He provided these references: H. A. S. Gibb, *Arab-Byzantine relations*, 230 ff. He also wrote: “The export of columns from Byzantium to Islamic territory is testified by Theophanes for the same year when Justinian II attempted to transfer the Cypriots to the Hellespont, i.e. in 691. According to Theophanes Abd-al-Malik, who wanted to take the columns from the church at Gethsemane, was persuaded by Serghius, his general logothete, and another eminent Christian, Patrikius, not to do so (Theophanes, 365: 21ff.)” (1961:84 n. 3).

¹²⁴ 1961:84.

¹²⁵ Megaw 1974:78 n.81; for Messembria-Nessebar and Tolmeita-Ptolemais see Krautheimer 1986: 268, pl. 230; 275 pl. 237.

¹²⁶ Kleinbauer 1965: 2-11.

¹²⁷ Sodini 1998: 619-634.

¹²⁸ Megaw 1986:518

¹²⁹Eutychius of Alexiandria (fl. 932 and 940) wrote “...the people Cyprus sent to him [Patriarch Thomas of Jerusalem (ca. 807-820)] fifty trunks of cedar and fir trees,” supposedly for the rebuilding of the Holy Sepulchre and its basilica (*Historia universalis*, PS: Migne, PG 111 col. 1130).

¹³⁰ Megaw provided these examples of earlier barrel-vaulted churches: “The Fortress Church” at Tolmeita in Cyrenaica (C. H. Kraeling, *Ptolemais* (Chicago, 1962, 1, 97ff.); at Belovo in Bulgaria (A. Grabar and W. Emerson, *Bulletin of the Byzantine Institute*, 1 [1946], 45 fig. 2); basilica of St. George in Astypalaia (P. E. Lazarides, in *Περὶ αρχαῖν τῶν Θ' Διεθνούς Βυζ. Συνεδρίου, Ελληνικά Παρότ.* 7, vol. 1 [Athens, 1951, 236f.] (1974: 78 n. 81).

¹³¹ Michel and Picirillo 2001:169.

¹³² Krautheimer 1986: 108, 110. In Cappadocia, this aesthetic was later transferred to the rock-cut architecture, such as the large monastery at Imbrassos.

¹³³ Here is a brief list of recorded Arab raids from both Arab and Byzantine sources:

- 648/9 First Arab invasion under Muawiyah (Soloï inscription, PS: Tabari IV, 258; Theophanes 478, 343-4; Delehaye, Life of St. Therapon, *Acta Sanctorum Maii*, VI, 684-5)
- 653/654 Second Arab invasion led by Abu'l A'war al Sulami (Balāduri, *Futūh* 209).
- 691—698 Justinian II creates Nea Justinianopolis on the Cyzicus peninsula in the Sea of Marmara, and transports the Cypriots and the archbishop there (Theophanes, AM 6183). Arab raid happens the same year (Dikigoropoulos 1958: 101 n. 42).
- ca. 707 “Eighteen mule-loads of gold and silver” from Cyprus was used for the construction of the Mosque of Damascus (Muqaddasi, cited by Creswell 1932:101).
- 743 Walid-Ibn-Yezid raids Cyprus and deports scores of Cypriots to Syria (PS: Agapius, 511-2).
- 773 Arab raid resulting in the capture of Laherfavos, a prosopon (high official?) on the island (Theophanes, AM 6264).
- 805/6 Theophanes writes “[Aaron]... also dispatched a fleet to Cyprus, destroyed the

churches there, deported the Cypriots, and, by causing much devastation, violated the peace treaty" (AM 6298). The Arab historian, Tabari, reports the deportation of 16,000 Cypriots to Raqqā (Treadgold 408 n. 193.)

- 807 Humaid b. Ma'yüf, governor of the coast of Syria, carried out the raids on Rhodes and Cyprus (Theophanes AM 6300, Treadgold, Revival, 148)
- 846-856 Emperor Basil I established Cyprus as a theme under a certain Archon named Alexius (Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Thematibus* 40 ; Dikigoropoulos 1940-1948: 105-7). The historicity of this has been challenged by Christides(2006:69)
- 912 Four-month Arab raid, led by Damianus, Emirate of Tarsus (PS: Mas‘ūdi, *Murij*, vol. VIII, 282-283)

¹³⁴ Psalms 18:10 (similar verses: 61:3, 122:7).

¹ This brief ancient history of Salamis is derived from several authors (i.e. Yon 1993, 1980; Karageorghis 1999; Hill 1940). Concerning the Jewish revolt see Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 68.32.2; mentioned also in the 6th century *Liber Nominum Locorum*: “Salamis, civitas in Cypro insula, nunc Constantia dicta, quam Trajani principis tempore, Judaei interfectis omnibus accolis deleverunt.” The number of reported deaths seems highly exaggerated, especially if all those killed were Jewish (Hill 1940:242).

² Theophanes records two devastating earthquakes at Salamis in 331 and 341 (*Chronographia*, AM 5824, AM 5834). Concerning the renaming Malalas wrote: “In his [Constantius’] reign [337-361] the city of Salamias in Cyprus suffered...the greater part of the city was plunged into the sea by an earthquake. The remainder was leveled to the ground. Constantius restored it and gave many extremely generous gifts, undertook buildings and remitted taxes from the surviving citizens for four years. As he provided a variety of buildings for what was previously known as Salamias, he had its name changed from that time to Constantia. It is now the metropolis of Cyprus” (*Chronographia* 12.48; PS: Jeffreys et al. 1986; and Elias bar Sinaya, *Chronographia*; PS: Delaporte 1910:65].

³ For Constantius II’s building campaign and especially his activity in Antioch see Henck (2001:294ff). Antioch was also renamed *Antiochia Constantia*. All this investment was due to the fact that the emperor made Antioch his capital and headquarters, in order to fight the Persian threat (Socrates Scholasticus, *Ecclesia historia* 2.47).

⁴ This information can be gleaned from the Vassos Karageorghis who excavated the site: *Excavating at Salamis in Cyprus 1952-1974* (A.G. Leventis Foundation, 1999); *Sculptures from Salamis I/II*. (Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, 1964/1966); see also Megaw 1955:44-45.

⁵ A recent study Epiphanius’ Vita was provided by Rapp (1991, 1993).

⁶ *De viris illustribus* 114.

⁷ These general comments are derived from reading several of his treatises that survive, such as *Anchoratus* and *Panarion* (see also Rapp 1991).

⁸ Sozomen 8.14. Theophanes writes: “Epiphanius set sail for Cyprus, for it seems that God forewarned him of his death. They say that he also revealed to John [Chrysostom] his death in exile and John told Epiphanius that his would be in a ship. Epiphanius said to those who were seeing him off, ‘I go in haste and I leave to you the books, the City, and the [art of] hypocrisy’ (*Chronographia*, AM 5898). According to his *Vita*, he died at the age of 115 (Rapp 1991:57).

⁹ Megaw 1974:61

¹⁰ The basilica itself measures 190 x 138 feet (58 x 42 m, 26,220 sq. ft.). If we include the adjacent unexcavated portions of St. Epiphanius (such as the narthex, atrium, baptistery, and classrooms), the entire complex might have covered over 100,000 sq. ft. As Susan Balderstone has observed, it was should be categorized as one of the “Great Churches” of the eastern Roman Empire, along with the Holy Sepulcher Basilica (Jerusalem), St. Simeon Sylites, St.

Babylas (Antioch), etc. (2007:70). With that being said, the largest 4th century basilicas were concentrated in Rome such as St. Paul “outside-the-wall” (319 x 80 ft; 24 x 97 m; 25,520 sq. ft), St. John Lateran (250 x 180 ft; 75 x 55 m; 45,000 sq. ft), and Old St. Peters (391 x 208 ft; 119 x 64 m; 81,328 sq. ft).

¹¹ The main similarities are the embedded side apses within the eastern wall (Delvoye 1976: 12; Megaw 1997: 348).

¹² See § II.1. above and § III.1.2. below.

¹³ This is based on the 6th century *Vita Epiphanii* by Polybius of Rhinocouda who was his disciple (PS: Migne PG 41 col. 84ff.; Rapp 1991:87).

¹⁴ The nine-aisle layout (including the nave) brings to mind the largest church in North Africa—Damous El Karita, near Carthage (Krautheimer 1986: 194-195). This particular structure also had nine-aisles and was considerably larger than Agios Epifanios [its length measured over 215 feet (65 m)]. Unfortunately little has been published this structure concerning its reconstruction and date.

¹⁵ Argout et al. 1975: 140-141; Callot 1985; Yon 1993:140. The size and location of Agios Epifanios clearly served as a foil to the Temple of Zeus. In fact, several scholars have mistaken the two remains, for example, a recent article misidentified a photograph of the Early Christian church of Agios Epifanios with the Temple of Zeus (Isabelle Dano, “Salamine de Chypre: Lieu de Legendes et d’Histoire,” *Histoire Antique* 30 (March-April 2007): 71.

¹⁶ The *Vita Epiphanii* described a refectory, living quarters, and guest rooms in archbishop’s palace for both clergy and monks (Rapp 1991: 148, 149). For a full analysis of the Early Christian church see Delvoye (1976:10-11) and Papageorghiou (1985b:301ff).

¹⁷ Karageorghis 1960: 288, 290.

¹⁸ The community of 80 monks (“brothers”) are well attested in the *Vita Epiphanii* (Rapp 1991:149).

¹⁹ Theodore the Studite, apparently read the *Vita of Epiphanius* by Polybius or visited the cathedral: “We know that Epiphanius was a saint and a great performer of miracles. After he died his student and relative, Sabinos, [erected a shrine] in his honor, and had it decorated with murals depicting all of evanglic history” [Ἐπιφάνιον ἴσμεν καὶ ἄγιον καὶ μέγιστον ἐν θαυματουργίαις, οὗ νεών ἥγειρε μετὰ πόταμον Σαβῖνος ὁ ἐκεῖνος αὐτοῦ μαθητής, διαγεγραμμένον ἐκ πάσης εὐαγγελικῆς ἱστορίας] (PS: *Antirrheticus* II, PG 99 col. 387B, my transl.). Concerning these mosaics, Claudia Rapp, has identified three episodes in the *Vita* that seem to be describing three panels: (1) Epiphanius is shown between his disciples John and Polybius. He is bald, resembles Elijah, holds grapes in one hand and money in the other; (2) Faustinus is healed by the saint who stands over him, with other Roman officials around; (3) Epiphanius is on a ship between two disciples, holding a codex to his chest, while a storm brews around him (1991:86,87). Gunnis recorded that “when the ruins were cleaned a few years [ago]...thousands of golden and coloured mosaics cubes were found in the debris” (1936:422).

No doubt he is referring to Jeffery's excavation (1928: 344-349). The whereabouts of these tesserae are unknown.

²⁰ *Historia Ecclesiastica* 7.27. It is possible that Salaminius Hermias Sozomenus (c. 375-c. 447) was from Salamis, according to his pronomen. Since he spilled much ink on Ss. Epiphanius and Hilarion, who spent the remainders of their lives in Cyprus. Sozomen's descriptions indicate that he had some connection to Cyprus, even if he lived in Constantinople. In his *Historia Ecclesiastica* he recounted that his grandfather and other relatives were converted to Christianity by Hilarion himself while in Gaza (5.15). Yet Patrick Healy argues that "the supposition that [he] had some connection with Salamis in Cyprus has no foundation" in his entry in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 14 (1912).

²¹ For example, the Piacenza Pilgrim wrote "Leaving Constantionple we came to the island of Cyprus and the city of Constantia, the resting place of Saint Epiphanius. It is a beautiful and pleasant city with lovely date palms" (Wilkinson 1977:79). Other pilgrims recorded visits to Cyprus, such as Anastasius Sinaita [(the early 6th c.) *Quaestiones* 94, PS: Migne, PG 89 col. 1733A] and Willibald of Eichstatt [(first quarter, 8th c.) PS: Huneberc, *Vita seu Hodoporicon* II.16]. The monk Epiphanios Hagiopolita instructed pilgrims in the 8th or 9th century to start their journey to the Holy Land from Cyprus: "First, after passing through Cyprus head towards Tyre and from there travel south for eight days [*Πρῶτον μὲν περάσας εἰς Κύπρον ζήτει τὴν τύπον ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Τύρου, περιπατεῖς ἡμέρας ὀκτώ*]" (Epiphanius the Monk, *The Holy City*, my transl.; PS: Donner 1971:66).

²² Roux 1998:249; see also Michaelides 1993: 74-75.

²³ Remains of a large complex to the west of the Campanopetra church, which have not been excavated, could be remnants of the episcopal palace or a monastery (Roux 1998:250 n.57). Large double cathedrals are known in throughout the Early Christian period, such as the Cathedrals at Trier, Aquileia, and Geneva—but Agios Epifanios and the Campanopetra are not joined architecturally.

²⁴ See notes III.2 and 3 above.

²⁵ Canon 8 (PS: Percival 1900: 234-235).

²⁶ Peter the Fuller was a Monophysite cleric who enjoyed special favor by the Emperor Zeno. Under his authority, the Antiochene archbishopric extended its authority over all of Syria and orthodox leaders were deposed.

²⁷ See below §V.2.1.

²⁸ Downey 1958; Hackett 1901: 13-32; Hill 1940: 273-279. Concerning the discovery of St. Barnabas' tomb, see PS: Deun 1993.

²⁹ The process of autocephaly has been outlined by Hackett (1901: 13-32), Downey (1958), Hill (1940: 278), Dikigoropoulos (1965: 263), and Englezakis (1995:83-93, 1996: 71-104). The rights

and regalia, according to tradition, were first bestowed by the Emperor Zeno in the 5th century. These rights would ensure the autocephaly of the Cypriot Church. Wharton (1988: 173 n. 2) has questioned the historicity of these rights, since she could not trace it no earlier than Phillipos Georgiou (1875). However, this tradition was clearly described a century earlier by Giovanni Mariti who wrote that the archbishop of Cyprus had “the privilege of signing his name in red letters; of bearing at all pontifical ceremonies the crown and terrestrial globe in his left hand, and the scepter in his right, and of being clothed with the royal mantle” (PS: Biddle 1972:103; PS: Cobham 1909:71). Evidence of these rights can be seen on manuscripts dating from the sixteenth century, where the archbishop signs in red, and the regalia exhibited in the Byzantine Museum in Nicosia. Even when Cyprus’ autocephaly was challenged in the eighteenth century by the archbishop of Jerusalem and Greek scholars in the early twentieth century, the royal rights of the Cypriot archbishop was not questioned.

³⁰PS: McVey 1983:95.

³¹ Megaw believed that such renovation would have necessitated new roofing and rearrangement (1956: 30). However, the outer walls and adjacent aisles could still have supported a gallery and the original timber roof.

³² One sign of influence are the accounts of several Cypriots who left the island and founded monasteries or headed churches of other parts of the world, such as Younan Al-Anbar, George of Choziba, Patriarch John the Almsgiver of Alexandria, and the Patriarch Paul IV of Constantinople (PS: Mansouri 2001:33; PS: Vivian and Athanassakis 1994; PS: Dawes and Baynes 1948). According to Jerome many monasteries were erected around Salamis because of St. Epiphanius’ reputation and learning (*Epistola ad Eustochium* 108.7.3). For the importance of Cypriot thinkers in the intellectual life of the Early Byzantine period, see the synopsis in Kruger (PS: 1996: Chapter 1).

³³ Concerning Cypriot ceramics see Hayes (1980:375-388, 1972); for timber see Megaw (1986:517) and Gounaridis (1996: 175-184). I have not been able to historically verify Hill’s suggestion of a 6th c. silk production center on Cyprus (1940:280-281). However, Arab sources record a robust Cypriot silk industry from the 10th century onwards (Muthesius 2001:369-70).

³⁴ Procopius mentions that Justinian contributed to the renovation of the St. Conan’s “poor-house” and aqueduct, both probably near Paphos (*De Aedificiis* V.ix.36; Hill 1940: 280). A scholarly survey of 6th century churches of Cyprus is lacking; however, archaeology has uncovered some exceptional examples: Panagia Limeniotissa (Kourion), Panagia Kanakaria (Lythrakomi) (Megaw 1977), Panagia Angeloktisti (Kiti) (Foulias 2006), Agios Georgios (Pegia) (Papageorgiou 1985b: 314-316). It seems that all the marble furnishings for these churches, including their columns, were exported to the island from the capital or the Aegean (see Raptis and Basileiadou 2005; Michaelides 1988).

³⁵ One possible Persian attack in 619 is discussed below.

³⁶ Six surviving inscriptions from the Salamis aqueduct record the Archbishops of Cyprus, Plutarch and Arcadius from 618-630 (Pouilloux 1987:83-85; Sodini 1998: 619-634).

³⁷ The mint of Cyprus was allowed to produce copper *folles*, which were used for everyday market trading and are found in locations outside of Cyprus. The mint seems to have been open during the reign of Heraclius and closed during the reign of Constans II (Grierson 1968: 41; Dikigoropoulos 1940-1948: 97; Hill 1940:282-3).

³⁸ The majority of Byzantine coins found on the island date to Heraclius' reign. These are found through excavation and through the discovery of hoards. For example, the French excavations at Salamis uncovered 810 legible Byzantine coins; of these 308 date to the time of Heraclius (Callot 2004:133-134). Likewise, Rowe (2004) has studied the percentages of Late Roman coins found during excavations of a street in Paphos; after the 7th century, coins are absent until the 11th century in this context. We must also keep in mind that most coins discovered in Cyprus come from hoards dating from the 7th century, which preserve coins from that era in large quantities—this skews our sampling data (Dikigoropoulos 1962: 279-287, 1956:255-65).

³⁹ See Evangelos Chrysos' arguments in Bryer and Georghallides (1993:3-14).

⁴⁰ Mango 1984: 25-41.

⁴¹ Claire Balandier has theorized that the coastal cities of Cyprus were fortified by Heraclius (1999, 2003). However, no evidence was provided. On the other hand, there is coin evidence that the fortification of Salamis took place after 630, long after the Persians were a threat to the island (see § III.1.4. below).

⁴² *Monophysitism* was a theological approach to understanding the nature of Jesus Christ, asserting that he had only one nature, not two as its opponents taught, and that nature was divine and *not* human. This contrasted with the traditional ("orthodox") view that Christ had two natures, divine and human. The main proponents of Monophysitism were located in Armenia, Syria, and Egypt, while the traditional view held sway in the rest of the Empire. By the sixth century the debate had divided the Empire. Heraclius sought to solve the problem by formulating a compromise, now known as *Monotheletism*, which conceded that Christ had two natures, but only one divine will. Cyprus role in the compromise was described by the Third Council of Constantinople in 680 (PS: Mansi, XI, 525B, 561AB).

⁴³ This was characterized by J.B. Bury: "Perhaps the success of this attempt at unity on a small scale within the limits of the island encouraged him to apply afterwards the same balm to the wounds of the entire Empire" [*A History of the Late Roman Empire: From Arcadius to Irene* 2 (New York: Macmillan And Co, 1889): 251].

⁴⁴ Maximus the Confessor, *Epistle* 20; Sherwood 1952: 5, 6, 34; PS: Kruger 1996:4.

⁴⁵ PS: Brock 1973: 299–346; PS: Mansi, X 913; see note III.98 below. Another earlier synod was called around 399 by the archbishop Epiphanius which condemned the teachings of Origen (Socrates Scholasticus, *Ecclesia Historia* 6.10; Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 8.14; Hackett 1901: 12-13).

⁴⁶ The Arabic historical documents relating to Cyprus has been conveniently translated into French by Mansouri (2001). A useful historical summary and commentary was recently provided by Christides (2006).

⁴⁷ For the Byzantine and Arab accounts of the first Arab invasions see Christides (2006); Beihammer (2002a: 41–62, 2002b:47-68); Kyrris (1994-1998: 185-236, 1982: 144-175); Jenkins (1953:1006-1014); Papageorghiou (1964: 152-158, 1986-1988: 167-175). The resentment of Monophysite Christians towards the Byzantine Empire is apparent in the writings of Syrian chroniclers (*Chronicle of Zuqnin*; PS: Harrak1999; PS: Dionysius of Tel-Mahré, *Chronicle*).

⁴⁸ A few Arabic sources provide more conservative numbers such as 120 or 250 (Christides 2006: 19ff.).

⁴⁹ Though Dionysius is writing two centuries after the events took place, his sources were earlier, and this account is supported by archaeological evidence (*Chronicle* §96, PS: Palmer 1993:174-175). Also mentioned by Michael the Syrian, *Chronicles* II 442 (PS: Chabot 1899-1910). Theophanes wrote “Mauias invaded Cyprus by sea. He had 1,700 ships, and took Constantia and the whole island, which he laid waste” (*Chronographia*, AM 6140; PS: Mango and Scott 1997).

⁵⁰ Both Byzantine and Arab historians discuss no official resistance to the Arab invasions (Christides 2006: 16ff.). There is evidence of an ancient earthen rampart around the city of Salamis (**fig.III.10**), but by the 7th century, this would not have been considered much of a defense (Balandier 2003:261-273).

⁵¹ This excavation was never published. The best testimony to its finding comes from the excavator's Ph.D. dissertation (Dikigoropoulos 1961: 180-190) and brief reports (Megaw 1956, 1957, 1974), and other publications (i.e. Karageorghis). There is textual evidence that the Arabs were responsible for burning churches, recorded by the Soloi basilica inscription (§II.1.3 above; Des Gagniers and Tinh 1985: 117-125; Feissel 1987: 380-381) (see also Karageorghis 1969:197-198; Centre National 1980).

⁵² 1928:347.

⁵³ See note II.34 and 35 above.

⁵⁴ This initial treaty is recorded by Al-Baladhuri (d. ca. 892) and Abu'Ubayd al-Qasim b. Sallam (770-838). The historian Abi J'afar Muhammad ibn Jarir al-Tabari (838-923) recorded an additional condition: “And in the treaty between them [the Cypriots] and him [Mu'awiya], was that they should marry women of our enemies only after our authorization” (PS: Tabari, I, 2826-2827; PS: Caetani 1977: 224-5; PS: Mansouri 2001:29). Based on the context, the enemies that Tabari was referring to were citizens of the Byzantine Empire; which means that Cyprus was not considered part of the Empire. The prohibition to marrying members of the Empire, tried to abolish any sentimental connections to the Empire. It was in the best interests of the Arabs to alienate the Cypriots from the Empire. Christides argued that these sources confuse the initial treaty, whatever it was, with the later treaty concluded by Justinian II and Abd al-Malik in 686

(see note III.85 below) (2006:31ff.). Even if this were the case, some treaty must have been drawn up, which allowed the Arabs to occupy Cyprus until 688.

⁵⁵ Theophanes *Chronographia*, AM 6140; see also Conrad (1992: 317-401).2

⁵⁶ PS: Mansouri 2001:33 [my translation].

⁵⁷ George Hill was basing his account on the Chronicle of Michael the Syrian (1126-1199) (1940:285), who wrote: “But as the Lord had set his mind on the devastation of the island, he soon excited Aboul’l-awar and his army to come to Cyprus, for a second time...when they arrived, the inhabitants were afraid. When the Taiyaye (Muslim Arabs) entered, they pulled out the inhabitants from the caves and pillaged the island completely. They besieged the city of Pathos [Lapithos?] and the reduced them by combat. When the inhabitants asked to negotiate, Aboul’l-awar said he would take the gold, money and wealth and that he would not do any evil to the inhabitants. They opened the city to him. The Taiyaye assembled its wealth and returned to Syria” (*Chronicon*; PS: Chabot 1899-1910: 442). Scholars have been quick to doubt Michael the Syrian’s account (Catling and Dikigoropoulos 1970:57-58). For example, Christides writes “The statements of the Christian sources describing ruthless persecutions of the Cypriots and the killing of innocent people in caves are exaggerated.” However, Christides seemingly contradicts himself when he affirms these Christian sources: “...there is important additional material from other sources, some non-extant” (2006:26,141).

⁵⁸ See § II.1.3 above.

⁵⁹ Pitsillides and Metcalf 1995, 1997; Dikigoropoulos 1940-1948: 97, 1962:279ff.

⁶⁰ Papageorghiou 1970: 4-19; 1993: 35-36; 1996: 55-62.

⁶¹ Papageorghiou 1986-1988: 167-175; 1964b: 152-158; Christides 2006: 65-68. A grave of an Arabic warrior was also found in Paphos, but the excavation was never published by Daszewski (Megaw 1986: 519).

⁶² Christides 2006:30, 41.

⁶³ As Christides describes, there is some confusion in the Arabic sources. “Balāduri reports two traditions; according to the first, the city was destroyed by the Arabs, while according to the second the Cypriots destroyed it” (*ibid*, 31).

⁶⁴ Megaw 1988: 135-150. A complete survey of early Islamic artifacts on Cyprus has not been produced. Several archaeologists have mentioned Arab graves discovered in their excavations, but subsequently never published them (e.g. see Daszewski’s comments in Megaw 1986:518). Seventeen Arabic inscriptions have been found in Cyprus (Christides 2006: 113-132; Papageorghiou 1969: 82-88; 1981: 42 n. 51; 1986-1988: 167-175).

⁶⁵ Nesbitt and Oikonomides 1991:101.

⁶⁶ Pitsilides and Metcalf 1995:1-13. A historical argument against this thesis was provided by Christides (2006:39).

⁶⁷ These numbers are based on the legible coin finds (Callot 2004: 99-104). Thirteen of these Umayyad coins dated before 680. Of the Byzantine coins, 194 were from Constans II (641-668); seven from Justinian II (685-695); five from Leo III (695-698); eleven from Tiberius (698-705); two from Constantine V (741-775). No coins from subsequent Byzantine emperors were discovered, except for one dating from late tenth century, Basil II (976-1025). Therefore, it is rather curious that Pitsillides and Metcalf make this rather curious statement that “there were no copper coins from after 691 from the site [Salamis-Constantia]: none was identified” (1995:10). Apparently they neglected to question the excavators, who were planning the publication on these very coins when this article came out.

⁶⁸ In addition to the coin finds at Salamis-Constantia, Pitsilides and Metcalf record 33 Islamic and 14 Byzantine coins dating from mid-seventh to the tenth century, found throughout the island (1995:1-13; 1997:1-7).

⁶⁹ A now lost letter of Arcadius was cited in the thirteenth session of the council (PS: Mansi XI: 561) [from henceforth, Mansi’s work will be referenced by volume and column only]. The particular work of Athanasius was called “Now my Soul is Troubled” (*Nῦν ἡ Ψυχή μου Τετάρακται* [title taken from John 12:27]) (PS: Mansi XI, 597).

⁷⁰ The relationship between the Cypriot church and Maximus the Confessor will be discussed below (VI.3.5).

⁷¹ Browning speculated that “In 679/80 Constantine IV, now negotiating from a position of relative strength, signed a 30 year peace with the aged Caliph Mu’awiya, whose grandiose plans had all met with failure. Most sources make no direct mention of Cyprus. But Al-Baladhuri believes that the Arab garrison was then withdrawn from the island. Certainly some agreement must have been reached regarding Cyprus, but we do not know the nature of those concessions” (1977-1979:104).

⁷² Karageorghis 1960: 288, 290.

⁷³ Dikigoropoulos 1961:210-215.

⁷⁴ Roux 1998:250.

⁷⁵ This new, massive rampart could not have been built before 630, since the wall cut into a previous layer containing a coin of the Emperor Heraclius, providing a *terminus post quem* date (Megaw 1957:50). Dikigoropoulos further stated that an Umayyad coin was found above the walls, dating to the first quarter of the eighth century, indicating that the wall was not later (1961:214). Karageorghis reported that evidence was found indicating that “the fortification wall had been erected following the Arab invasions of the middle of the 7th century,” though he does not state the nature of that evidence (1960:290, my transl.). Megaw originally dated this wall to after the Arab raids due to the burnt material found in the mortar. Claire Balanadier reluctantly

accepts this hypothesis, but entertained the possibility that it was erected preemptively to guard against the Persians or the Arabs (Balandier 2003:261-273). In a footnote she wrote: “La présence d'éléments brûlés dans le mortier de la construction est attestée également dans les constructions des Croisés. On peut donc se demander s'il peut s'agir d'un procédé de construction et non du recours à un matériau provenant d'une zone ayant subi un incendie” (Balandier 1999: 676 n.16). The fact that Crusader mortar also contains burnt material should not lead us to doubt Megaw's original chronology. First, the use of burnt material in mortar, as a construction technique, is not attested in Cyprus at any other period, including the Crusader 11th—13th centuries. Second, there is no scientific reason why burnt material in mortar should be preferred to non-burnt material for construction. And third, Crusader architecture was usually constructed on previously burnt premises. Furthermore, it stretches the imagination that the Cypriots would destroy their classical city by building a enormous wall, motivated by rumors of attack, which had very little credibility or precedence in the Roman period. Historical accounts also continually mention that the Cypriots were caught off guard with no Byzantine garrison, and therefore, no defendable walls. Moreover, there is evidence of rebuilding in Salamis into the late 7th century (Catling and Dikigoropoulos 1970:53-56 n. 13). I have an alternative thesis, that the Arabs built the wall after the archbishop left in 691. The wall's masonry is identical to the Arab tower built at the Panagia Limeniotissa in Paphos. However, this is a thesis that must be explored elsewhere.

⁷⁶ For example, the French city of Autun changed rapidly from a classical to a medieval city by the seventh century. Rome withdrew her troops and it was overrun by the Arian Goths in the fifth century. The aristocrats of the city as well as the clergy welcomed the change in leadership. Soon the city shrunk to less than 10 percent of its original size, indicating a much smaller population. The new curtain wall refocused the center of the city towards the cathedral at its heart. This also corresponded to the clergy governing the city. The classical city, with its theater and forum, as well as the other defensive walls, was allowed to be mined for spoils or left to decay. Just like Salamis, the *cardo maximus* was built over, while a new main street led to the new rampart, straight to the church [for Autun, see A. Rebourg, “L’urbanisme d’Augustodunum” *Gallia* 55 (1998): 141-237; C. Sapin, “Autun, cité mérovingienne,” *Les dossiers, histoire et archéologie*, May (1981): 32-39; and W. Berry, “Southern Burgundy in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages” in C. Crumley and W. Marquardt (eds.), *Regional Dynamics: Burgundian Landscapes in Historical Perspective*. (San Diego: Academic Press, 1987): 447 – 609]. The city of York in northern England more or less developed along the same lines [L Butler, *Clifford's Tower and the Castles of York* (London: English Heritage,1997)].

⁷⁷ 1961:179-181. Dikigoropoulos subsequently published his dating methodology a few years later (Catling and Dikigoropoulos 1970: 43-59). His observations have been affirmed by other research (Hayes 1980:375-388; 1972 and Rautman 2003; Rautman et. al. 1991). Rowe (2004) has argued against this traditional dating scheme, suggesting that the Cypriot Red Slip pottery and the Kornos Cave wares date as early as the sixth century. Her method of dating pottery is based on identifying coins found at the same levels. However coins become rarer after the Arab raids, and so, shards found at these later levels are not considered in her analysis. That is why most archaeologists are not persuaded by her interpretation of data.

⁷⁸ Englezakis has proven that “Justinianopolis” was the new name of the city of Artake on the Cyzicus Peninsula (1995: 67-68).

⁷⁹ George Jeffery recorded remains of a Byzantine chapel above the altar area (1928:347). However, no trace of a later building survives. Perhaps what he actually observed were traces of the chancel walls and mistook them for foundations.

⁸⁰ Karageorghis 1960: 288, 290.

⁸¹ Megaw discussed “walled-bemas” at length (1977:31-34). Other examples are known in Palestine, such as the church of Siloam (Kefar Shiloah) in Jerusalem was destroyed in the 6th century and subsequently rebuilt as a domed basilica with square piers to support the dome and a walled bema (F. Bliss, *Excavations at Jerusalem, 1894-1897* (London: Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 1898):178-210; Ovadiah 1970, cat. no.4.

⁸² See note III.75 above.

⁸³ There is further evidence of rebuilding in Salamis up till the time of Justinian II (685-711) (Catling and Dikigoropoulos 1970:53-56 n. 13).

⁸⁴ Haldon 1997: 60.

⁸⁵ Theophanes *Chronographia*, AM 6178; Michael the Syrian, *Chronicon* (PS: Chabot 1899-1910 II: 470)

⁸⁶ *Chronographia*, AM 6183.

⁸⁷ Dikigoropoulos argued that “Nea Justinianopolis” was actually a renaming of the city of Salamis-Constantia, after a renovation campaign of Justinian II (1962: 31ff). This was proven incorrect by (Englezakis 1995: 63-82); see also Hill 1940: 228-9; Dikigoropoulos 1940-1948: 94-114, 1965-66: 237-279.

⁸⁸ Ibid, see also Kyrris (1994-1998: 185-236).

⁸⁹ The Greek term for *dome*, *τρούλλος* (cupola), is derived from the more prehistoric word *θόλος* (dome). Anastasius of Jerusalem wrote that the Sixth Council took place “in basilica, quae Trullus appellatur, intra palatium” while the surviving *Acts* state “ἐντῷ σκηνέτῳ τουθειοπαλτίου, τῷ ουτωλεγομένῳ Τρούλλῳ.” (PS: Percival 1900: n.617). Some scholars, particularly Asseman argue that the Sixth Council as well as the Council in Trullo took place in Agia Sophia (PS: Percival 1900: 356 n. 340)

⁹⁰ PS: Percival 1900: 383.

⁹¹ See note III.96 below. It should also be remembered that Cyzicus had a long tradition of strong archbishops, like the famous theologian Gelasius (5th c.).

⁹² PS: Percival 1900: 383-384 notes.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Englezakis 1995: 64; Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, 47.224.

⁹⁵ 1995:78. The Greek edition that Mansi uses states “Ιουστινιανόπολιν τον δίκαιον εχειν τῆς Κωνσαντινουπόλεως” (PS: XI 961).

⁹⁶ A thorough discussion of this controversy is provided by Hackett (1901: 41-47).

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ The loyalty of the Cypriots to Heraclius based on “Green Party” affiliation is simplistic. In 649, on the cusp of the Arab raid, the Archbishop of Cyprus Sergius, wrote a letter to Pope Theodore condemning the Monothelete heresy, which was formulated by Heraclius and adopted by the Patriarch of Constantinople (PS: Mansi X 913; Kyrris 1999: 214). This action aligned Cyprus with the papacy and St. Maximus the Confessor. This act contributed to the apathy of the Empire when the island was invaded.

⁹⁹ 1995:71.

¹⁰⁰ The English term *president* is derived from classical Latin *praesident-*, *praesidens* means “governor,” in post-classical Latin, the term is applied to the head of a Christian community (as used by Tertullian, early 3rd cent) (*Oxford English Dictionary*). While the early church fathers, such as Eusebius of Caesarea (275–339) and Gregory of Nazianzus (329–389), use the term *proedros* to refer to any bishop, by the sixth century it appears that the title was reserved for the patriarchates, as applied by Theodoret (393–457) or Evagrius Scholasticus (late sixth century) (Salaville 1930:418–420). Also throughout the Byzantine Empire the term was continuously used to designate secular positions as governor.

¹⁰¹ Rome did not accept Constantinople as a patriarchate until 1215 at the Fourth Lateran Council (PS: Percival 1900: 288-291; see also the entry “Patriarchates” in the *The Oxford dictionary of Byzantium*, v. 3, pg. 1599; Bréhier 1938: 194ff.).

¹⁰² *Kirche und theologische Literatur in byzantinische Reich* (Munich, 1959):68; transl. by Englezakis (1995:84).

¹⁰³ The weakening of the patriarchate pentarchy enabled the Heraclian dynasty to literally monopolize the power of the church. What else could explain the brazen torture and killing of Pope Martin and St. Maximus the Confessor by Emperor Constans II, and the attempted arrest of the Antiochene Pope Sergius I by Justinian II? The antagonism between the Heraclian dynasty and Rome can only be understood in the context of the weakened Christian church, enervated by the Monophysite/Monothelete controversies and the Arab conquest.

¹⁰⁴ The repatriation was mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus: “But after seven[teen] years, by God’s will the emperor [Tiberios III] was moved to populate Cyprus again, and he sent to the “commander of the faithful” of Baghdad three of the illustrious Cypriots, natives of the same island, called Phangoumeis (Φαγγουμεῖς)...asking him to dismiss the folk of the island of Cyprus that were in Syria...and the emperor...sent an imperial agent and carried over those who had settled in Romania, that is, at Cyzicus...and the island was populated” (*De administrando imperio*, 47; PS: Moravcsik and Jenkins 1967: 225). Dikigoropoulos argued that the existing copies of Porphyrogenitus miscopied “7” years for “17” (based on an opinion by George Ostrogorsky), so the Cypriots were repatriated in 707, not 699 as stated. This was accepted by Kyrris (1994–1998:22ff.), but dismissed by Englezakis (1995:81). I am following Dikigoropoulos’ suggestion here.

¹⁰⁵ It is possible that the archbishop’s willingness to go along with Justinian II’s scheme, caused resentment among the episcopal sees. Peter L’Huillier wrote: “At the Synod in Trullo Bishop John of New Justiniana appeared on the list of signatories right after George of Antioch, but a century later, at the seventh ecumenical council, 787, the signature of Constantine of Constantia appeared after that of the metropolitan of Ephesus. This makes us think that there was an eclipse, *de facto* if not *de jure*, of the Cypriot autocephaly” [*The Church of the Ancient Councils* (Crestwood, NY, St. Vladimir’s Press, 2000):169]. There might have been a slight demotion, but as Englezakis has argued, Cyprus’ autocephaly has always remained secure (1995:83–92).

¹⁰⁶ His descriptions of the mystical liturgy will be discussed at length in §VI.3.5 below.

¹⁰⁷ The survey antiquities of Cyzicus has been described in F. W. Hasluck’s *Cyzicus* (Cambridge, University Press, 1910), but ignores the Byzantine monuments (if any still stood in his day).

¹⁰⁸ 1986:509.

¹⁰⁹ Hill suggested that Mu‘awiya might have turned Agios Epifanios into a mosque (1940:285). If the walls were indeed built by the Arabs, they would have occupied the cathedral complex. This would also explain the presence of early Islamic coins found in the city.

¹¹⁰ Creswell 1932:101.

¹¹¹ As Jacques Heyman remarked, the engaged pier acted as a thickening of a wall, and within an arcade can carry much more weight than a wall of similar thickness (1995:83–91). The eight square piers that upheld Agios Epiphanius’ domes measured roughly 25 square feet (1.75 m on each side)—a total of 200 square feet of dome support. The continued use of the square piers in the center of the side transverse arches provided additional, but superfluous stability. The side aisle vaults and piers also acted as buttresses for the dome supports, while the vertical thrust downward from the drums (like Gothic pinnacles) minimize the “sliding failure” exerted at the head of the pier, where the thrust of the transverse arches are concentrated (the discussion of these engineering principles are found Heyman 1995: 89–91; Viollet-le-Duc 2002: 28–29). Concerning the remains of the side aisle barrel-vaulting see the Cyprus Department of Antiquities photographic archive (negative # C37. Salamis.B.6552. North apse area debris in passage).

¹¹² A discussion and critique of other scholars' dating of Agios Epifanios and the multiple-domed group is provided in below in §VI.1.2. Megaw (1986: 516-517) argued that the three-domed phase dated to the early tenth century, as well as Dikigoropoulos (1961:188). Ćurčić has misrepresented Megaw, in stating that he (Megaw) dated the multiple-domed church earlier to the seventh century (Ćurčić 1999: 77 n. 29; *see* Megaw 1986: 508). Papageorghiou suggested that Agios Epifanios was the first three-domed church on Cyprus, dated to the eighth century—but he never provided reasons for this and he never repeated that assertion in his later publications (1966a:221).

¹¹³ Gypsum plaster has been found at every Early Christian church excavation; more recently, the 6th and early 7th century plaster of church interiors have been found at Maroni-Petrera and Kalavasos (Manning 2002; Rautman 2003).

¹¹⁴ While this dating goes against Megaw's publications, it coincides with Papageorghiou's sentiments. Early in his career, Papageorghiou suggested that the Phase 3 Agios Epifanios church dated to the 8th century and more recently stated "Agios Epifanios is very probably older" than the 9th century ("...9^ο αιώνα ...Αγίου Επιφανίου είναι πιθανότατα αρχαιότερος") (1966a:221; 1998:223). Though Papageorghiou provided no explanation for his suggestion, he remains the only living authority on Early Christian and Byzantine Cyprus, and his opinions come from a lifetime devoted to its study.

¹¹⁵ "Illi Cypri sedebant inter Græcos & Sarracenos, & inermes fuerant; quia *pax* maxima fuit & *concilatio* inter Sarracenos & Græcos" (Huneberc, *Vita seu Hodeporicon*, 257, 28; PS: Wright 1969:14).

¹¹⁶ This thesis will be further explained in § VI.3 below.

¹¹⁷ For example, the iconodule Peter of Atroa (773-837) visited Cyprus; his *Vita* states "[Peter] set off to Cyprus, where he traveled throughout it for ten months. After venerating, the sanctuaries of the island and delivered a lot of persons of their diseases as he wished, he returned to the mount Olympus and towards the brothers of his dispersed flock in groups" (PS: Laurent 1956:100). Concerning other possible visitors to Cyprus *see* Kyrris (1993:203-235).

¹¹⁸ Jenkins 1951-3: 1008, 1011.

¹¹⁹ I provide detailed arguments for this political arrangement for Cyprus (between 650 and 965) in §VI.3.4.

¹²⁰ This quote is from Theodore the Studite's paraphrase of the iconoclast argument (PS: Roth 1981:74). *See* note III.19 above and Sahas (PS: 1986a: 20 n. 87, 22ff).

¹²¹ *On Holy Images* I.30. (transl. by Mary Allies, *St. John Damascene's On Holy Images* (London: Thomas Baker, 1898); *see also* Rapp 1993:177.

¹²² PS: Mansi XIII, 205; Hackett 1901: 51.

¹²³ “Since there are three areas which are on our side and do not participate in this foul heresy [iconoclasm], I advise you to go...to the island of Cyprus” (*Vita Sancti Stephani Junioris*, PG 100, col. 1117, 1120.)

¹²⁴ PS: Theophanes, *Chronographia*, AM 6262; this is confirmed by the Georgian V. 614 *Romani* text (PS: Peeters 1911: 419). The idea of Cyprus as a Byzantine prison would linger until the twelfth century (see the account provided by Constantine Manasses below, §VI.3.5.3.).

¹²⁵ PS: Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 6264.

¹²⁶ Zonaras wrote that “Paul of Cyprus” was “a reader and orthodox [believer],” (*Chronicon* 15.9.8). Theophanes recorded that Paul was forced to become patriarch “under strong duress because of the dominant heresy” and described him as “brilliant in speech and action” (*Chronographia* AM 6272). The Council of Hiereia stated Paul was originally from Salamis-Constantia (PS: Mansi XII 577).

¹²⁷ The fourth session of the Council recorded how Cypriot archbishop was considered an authority of the Orthodox position and frequently interjected his opinion after each presentation. For example, in one proceeding he affirmed how John the Almoner (who was the patriarch of Alexiandria and a Cypriot) argued against Jewish iconoclasm (PS: Mansi XIII 43-54).

¹²⁸ Mansi, XIII 357B; transl. Sahas 1986a: 120.

¹²⁹ The archbishop told three accounts. The first concerned an iconoclast from Salamis-Constantia who entered an oratory dedicated to the Virgin (ευκτήριον οίκον τῆς ἀγίας θεοτόκου) and tried to pick out the eyes of the Virgin which were “colors painted on the wall” (χρωμάτων ἐν τῷ τοιχῷ / *coloribus factam in pariete*). He next tells a story concerning a church at Kition where a presumably local man attached a nail to the wall in order to place a curtain over St. Peter’s image. We can assume that this was at the cathedral of Kition, perhaps Agios Lazaros, since the bishop of Kition confirmed the archbishop’s story. The third story concerned a group of Cypriots from Kition who sailed to Jabaleh in Syria, where they encountered Muslim iconoclasts (PS: Mansi XIII 78-79, XII 993-4; Hackett 1901:52).

¹³⁰ Djobadze 1984:196-7.

¹³¹ Dikigoropoulos did not discuss the bricks found in his excavations (1961: 187-188, 190-192). This information was provided by Megaw instead (1974: 82 n.109). Today only a few clumps of bricks survive within the church. Based on photographs taken by Dikigoropoulos during his excavation, it seems that there were actually few brick specimens. It is clear that brick was not used in the first three phases of this building, which is totally devoid of brick in its foundations, walls, and side-aisle vaulting. The repair work with bricks during Phase 4 is analogous to the brickwork one finds at Agios Andreas at Peristerai (near Thessaloniki) (fig.VII.11). This multiple-domed church was built in the ninth century with local field stones and limestone. Some centuries later the domes collapsed and it was rebuilt with bricks. The later date of these domes is indicated by their square windows, framed by these bricks. Evidence of 12th century building in brick is found through Salamis-Constantia, such as at the Campanopetra and the

Temple of Zeus. These structures contain the similar bricks and the same thickness of mortar. Therefore we should not associate the bricks at Agios Epifanios with the initial construction of the domed basilica.

¹³² Neophytus recorded around 1159: “a strong earthquake suddenly shook the earth that I almost fell from my bed to the ground flat on my face. Such a quake occurred up to seven times during the night, and fourteen churches in the whole district of Paphos collapsed, including the great church of the Immaculate Theotokos, in the fortress of Paphos, which the people call the Limeniotissa” (Delehaye 1907: 211; PS: Pohlsander 1999: 146).

¹³³ The excavators state: “Un séisme détruisit les murs de la Campanopétra...a catastrophe se produisit probablement dans le cours du XIIIe siècle” (Roux 1998: 251). However, there is no reason why this damage could not have taken place a few decades earlier.

¹³⁴ PS: Cobham 1908:20. Father Noe recorded in the 15th c. that “...in the same city is the body of S. Epiphanius, which is shown entire and uncorrupt” (PS: Cobham 1908:53). It is not clear if Noe is referring to “Famagusta,” Salamina,” or “Constania” which he mentions in the same context.

¹³⁵ This inscription has not been published. Evidence for the inscription is provided by the Cyprus Department of Antiquities photographic archive (negative # C.23.Salamis.B.8773.Latin Inscription).

¹³⁶ In 1196 King Amaury established of a parallel Latin hierarchy on Cyprus, with its own archbishopric near the Latin capital of Nicosia—this was done without the consultation or consideration of the already established Greek-speaking (Orthodox) Church. Eventually the Cypriot archbishops were forced to swear fealty to the Roman pontiff. Around 1220, the archbishop Esias, and his successor Neophytos, renounced their fealty to the Pope, which resulted in their deposition and banishment. The Latin persecution of Orthodox clergy culminated in 13 Cypriot monks being gruesomely tortured to death (dragged by mules over sharp rocks). After the Ottoman conquest of 1571, the Sultan allowed the Cypriots to restore their Orthodox Church with all of its previous privileges and rights, including autocephaly (Hackett 1901:74-84, 93-95, 309, 194ff.).

¹³⁷ Tommaso Poracchi in the 1540s, Etienne de Lusignan in 1580, and Neophytos Rhodinos in the 1600s [PS: Cobham 1908: 167; PS: Valetas 1979: 189].

¹³⁸ Christophorus Furer von Haimendorf wrote: “In the church of S. George is the tomb of S. Epiphanius, with a Greek epitaph, the letters of which are so worn away by age as to be no longer decipherable” [*Itinerarium Aegypti, Arabiae, Palaestinae, Syriae, aliarumque regionum Orientalium* (Nuremberg: Wagenmann, 1621):105 translated by Jeffery (1915-16:129)]. Machairas wrote that a certain Epiphanius was venerated at Kythraia and that “His grave is in a solitary place and the church has been deserted...men have taken his sacred head and the icons and laid them in a safe place at Koutsovendi”; he also mentions Epiphanius relics connected to the Stavrovouni cross (PS: Dawkins 1932: I.31, 71).

¹³⁹ Von Oldenburg visited the site in the early 12th century and wrote “Near it [Famagusta] is the site of some city now destroyed, from which, they say came that famous and blessed Epiphanius who is commemorated in the Canon.” Likewise Von Boldensele wrote in 1333 that “the city Salamina or Constantia [is] now destroyed.” Martoni visited Salamis at the same time and seems to have walked around the ancient agora, but did not mention Agios Epifanios. Felix Faber mentions Epiphanius and how the archbishopric was transferred from Salamis to Famagusta in 1483. Martin von Baumgarten in 1508 wrote “Near the harbor of Salamina is a church, in one end whereof the Greeks, and in the other the Latins perform their divine worship.” However, Baumgarten seems to be conflating Salamis with Salina, the older name of Larnaka, and so he is actually referring to Agios Lazaros. In 1518 Jacques le Saige mentioned a “ruined church” in Salamis and that “...Old Famagusta [i.e. Salamis]...is cleane overthrown to the ground, to this day desolate and not inhabited by any person, it was of a great circuit, and there be to this day mountains of faire, great and strong, buildings...Moreover when they digge, plowe, or trench they finde sometimes olde antient coines, some of golde some of silver, and some of copper, yea and may tombes and vautes with sepulchers in them” (PS: Cobham 1908:14, 16, 24, 45, 54, 57, 70).

¹⁴⁰ “ΒΑΡΑΒΑΣ Ο ΑΠΟСΤΟΛΟΣ ΣΤΙΡΗΓΜΑ ΗΜΟΝ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΙΟC Ο ΜΕΓΑC ΕΠΙΑΡΧΟC ΗΜΟN” (Plat Taylor 1933:103; Sacopoulo 1962:66). I am convinced that this subterranean chapel dates to the sixth century on historical and stylistic grounds (*contra* Sacopoulo). If this hypothesis is right, we can attribute the cistern’s abandonment to the Arab raids. I am following Plat Taylor’s reconstruction of the inscription; Sacopoulo does not explain why she preferred πρόμαχος (defender) to ἐπαρχος (governor). Plat Taylor’ reading, as the excavator with first-hand examination of the plaster, is more reliable.

¹ Strabo, *Geographia* 14.6.4; The “hortulo Cyprī” is mentioned in Jerome’s *Vita S. Hilaronis* 47. There is some debate concerning where St. Hilaron built his dwelling. Today his shrine is near Episkopi about 24 miles (40 km) from Geroskipou. Sozomen (5th c.) wrote “[Hilarion] touched at Paphos, and, at the entreaty of the bishop of Cyprus, he loved the life there and practiced philosophy at a place called Charburis” (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 5.10; the locale of *Charybdis* or *Charybris* is not otherwise attested in other sources concerning Cyprus). The gardens of Engaddi in Palestine were known by pilgrims, such as Paula (Jerome, *Epistola ad Eustochium* 108.7.3; PS: Wilkinson 1977: 50, 156). The identification of Engaddi with Cyprus seems rather late (PS: Cobham 1908: 13, 15, 19; Jeffery 1918: 398-399; Gunnis 1936: 467-468). The Latin and Greek text of the *Canticum canticorum* I.13 is “botrus Cypri dilectus meus mihi in vineis Engaddi/ βοτρὺς τῆς κυπρου ἀδελφίδος μου εμοι εν αμπελωσιν Εγγαδίτι”]. Jeffery mentioned that the Latin king of Cyprus, Peter I (1328–1369), was called “le roy des vignes de l’Angady” (1918:399).

² Badia y Leblich’s *The Travels of Ali Bey* (1807), translated in (PS: Cobham 1908: 405). An earlier record of Geroskipou is noted on Alexander Drummond’s 1754 map of Cyprus as “Gierosibon” [J. and A. Stylianou, *The history of the cartography of Cyprus*, Cyprus Research Centre 8 (Nicosia, Cyprus Research Centre, 1980):138].

³ Concerning the Bronze Age see K. Nicolaou’s “A Late Cypriote Nekropolis at Yeroskipou, Paphos,” *Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus* 1983: 142-152 and D. W. Rupp’s “The Canadian Palaepaphos Survey Project,” *Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus* 1982: 251-268.

⁴ Michaelides 2004: 185-198; the nature of the basilica and its provisional ground plan, as well as photos of the excavation, was shown to me by Professor Michaelides at the University of Cyprus on 10/03/06. At that time, he could not say if this church, indeed, was related to the cult of St. Hilarion, which has been speculated by the press.

⁵ The church is specifically mentioned by Sakellarios: “Ἐν τῇ χώμα δε Γεροσκήπου υπάρχει καὶ Βυζαντινός ναός του Σταυρού μετά πέντε θόλων, ιδρυμένος θεμέλιων αρχαίου ελληνικού ναού, ούτινος λειφανα περιφέ είναι διασκορπισμένα οιον κίονες, λειφανα ζωνών κλπ” (1891: 1.108). It is not clear if he means that the church “of the cross” because it is cross-shaped or dedicated to the True Cross. Hogarth wrote “Hieroskipou, a village two miles east of Ktima [New Paphos], which boasts some indifferent gardens in a little valley leading from the spring, but nothing of that singular beauty which impressed General di Cesnola twenty years ago. No traces of ancient buildings are visible in the neighbourhood, but some florid Corinthian cap[itals] of greyish marble in the precinct of the church, the hind-quarters of a marble horse in the village-spring, and many Graeco-Roman gems found in the fields near, bear witness to Strabo’s accuracy” (1889:41). Concerning Enlart’s remarks see note I.73 above.

⁶ Concerning the Geroskipou’s classical temple see Jeffery (1918: 398) and Gunnis (1936:467). The church was briefly excavated in 1974 when new flooring and wiring was installed. The excavators reported that “No remains of previous structures were found under the removed modern pavement” (Karageorghis 1975: 20). It is also possible that the church moved from the Early Christian site of Ayioi Pente a few meters away (Michaelides 2004: 185-198).

⁷ George Soteriou's plans are approximately correct, but not labeled correctly (1935).

⁸ Traces of this doorway can be seen today. Photographs from the Courtauld's Conway Library (London) clearly shows that it was used as a doorway (Courtauld images 434010 Neg. 485/53 [6a]) around the turn of the 20th century.

⁹ 1918: 398.

¹⁰ Early photographs of this tetraconch can be found in Enlart (1926: 149), Soteriou (1931, pl. 22), and Francis (1949:20).

¹¹ Megaw 1988: 145; Papageorghiou 1989: 107-108.

¹² See plans in Krautheimer 1986: 132, 236.

¹³ Wharton 1988:63; Gkioles 2003: 59; Enlart 1926:149.

¹⁴ Papageorghiou 1965: 95-96.

¹⁵ Papageorghiou recorded "In the case of church of Agia Paraskevi it should be excluded that the tetraconch was used as a sepulchral chapel, since no grave has been found there through excavation [Στην περίπτωση της εκκλησίας της Αγίας Παρασκευής πρέπει να αποκλεισθεί η χρήση του τετρακόγχου σαν ταφικού παρεκκλησιού μια και δεν βρέθηκε οποιοσδήποτε τάφος κατά την έρευνα που έγινε εκεί]" (1989: 107-108).

¹⁶ This has been argued by Foulias (2004:129).

¹⁷ Four Paraskevis are known: (1) July 26 is the feast day of one who was martyred in Rome in the 2nd century; (2) October 14 is the feast day of one who was an 11th c. nun of Epibata (near Constantinople); (3) October 28 is a feast day for a 3rd century Paraskevi who lived in Iconium (Sahas 1978).

¹⁸ Goodwin 1978: 144-146.

¹⁹ 1993:253-254.

²⁰ See Sakellarios' quote in note IV.5 above; Peristianes 1910:405.

²¹ 1918:399.

²² Menardus 1970: 37.

²³ Jeffery 1918: 397; Megaw 1936: 269; Papageorghiou 1966a: 221. Camille Enlart believed Agia Paraskevi was the oldest multiple-domed church on the island, but did not provide a date 1926:149.

²⁴ 1949:15. George Soteriou who discussed Agia Paraskevi at length but also did not provide a date (Soteriou 1940:401-40; 1935; 1931:477-90).

²⁵ Karageorghis 1978: 20.

²⁶ Stylianou 1985:384-85; Papageorghiou 1985c:326; Megaw 1986:517; Wharton 1988:63; Hademann-Misguich 1995:245 n.2. The most recent treatment has been provided by Andreas Foulias, who I agree with for the most part (2004: 123-145); but his dating of the fresco to the tenth century is unpersuasive and he does provide any viable art historical *comparanda* for his assertions.

²⁷ The earliest painted decoration in the church is a reddish-brown cross, located in the intrados of the northwestern pier; but it is applied directly to the stone masonry, and therefore, is not a fresco.

²⁸ 1997:384.

²⁹ For a good comparable selection of processional crosses, see Helen Evans' *The Glory of Byzantium* (1997).

³⁰ The Greek term cosmetic (χοσμικής) means “decoration, ornament.” The *Suda* (10th c. Byzantine encyclopedia) stated that cosmos (Κόσμος) was “The system and the union [formed] from heaven and earth and those things in the middle... But kosmos means four things in Scripture: 1) decorum, 2) the whole [universe], 3) order, 4) the populace.” Translation from (<http://www.stoa.org/sol/>). Jewels were seen as intermediate objects—earthly materials that point to the divine. Ancient writers associated precious stones with divinity or the heavenly realm, such as Pliny *Naturalis historia* (33-37) and the writer of Revelations (Chapter 21). The jeweled cross (the *Crux gemmata*) is a cosmic cross, as depicted in San Apollinaire, because gems were seen as earthly stars. It is common to see stars carved on gems and lamps throughout the Late Antique and Byzantine period because “stars [are] simple celestial lamps” (see entry on “Star” in the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, pg. 1943). When the relics of Lazarus was translated to Constantinople from Cyprus in 901, the orator Arethas described Agia Sophia as “illuminated with lamps as with stars” and “in the bema lamps were hung on high bars so as to form a cross” (as paraphrased by PS: Jenkins et al. 1954: 5-6).

³¹ See Georg Thiele’s *Antike Himmelsbilder* (1898). The ancients conceived the universe like an egg—the bottom half was the earth and the top half was heaven; see the discussion in Baldwin Smith’s *The Dome* (1950). This is how we should read the mosaic of Christ enthroned on a globe at San Vitale, Ravenna.

³² Red Monastery, Bolman 2006:1-24; Gülu Dere, Thierry 2002.

³³ Both these churches are near the Mediterranean coast of the Palestine, not far from the sea of Galilee. The excavators associated the destruction of these churches with the Persian raids of the early 7th century, however, a date for their final phases should be in the 8th century (see C. Dauphin’s “A Byzantine Ecclesiastical Farm at Shelomi” and C. Dauphin and G. Edelstein’s “The Byzantine Church at Nahariya” in *Ancient Churches Revealed* (Tsafrir 1993: 43-53). The

Monastery of Apollo in Bawit (Egypt) contains the same pattern in fresco, but on a much smaller scale, dating to the 7th c.

³⁴ 1945:1-27. Lehman's arguments are still persuasive but should be read with reservations (Mathews 2001: XI).

³⁵ Michaelides 2004: 185-198.

³⁶ The closest comparable geometric pattern from Late Antiquity comes from the 4th century, House of Aion (Nea Paphos) in the outer band of the *triclinium*. However, this pattern is not a true interlace, but rather, like a series of intersecting disks. Nevertheless, it could very well be attributed as a very early prototype for the later interlace.

³⁷ The first scholar to recognize the geometric patterns at Agia Barbara was Papageorghiou (1966a:221). I noticed the similarities between the two frescos in February 2005. Since then, Chotzogalou has confirmed these observations concerning the similarities between the two geometrical designs (2006: 584; based on Foulas 2004).

³⁸ Plat Taylor 1933:103; Sacopoulo 1962:66. Karageorghis stated that "The wall-paintings of the underground cistern, the earliest Byzantine frescoes of Cyprus dated to the 6th century AD" (1974: 18).

³⁹ *Vita* of St. Spyridon (PS: Van den Ven 1953:89).

⁴⁰ For the White Monastery, see Monneret de Villard 1925-1926: plate I.15, II.209; for Resafa, see Lassus 1947: pg. 300, fig. 109.

⁴¹ The seminal, but cursory, work on Byzantine decoration was provided by Owen Jones in *The Grammar of Ornament* London: Quaritch, 1856, 1910 reprint). Alison Frantz provided the next important study in her 1934 article "Byzantine Illuminated Ornament: A study in Chronology" in *The Art Bulletin* [16.1. (March): 42-101]. See also Weitzmann 1996; Grabar 1957; and T. Chakmakchian, *L'art décoratif de l'Arménie médiévale* (Leningrad: Aurore, 1971).

⁴² For the sake of this proposal, I am relying on their chronologies: Cappadocia: Thierry 2002, 1981: 389-403; Gough 1957: 153-161; Cyprus: Papageorghiou 1996, 1985d: 145.

⁴³ 2002: 114-142.

⁴⁴ Chatzidakis et al. 1989; see also Drandakes 1995 and Pallas 1974: 271-314.

⁴⁵ Papageorghiou 1996:55-56; 1985d: 145.

⁴⁶ Thierry 1981:140-142; Gough 1957: 153-161.

⁴⁷ Theocharidou-Tsaprale 1994: 40; Oosterhout 1999:32. I have corresponded with Peter Kuniholm and Sturt Manning at the Cornell Dendrochronology Lab (11/28/07 and 12/09/07, respectively) regarding the wood samples regarding Hagia Sophia, Thessaloniki. The recent

report generated by Sturt Manning (12/18/07) records samples dating to the 14th and 15th centuries—and does not include any late seventh century date for Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki.

⁴⁸ Schlumberger 1986; 1946-48:86-102. Creswell 1958: PL. 62a. We can categorically reject Leslie Brubaker's suggestion that the almond rosette was first used at the end of the ninth century (Brubaker and Haldon 2001:27). We have a continuous use of the form from Late Antiquity through the tenth century (*see* section IV.1.6. immediately below for examples).

⁴⁹ Piccirillo 1993:352-353; P. Carlier and F. Morin, "Archaeological Researches at Qastal. Second Mission, 1985" *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 31 (1987):221-46 1987; M. Almagro, *Qusayr 'Amra: Residencia y Baños Omeyas en el Desierto de Jordania* (Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1975).

⁵⁰ Grabar 1957: 167-209; Cormack 1977: 35-44.

⁵¹ A. Wharton first suggested that this artwork was not associated with iconoclasm; however, her re-dating of Cappadocian examples (like Agios Basilius, Sinasos) is currently not accepted by the majority of the scholarly community (1977: 103-112; Thierry 2002: 135-142).

⁵² 1977:46; following André Grabar's seminal work (1957: 17-92).

⁵³ *See* above, note III.63.

⁵⁴ Delehaye 1925: 628-656.

⁵⁵ See the discussion in Rydén (1993:194).

⁵⁶ 1989: 108; 1981: 51 n. 98. My attempts to transcribe and translate these inscriptions have been unsuccessful. All I can say is that they are religious in nature and are most likely prayers.

⁵⁷ My work here confirms the earlier dating mentioned by L. Hademann-Misguich, but overlooked in scholarship: "Based on the motif of the outer register [the wheel interlace], we see a Moslem influence of the 7th to 8th centuries, supporting a date in the iconoclastic period. Mrs. Nicole Thierry...confirms that the typology belongs to the early Middle Ages, by drawing attention to the [similar] decoration [almond rosettes] of two Byzantine bowls of the Sutton Hoo treasure of the 6th to 7th centuries" (1995: 245, n. 1).

⁵⁸ The best study of Byzantine architectural tiles was provided by Gerstel and Lauffenburger (2001); regarding the Walters Art Museum ceramic tile with the almond rosette *see* pages 96, 160-1, and 272. No architectural ceramics have been found on Cyprus.

⁵⁹ Earlier examples, dating prior to the seventh century, are known at the Cathedral at Kourion, the Campanopetra church, Acheiropoitos (Lambousa), Area I Basilica (Kalavasos) where there are traces of altar footings which could have supported a pyramidal ciborium (*see* plans in Megaw et al. 2007; Papageorgiou 1985b; Roux 1998; Rautman 2003). The large size of the Cathedral of Kourion's altar certainly indicates that it could have supported four large columns to uphold the ciborium.

⁶⁰ Ćurčić has suggested the problem with associating symbolism with domed bemas (1977a:49-51). He argued that architectural iconography and architectural practice were two different modes of expression in conflict with each other. However, he assumed (if we take his brief abstract to be a representation of his arguments) that a sign of harmony between the iconography and practice would be conformity. This is a very simplistic way to characterize the motivations for Byzantine construction methods and designs. In his own work, Professor Ćurčić has shown that conformity is not necessarily a characteristic of Byzantine architecture (1977b:110). Therefore, we should question whether church design was motivated by mere structural concerns. Perhaps the issue is better understood in a theological framework. There has always been a conflict between local church practices and the mandates of the centralized church hierarchy. Prior to the Edict of Milan, diversity of worship characterized Christian practice. This trend within Christian teachings (inherent in scriptures) towards religious freedom and individual self-expression continued even after the hierachal system was codified and enforced by the State. The adoption of any particular architectural design is simply a manifestation of some theological bent. For example, a domed-bema or a domed-nave would emphasize, and in turn, deemphasize particular church furnishings—the altar (*θυσιαστήριο*, *Αγία Τράπεζα*) and/or the ambo (*ἀμβων*, later, the pulpit, *ἀμβωνας*). Such a debate concerned the overemphasis of ritual practice: Eucharist versus Liturgy, Faith (*Πίστη*) versus Knowledge (*Σοφία*), heart versus mind, and practice (*πράξη*) versus teaching (*δοξασία*). Such a conflict was never fully resolved within western Christian practice—even to this day—Roman Catholics emphasize Communion over the Liturgy of the Word, while Protestants emphasize biblical knowledge over social work. On many occasions, I have heard Greek Orthodox apologists claim that their tradition best harmonizes these two modes of worship and maintains a balance of purity of practice and intellectual integrity.

⁶¹ Βήμα εστίν υπόβαθρο τόπος καὶ θρόνος εν ἀπερ ὁ παμβασιλεύς Χριστός περικάθηται μετά των αυτου αποστοπολων, ως πρός αυτους λέγει ὅτι «καθίσεσθε επι θρόνων χρινοντες τας δώδεκα φυλάς του Ισραηλ» υποδεικνύων δε την δευτέρων παρουσίαν καθ' ην ελθη καθιών επι θρόνου ενδόξου εις τό χριναι τόν κόσμον...Κοσμήτης εστι κατά τό νομικόν καὶ αγιον κόσμον εφαίνων τό του σταυροθέντος Χριστου του Θεου εκσφράγισμα διά σταυρου κοσμούμενον (before 730 AD, St. Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople, *Iστορία εκκλησιαστική και Μνησική θεωρία*) (PS: Meyendorff 1984:61, 62).

⁶² In Early Christian and Byzantine churches, the cross and the *hetoimasia* often graces the apex of the intrados or signposts the arches keystone; such examples are ubiquitous, as in the mosaics at the Acheiropoitos Church (Thessaloniki) and the original vault mosaics of Agia Sophia (Constantinople). The *hetoimasia* (έτοιματια) comes from the scripture verse “But the LORD sits enthroned forever, he has established (έτοιματια) his throne for judgment; and he judges the world with righteousness, he judges the peoples with equity.” (Psalms 9:7-8) As Annemarie Weyl Carr states, the “image signifies not the empty throne awaiting God, but—in accordance with antique use of the throne to represent the presence of a god or emperor—God’s mystic presence upon the throne” [see entry in *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 926; T. von Bogyay, “Zur Geschichte de Hetoimasie” *Akten des XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress, München, 1958* (Munich 1960):50-61.]

⁶³ The Cross as a symbol of divinity is discussed further below (§ VI.3.3).

⁶⁴ Aaron's staff: Numbers 17:8. Menorah: Exodus 25:33-34, 37:19-20. Moses' staff and Aaron's are often conflated in legend and patristic writings, and therefore, I do not distinguish them here.

⁶⁵ *Midrash Yelammedenu* (Yalkuṭ Shimoni's commentary on the Psalms. ex. § 869) as translated in J. McCurdy and L. Ginzberg, "Aaron's Rod," *The Jewish Encyclopedia* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1901-1906):5-6.

⁶⁶ Salomon Buber, *Midrash Tanhuma al hamishah humshe torah* (New York: Hotsaát Sefer, 1946): Waëra 8 (as translated in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, ibid.).

⁶⁷ In the *Book of Wisdom* [*Wisdom of Joshua Son of Sirach*], Aaron is described: "clothed...with the symbols of authority, the linen breeches, the long robe, and the ephod" (45:8).

⁶⁸ Translation based on Origen, *Homilies on Genesis and Exodus* by R. Heine (transl.) (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1982): 267. Other Early Christian writers who associated Moses' rod with Christ's cross is Augustine (*De Tempore*, 86, 87) and Severianus (2nd c.) (*Oration 3, 4*); see W. Seymour, *The Cross in Tradition, History, and Art* (New York: G.P. Putnams sons, 1898):50-55.

⁶⁹ *The Book of the Bee*, ed. and transl. by E. A. Wallis Budge (Oxford: the Clarendon Press, 1886): 50-52.

⁷⁰ In such scenes Christ is exercising his sovereignty over nature, and therefore, as a king, rather than a "magician" which implies that Christ was believed to be an astrologer (magi) or an agent of demons. Surely his followers would not have thought such things [see the discussion and images in Thomas Mathews, *The Clash of Gods* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993): 54-91].

⁷¹ September 14 is the common Orthodox feast of "the Universal Exaltation of the Precious and Life-Giving Cross" (Ὑψωσις τοῦ Τίμιου Σταυροῦ). Much more could be said concerning the almond rosette symbolism. The four-pointed star is conflated with the four-armed cross, which is the symbol of Jesus Christ himself. The Jewish messiah would fulfilled the prophecy, that "a star shall come forth out of Jacob, and a scepter shall rise out of Israel" (Numbers 24:17) and Christ emphatically described himself as "I am the root and the offspring of David, the bright morning star" (Revelations 24:17). Also, there is a conflation between the nimbus or aureole which is shaped like an almond nut (*vesica piscis*) and later called a *mandorla* (the Italian word for "almond"). The mandorla signifies the portal from which the divine enters into the material universe. This is why Christ is usually shown in a mandorla during his Transfiguration, as at St. Catherine (Sinai) (6th c.) and in Ezekial's vision of Christ, as at Hosios David (5th c.), (Thessaloniki) and Monastery of Apollo at Bawit (7th c.-8th c.). The Virgin Mary, being the portal by which the divine Logos entered into the world, is the physical mandorla (G. Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols in Christian Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977 reprint): 27. Often the Virgin's mantel is bedecked with almond rosettes, and sometimes her maternity bed, as depicted in Sinai icons (8th – 9th c.) (Weitzmann 1976: PL.95,117: B41, B60.). In a more primal sense, the

wand/scepter has phallic connotations, whereas the mandorla has a vaginal quality—in a Christian context, both are “life-giving” whether the organ produces seed or spawn. In the west the Virgin Mary, as the Queen of Heaven, was often called a “star”; a 6th century hymn, attributed to Venantius Fortunatus, praises “Ave, maris stella/ Dēi Mater alma/Atque semper Virgo/ Félix caeli porta” (Hail, star of the sea, Nurturing Mother of God, And ever Virgin, Happy portal of the Sky). Such a hymn conflates the *mandorla* and the *Virgin* and the *star*. Isidore of Seville (7th c.) repeats this idea “Maria inluminatrix, sive stella maris” (*Etymologiarum sive Originum* 7.10).

⁷² The stars in this icon are clear in the drawings by M. Chatzidakis, “An Encaustic Icon of Christ at Sinai,” *Art Bulletin* 49 (1967):197-208.

⁷³ The excavator of the Grotto, Virgilio Corbo, classified these frescos as belonging to the Crusader period, without providing an explanation [*La Terra Santa* 33 (1957): 167-171, 35 (1959): 241-248]. However, there are no comparable stars with this style in Western Europe or in the Crusader Holy Land. In fact better evidence in the Grotto was also discovered for Early Byzantine use, such as graffiti and graves. Therefore, based on stylistic evidence, these vaulted stars are *not* Crusader but 7th or 8th century.

⁷⁴ As Prudence Harper described the glass bowl: “Depicted on the central rock crystal medallion is a relief image of an enthroned king wearing a crown and a form of dress generally modeled on the late Sasanian images of the time of Khusrau I (531-579) and Khusrau II (591-628)...The colored glass inlays surrounding...the medallion are carved into four-petaled rosettes, a ubiquitous Late Antique motif commonly found on textiles...” (2006: 139-140).

⁷⁵ See note IV.31 above. While the star-studded cross, *crux gemmata*, and flowering cross are typologically different, they are variations of the same theme—Christ’s divinity. While it was possible to represent Christ’s humanity, it was not possible to depict his divinity. Therefore, the cross stood as a symbol of his godhood, as shown in the Transfiguration mosaic at Sant’Apollinare (Ravenna). The almond-rosette and cross are complementary symbols—the X-shape fits well within the +-shape. The cross at the White Monastery (near Sohag) buds a rosette (a petal between each arm). Likewise, a tile at the Arkeoloji Müzeleri, Istanbul, consists of a cross with four petals between each arm, so that well grouped with other tiles, almond-rosettes are formed in the intersections (Gerstel and Lauffenburger 2001: 220). As described below (§IV.2.2.), a chancel screen post at Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion (Peristerona) contains an interlace design with alternating crosses and rosettes in the whorls. Perhaps the cross and the star/blossom, symbolized the mortality and the divinity of Christ.

⁷⁶ Lehman 1945: 234ff.; Smith 1950:68, 82.

⁷⁷ As used in the first chapter of Genesis. Like the Latin “cael”, the classical Greek writers use “Uranus” as both the sky that one sees, and the spiritual abode of the gods. Curiously, the Greek Old Testament (Septuagint) does not use the term Uranus (Οὐρανός) for the *sky* or heaven, but στερέωμα. This latter term denoted structure and a matrix, like a skeleton; for example Aristotle speaks of a “στερεώματος ἐνεκά του περιπήτου” (*Partibus Animalium* 655.22)—applicable to rib vaulting. However, there are examples where “Uranus” was used as a name for an architectural

vault, such as *ονδραν-οροφος* (“with vaulted ceiling or canopy”) as in Athenaeus *Anthologia Graeca* I.48 and Hesychius *Lexicographus* (5th c. AD); or *ονδρίνος* “canopy or calotte” in Callixinus 2.1; Phylarchus 341; Plutarch, *Alexander* 37 and *Phocion* 33. This usage continued with later Byzantine writers, such as Epiphanius, *Homilia in landes Mariae dei parae* 43.497.22 [see also A. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae quotquot innotuerunt* (Paris: Fontemoing 1904): 242].

⁷⁸ The domed shape is conveyed by the verse 22 of *Job* 14. For further discussion see § VI.3.4 below. In the mausoleum of Galla Placidia (Ravenna) the starry central vault is flanked by canopies on all four sides.

⁷⁹ As in the famous 6th c. mosaic at Hosios David in Thessaloniki and countless manuscripts (Schiller 1966-1980:5.21-30, Plates 10, 40, 68, 69, 74, etc.). Moreover the “triumphal arch,” often found in the bema preceding the apse, mimics the shape of the rainbow.

⁸⁰ Cosmic symbolism in bath complexes are well attested in Antiquity and in the Early Medieval period (see Lehmann 1945; below § VI.2.2).

⁸¹ Concerning the later paintings of Agia Paraskevi see Stylianou (1997: 382-394) and Hadermann-Misguich (1995: 245-48). A brief discussion of exterior frescos in Cyprus was provided by Ćurčić (2000: 10-15).

⁸² It is recorded that Butumites, general of Alexius I Comnenus, provided three villages to Kykko monastery, according to Ephraim, Patriarch of Jerusalem (1766-1771) [*Περιγραφή της ιεράς σεβάσμιας και βασιλικής μονής των Κύκκων* (Enetiesi : para Antonio to Bortoli, 1756): 32]. The original manuscript of the *Περιγραφή* was destroyed in a fire in 1365 (Hill 1940:302 n.3).

⁸³ Jeffery 1918:283; PS: Dawkins 1932: I.30.

⁸⁴ Hill 1948:485; Goodwin 1978: 680.

⁸⁵ Papadopoulou transcribed the manuscript, which is either lost or unavailable today (PS: 1938: 81-104).

⁸⁶ As paraphrased by Talbot Rice et al. (1937: 159-161).

⁸⁷ I have not been able to trace any toponym within Cyprus called “Stamatiou.” The word means “rest stop” and could have been the local name for any small cove. It also could refer to a particular family, since the name is a common surname among Cypriots living today.

⁸⁸ PS: Papadopoulou 1938: 81-104; Talbot Rice et al. 1937: 159-161. The first record of “Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion” applied to this church is found in the 15th century chronicle of Leontios Machairas (PS: Dawkins 1932: I.30).

⁸⁹ Jeffery 1918:283; Enlart 1926:151.

⁹⁰ These excavations were carried out in 1959 and 1960 (*Annual Report of the Department of Antiquaries of Cyprus* 1959:13; 1960:11).

⁹¹ Stylianou 1963: 245.

⁹² Ibid, 244; Soteriou 1931b:733; Megaw 1974:82. The latter's dating was adopted by Wharton (1988:66-67).

⁹³ Francis 1949: 15; Mastrogiovannopoulos 1984: 122, respectively.

⁹⁴ 1985a: 152.

⁹⁵ Ibid, 1997:98; 2002b: 63-70.

⁹⁶ Ousterhout 1999: 80, 120; Blind domes also can be seen in the narthex domes of the Panagia Chalkeon in Thessaloniki (ca. 1028).

⁹⁷ There are several Roman buildings with blind arcades, such as the 4th century villa outbuilding at Meonstoke, (Hampshire) England (preserved in the British Museum). This Roman feature probably influenced the blind arcading found in Anglo-Saxon churches and later Norman buildings [H. and J. Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984 revised ed.)]. The 6th c. mausoleum of Theodoric is composed of blind arcades, as well as the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia (both at Ravenna).

⁹⁸ Bell 1914.

⁹⁹ Krautheimer 1986: figs. 141, 263; Bell 1982: Pls. 135, 138; Ettinghausen et al. 2001:35. Before the Panagia of Skripou was altered, it had blind arches in the drum of its dome *see* Courtauld Institute's Conway Library picture negative # 437419.

¹⁰⁰ Krautheimer 1986: fig. 140. It is not certain if the blind windows of St. Sophia's (Ohrid) apse date from either the late 9th or mid-11th c. (Krautheimer 1986: fig. 273).

¹⁰¹ The main Katholicon was built in 1090 while the adjoining north church was built around 1100 (Mango, Hawkins, and Boyd 1990: 63-94).

¹⁰² Papageorghiou 1985a:151-152; 1997:98; 2002b: 63-70.

¹⁰³ Hill 1940: 322; Stylianou and Stylianou 1963: 244-245.

¹⁰⁴ Dr. Marina Solomidou-Ieronymidou is currently the chief Curator of Monuments of the Department of Antiquities and I met with her on several occasions. She provided this information on 10/06/06 during one of our meetings.

¹⁰⁵ With permission from the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus, I visited the excavations at Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion at Peristeronna on over twenty separate occasions between February to May 2005, and between September 2006 and July 2007.

¹⁰⁶ Concerning the destruction of Early Christian churches *see* Chapter 2. Soloi Cathedral might seem like an exception—but even so, it was extensively refurbished and altered in the mid-seventh century after the Arab invasions, and therefore, is not an exception to my argument [Gagniers and Tinh 1985: 98, 112; *see also* Vassos Karageorghis, “Chroniques des fouilles en 1968,” *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 93 (1969):555].

¹⁰⁷ Ousterhout wrote “synthronon was either reduced to a single row of seats or eliminated altogether” by the Middle Byzantine period [843-1204] (1999: 13-14).

¹⁰⁸ Evangelia Hadjityphonos suggested that “the Church of Agioi Varnava and Hilarion in Peristerona near Nicosia [was] built at the same time as the first [i.e. Agia Paraskevi]” (1990-91:66; translated by Ainsley Morse). This I agree with. However, she assigns the date of both these churches to the tenth or eleventh centuries, while I would assign an eighth to ninth century. She provides no evidence for her dating.

¹⁰⁹ This problem leads us back to the question posed by Jules Quicherat (*see* note I.14 above).

¹ Goodwin mentions that there are 74 species of fish in Larnaka bay alone, as well as octopi, crabs, and other edible sea life (1978: 490-491).

² Genesis 10:4; Numbers 24:24; and Daniel 11:30.

³ A good bibliography on ancient Larnaka can be found in Marguerite Yon and William Childs' "Kition in the Tenth to Fourth Centuries B. C.," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 308 (Nov., 1997): 9-17.

⁴ PS: Mansi III.570; Hackett 1901:312. The first Ecumenical Concil (Nicaea) in 325 only recorded the Bishops of Paphos and Salamis (PS: Mansi II 696.) In the late sixth century, George of Cyprus listed Kition among the other Cypriot bishoprics (*Descripto orbis Romani* I.25).

⁵ PS: Cobham 1908:232.

⁶ Ibid, 230.

⁷ Megaw. "Archaeology in Cyprus, 1953," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 74 (1954): 173; Dikigoropoulos 1965-66: 249 n. 58; Karageorghis 1973: 622-3.

⁸ 1965-66: 249 n. 58. The *Trésor de chronologie* recorded that Saint Therapon died in 634 in Cyprus and it mentions a "Saint Tharape" of an uncertain date (Mas Latrie 1889: 911-912).

⁹ *Vita of St. Therapon* in *Acta Sanctorum*, pgs. 684-690; *Synaxaria* (PS: Cobham 1908:232).

¹⁰ PS: Cobham 1908:230-231; Hackett 1901: 421-423.

¹¹ Janin 1953: 255-256.

¹² PS: *De Thematisbus*, pgs. 80-86; Hill 1940: 284; Christides 2006:13, 61-63

¹³ Himyari, *Al-Rawd*, 454, mentioned in PS: Christides 2006: 61-63. A late tradition of the life of Um Harām is recorded in Cobham (PS: 1908: 374-377).

¹⁴ Balāduri, *Futūh*, 208; Bukhāri, *Sahīh* (PS: Khān 1981-2: 38, 44, 84).

¹⁵ Sourdel 1957:126. Harawi also recorded in his manuscript an inscription recording another Arab woman, placed on a wall in some Cypriot town which he does not name: "Here is the tomb of 'Urwa, daughter of Thābit, deceased in the month of Ramadan in the year 29 of the hegira" [E. Combe et al, *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe* 1.5 (1931): 5].

¹⁶ PS: Cobham 1908: 40.

¹⁷ Ibid, 240.

¹⁸ PS: Cobham 1909.

¹⁹ Jerome, *Epistula* 108.12.2; Theodosius, *De Terra Sanctae* 23.b; Piacenza Pilgrim, 16; Adomnán, *De Locis Sanctis* 24; Epiphanius, *Hagiology* 11.1 (PS: Wilkinson 1977:50, 70, 83, 101, 120).

²⁰ For example one Early Byzantine writer, Theodosius, stated “Every one knows about Lazarus, whom my Lord raised from the dead, that he was raised, but no one knows about the second time he died.” (Theodosius, *De Situ Terrae Sanctae*, 6th c.; PS: Wilkinson 1977:70).

²¹ For the literature concerning this tale, see the entry “St. Lazarus Of Bethany” in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Encyclopedia Press, 1914) and *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003. Oxford Reference Online).

²² When in 1120 the church of Sainte-Madeleine at Vezelay had burnt down—the resident monks decided to rebuild their church in the grand new Cluniac style to house the remains of Mary Magdalene. By this time this Mary was conflated with Lazarus’ sister. Later the same year, the nearby bishop of Autun managed to “discover” the relics of Lazarus in the crypt of his cathedral [E. Thevenot, *Autun, cité romaine et chrétienne* (Autun, 1932):150-166]. Though there are three Lazarus’s in the New Testament (the poor leper, Luke 16), the resurrected brother of Mary & Martha (John 5), and another follower (Matthew 26), by the Middle Ages they all were thought of as one person.

²³ Bernard the Monk was once thought to be a British pilgrim (*A Journey to the Holy Places*, 317; PS: Wilkinson 1977: 144). An even earlier tradition places Mary Magdalene alongside the Virgin Mary at Ephesus. (Gregory of Tours, *De miraculis*, I.30; PS: Migne, PL 71 col. 731]. Perhaps Bernard assumed that Lazarus’ and Mary’s relics would be together.

²⁴ *Oriens christianus, in quatuor patriarchatus digestus; quo exhibentur ecclesia, patriarcha, caterique praesules totius Orientis* (Graz: Akademische Drucku Verlagsanstalt, 1958 reprint of original posthumously published in 1740):3.1231; Hackett 1901: 412.

²⁵ PS: 1950: 18, 26. The text reads: Ἐμοὶ γὰρ εἴρηκεν γέρων τις περὶ τοῦ μακαρίου Λαζάρου πληροφορηθεῖς ἀπὸ γραφῆς τῶν αὐτοῦ ὑπομνημάτων, διτὶ ἐν Κύπρῳ τῇ νήσῳ ἐπίσκπος γενάμενος καὶ τὸν τοῦ μαρτυρίου στέφανον ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ ἀνεδήσατο τὸν δρόμον τελέσας καὶ τὴν πίστιν τηρήσας καὶ σὺν τῷ Κριστῷ αἰώνιως ἀγάλλεται. Ὡ πρέπει τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις, τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ νιῷ καὶ τῷ ἀγίῳ πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. In contrast to Dölger’s opinion, Christopher Walter suggested that this last paragraph was an interpolation into the surviving tenth century manuscript (1969: 202). However, there is nothing based on the style of writing to warrant this supposition. One would suspect if the copyist was referring to the recent translation of the relics to Constantinople, he would have simply reported this. Walter’s “fragile hypothesis” was formulated to support the notion that the lost *Book of Lazarus* was a tenth century production, written at the height of the Lazarus cult in Constantinople, and the interpolation into John of Euboea was a way to authenticate this new book. While this is a plausible theory, there is absolutely no evidence and there are too many gaps in our data. If the copyist of John of Euboea was going to promote the *Book of Lazarus*, would not he mention it by name and provide more details? Until we discover more information concerning the *Book of Lazarus*, Dölger’s original assessment stands. Vera von Falkenhausen was

also unconvinced by Walter's hypothesis ["Bishops and Monks in Byzantine Cyprus," *Medieval Cyprus* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999): 23 n.14].

²⁶ Gouillard 1967: 111-12. It is possible that Lazarus was interpolated into the Synodikon at a later date, since there are obvious later additions to the lists.

²⁷ Tychon of Kition attended the Sixth ecumenical council at Constantinople (PS: Mansi XI 585, 673; Dikigoropoulos 1965-66: 249). There is also another Tychon, bishop of Amathous, who is also mentioned in the Synodikon, right after Lazarus. It is possible that Tychon was conflated with Tychikos the bishop of Neapolis.

²⁸ *Book of the Monasteries (Kitab al-Diyarat)*; PS: Mansouri 2001:33.

²⁹ Paraphrased, PS: Jenkins et al 1954:5-7.

³⁰ Ibid. There is one early source that stated that the monastery of Lazarus was first built by Basil I (811—886) and Leo VI enlarged it (Janin 1953:309).

³¹ The irony of keeping the fleet "occupied" was noted by the chroniclers because they mention how the last Byzantine post of (Sicily), Taormina, fell to the Arabs at the same time. Since the following sources found this notable, sailor-masons were probably not common used. Symeon the Logothete (10th c.) wrote "Ἄσχολουμένου δὲ τοῦ στόλου εἰς τὰ κτίσματα τῶν τοιούτων ἐκκλησιῶν παρελήφθη" (*Chronicon*, PS: Migne, PG 109 col. 921); and George of Cedrenus (11th c.) repeated "Τοῦ δὲ στόλου ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις κτίσεσιν ἀπασχολουμένου..." (*Historiarum compendium*, Migne, PG 121 col. 1148B); See also Janin (1953: 309).

³² Janin 1953: 310.

³³ These are the words of pilgrims as summed up by Jenkins et al. (PS: under Arethas, 1954:10).

³⁴ *Sermo in S. Mariam Magdalena*; PS: Migne, PG 147 col. 574CD.

³⁵ G. Gerola, "Le vedute di Costantinopoli di Cristoforo Buondemonti," *Studi bizantini Neoellenici* 3 (1931): 276.

³⁶ Megaw 19604 : 279-298 ; T. Macridy, "The Monastery of Lips (Fenari Isa Camii) at Istanbul," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 18 (1964): 249–315; H. Delehaye, *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues* (Brussels: Académie Royale de Belgique, 1921): 106–36.

³⁷ Symeon Logothete, PS: Migne, PG 109 col. 921; Pseudo-Kodinos (14th c.), PS: Migne, PG 157 col. 612B, n. 63.

³⁸ Symeon Logothete (or continuator of George the monk, Harmatolos) (10th c.) stated that Leo VI "founded...a Church of St. Lazarus and established it as a monastery for eunuchs. There he deposited the body of St. Lazurs, which he had brought from Cyprus, and that of Mary Magdalene, which he had brought from Ephesus" (*Vitae Recentiorum Imperatorum*, Migne, PG 109

col. 921; PS: Pohlsander 1999: 104). This was repeated by John Zonaras (12th c.) *Chronicon* 16.13; PS: Pohlsander 1999: 121).

³⁹ The Synaxarion continued describing how Lazarus was anointed bishop by the apostle Peter (PS: Delahaye 1902: 146-147; PS: Pohlsander 1999: 96-97). The date of the Synaxarion is controversial, this section seems to date from the tenth century, but other parts were added into the twelfth.

⁴⁰ This is recorded in 1766 by Constantius, Archbishop of Sinai (PS: Cobham 1908:308 and Hackett 1901:414).

⁴¹ Dolley 1949:60. Just about every inference and thesis suggested by Dolley has been proven erroneous or mistaken, which is why most subsequent scholars have not taken his article seriously (except for Papageorghiou 1998:219).

⁴² “τὸ ταύτης τίμιον λεύθψανον ἐκεῖθεν μεταχομισάμενος,” (*Sermo in S. Mariam Magdalenum*, PS: Migne, PG 147 col. 574CD).

⁴³ Karageorghis suggested that these were “sans doute” foundations of a pagan temple (1973:624). However, Papageorghiou’s excavation report proposed they were part of the original church (1998:209-211). This corresponds also with Agia Paraskevi at Yeroskipou which was supposedly built above a pagan temple.

⁴⁴ 1998: 212.

⁴⁵ The Panagia Limeniotissa at Kourion was excavated by George Philotheou for the Department of Antiquities; it has not been published. The polygonal exterior apse with a interior circular form is also found at the three fifth century churches at Agios Georgios (Peyia) in Cyprus.

⁴⁶ Papageorghiou 1998: 210-211.

⁴⁷ Rautman 2003, 2001a: 307-18; W. Childs, “First preliminary report on the excavations at Polis Chrysochous,” *Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus* (1988): 127-29.

⁴⁸ See note III.128 above.

⁴⁹ We find this construction also in the earlier church of Agios Georgios in Afentrika (§ II.3.7).

⁵⁰ *Reizen van Cornelis de Bruyn door de vermaardste Deelen van Klein Asia* (1698) (PS: Cobham 1908: 240).

⁵¹ Kyriazis 1933: 314-317.

⁵² Megaw 1976:9; Papageorghiou 1998: 219-220; Michaelides 1993: 77-78.

⁵³ Megaw 1976: 3-29; Michaelides 1993: 69-113, 2000: 223-228, 2001b: 179-239.

⁵⁴ *Vita S. Hilarionii* 47.

⁵⁵ “...e una antiquissima chiesa laquale anchora e in pié ma in piu luóghi e diroccato il mûro, pure tre cupolate che visono anchora si sostenano insu gli archi et pylastrj et dicesi essere titolata in Sáncto Lazéro ma óggi dallj indivotj habitatórj del paese sene fá stalla dasinj et dipórcj...”[*Sanctissimo peregrinaggio del Sancto Sepolcro* (PS: Grivaud 1990: 92)].

⁵⁶ “Item nahe dabei liegt ein gar seltsamer Tempel mit vielen Wölbungen,” Grivaud translates this as “the strange church with the many arches” (PS: 1990: 125).

⁵⁷ N. Le Huen in the fifteenth century mentioned that Agios Lazaros was the seat of the bishop of Kition (PS: Cobham 1908:52).

⁵⁸ *Voyage de Jacques Le Saige, de Douai à Rome, Notre-Dame- De-Lorette, Venise, Jérusalem et autres saints lieux* (PS: Cobham 1908: 60). This kind of church-sharing was mentioned by Martin von Baumgarten in 1508 who wrote “Near the harbor of Salamina is a church, in one end whereof the Greeks, and in the other the Latins perform their divine worship” (PS: Cobham 1908: 54). However, Baumgarten seems to be conflating Salamis with Salina, the older name of Larnaka, and so he is actually referring to Agios Lazaros.

⁵⁹ Papageorghiou 1985e:174-75.

⁶⁰ PS: Cobham 1908:175.

⁶¹ Hackett 1901:171-174.

⁶² Ibid, 414. Soteriou stated that “The St-Lazarus church was destroyed by the French and passed next back to the Orthodox Church under the Turks in 1512” (1940:402 n.1)—but the Turks did not invade until 1570, and so, it is ridiculous to assume that the Turks controlled the church in 1512.

⁶³ *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum et Syriacum* (PS: Cobham 1908:190). These travelers’ huts were for foreign sailors. Jacques Heyman records an English cemetery attached to Agios Lazaros in the 1700s and in 1814 Henry Light recorded seeing English tombstones predating 1750 (PS: Cobham 1908: 250, 419).

⁶⁴ *Viaggi di Pietro della Valle il pellegrino* (PS: Cobham 1908: 213).

⁶⁵ PS: Pococke 1743-45: 213: PS: Niebuhr 1837: Pl. 3.

⁶⁶ Djobadze 1976: 76-78 n. 82.

⁶⁷ Since October 2006 a Georgian monastery has been excavated at Yalia near the northwestern coast of Cyprus. I visited the site in February 2007 and could see Georgian inscriptions on one

of the outside piers. There are several phases to the structure. The earliest portion seems to be a single domed basilica, to which was later added two vaulted chambers to the north. At another stage, a triconch was added to the eastern end and a porch was added to the southern side. The expedition is operated jointly between Georgian and Cypriot archaeologists, directed by Djebadze; the excavation is currently on-going. His historical research on the church was published in 1984 (196-209).

⁶⁸ Meadows 1989; PS: Stylianou 1957. We must be careful concerning the accuracy of Dapper's drawing. For example, his Gothic porch has no arcades, which was not the case at this time. Furthermore he depicts a large bell tower which does not appear on Barsky's more accurate plan. As Papageorghiou has pointed out, Dapper never visited Cyprus, and so his etching is based on previous models which have not survived. Papageorghiou also sees domes in Dapper's drawing while I only see the rounded gable of the transept arms (Papageorghiou 1998: 206). A short description of Barsky's life was provided by Kleinbauer (1992: lxxxii).

⁶⁹ I have not been able to trace any specific historical reference to an earthquake immediately prior to Barsky's visit to the island in 1727. Oberhummer wrote of an earthquake in 1718 (1903:144), and Kyprianos recorded several afterwards (1741 and 1758) (PS: Cobham 1908:355).

⁷⁰ Letter dated 7/1817, page 45; PS: Martin 1998: 64.

⁷¹ Κυπριάς Χαρίεσσα και ἐπιτομος (PS: Cobham 1908: 315). Hackett also refers to this inscription as being in Hebrew (1901:414). No such inscription is identifiable today.

⁷² Kyprianos 1788: 528.

⁷³ Claude F. A. Schaeffer, *Nouvelles découvertes à Enkomi (Chypre)* (Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres Paris, 1949).

⁷⁴ Acts 4:36.

⁷⁵ Epiphanius, *Adversus Haereses* 30.25.6; PS: Pohlsander 1999:10. According to Jerome, "Barnabas the Cypriot, also called Joseph the Levite, ordained apostle to the Gentiles with Paul, wrote one Epistle, valuable for the edification of the Church, which is reckoned among the apocryphal writings. He afterwards separated from Paul on account of John, a disciple also called Mark, nonetheless exercised the work laid upon him of preaching the Gospel." Jerome also stated that Tertullian believed Barnabas wrote the Epistles to the Hebrews (*De Viris Illustribus* 6, 7).

⁷⁶ In the Medieval Museum at Larnaka there are several artifacts incised with menorahs—certainly a Jewish symbol. As mentioned above (§III.1.), the Jewish insurrection of 115, caused widespread destruction of Salamis and according to Cassius Dio, 220,000 Jewish Cypriots were killed. Cypriot Jews are also recorded from the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries [Chris Schabel. *Cyprus: Society and Culture 1191-1374* (Leiden: Brill, 2005):162-164; PS: Cobham 1908:74-75].

⁷⁷ Martin Goodman, *The Ruling Class of Judaea: The Origins of the Jewish Revolt against Rome AD 66-70* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press):103.

⁷⁸ Acts 14:12.

⁷⁹ Ibid, 15:39.

⁸⁰ Colossians 4:10.

⁸¹ *Historia Translationis* (ex MS Codice Vaticano) and *Sanctus Marcus, Euangelista, Episcopus Alexandrinus et Martyr* in the *Acta Sanctorum* database (April 25).

⁸² R. Lipsius and M. Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* (Leipzig: Mendelssohn, 1903): 2.2.1-26; *Acta Sanctorum* database, June 11, pgs. 431-26.

⁸³ PS: Pohlsander 1999:34. The Jebusites were a Semitic tribe that lived around Jerusalem in the first millennium BC (Numbers 13:29; Joshua 11:3; 1 Kings 9:20-21; 2 Samuel 5:6). Their activities in Palestine coincided with the Phoenician settlement of Cyprus and possibly, the establishment of the city-state of Enkomi near Agios Varnavas monastery. The author of *Acta Barnabae*, perhaps, confused the Phoenician settlement of Enkomi with the biblical Jebusites; if so, he had access to historical material or oral traditions concerning Cyprus which does not survive today.

⁸⁴ Described above (§III.1.2.); Hackett 1901: 13-32; Hill 1940: 276-277. Lipsius argues that the *Acta Barnabae* was probably written by a local Cypriot who sought to defend the autocephaly claims of his church. This would explain the familiarity with Cypriot geography and the knowledge of the Barnabas' tomb outside Salamis (*Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden* 2.2 (Braunschweig: C. A. Schwetschke and son, 1884): 291-2.

⁸⁵ PS: Deun 1993.

⁸⁶ Ibid, 1993:15.

⁸⁷ Ibid, lines 533-49; PS: Pohlsander 1999:51.

⁸⁸ *Acta Sanctorum* database, February 19, pg.125; PS: Pohlsander 1999:58.

⁸⁹ *Historia Ecclesiastica* I.20, “Epitome 436”; PS: Pohlsander 1999:45.

⁹⁰ PS: Dawes and Baynes 1948: 206.

⁹¹ *Descripto orbis Romani*, 1095-1110; PS: Pohlsander 1999:69.

⁹² *Chronicon Syntomon*, PG 110 col. 761; PS: Pohlsander 1999: 85. This was repeated verbatim by George Kendrenos in the 12th century (*Compendium Historiarum*, PS: Migne, PG 121 col. 633).

⁹³ PS: Deun 1993: 15-16, 119, lines 844-53; PS: Pohlsander 1999:52.

⁹⁴ Soteriou 1937: 179.

⁹⁵ Soteriou 1935: Plate 17; 1937: Plate 3.

⁹⁶ Krautheimer 1960:1-40.

⁹⁷ Soteriou 1937:182; Papageorghiou 1985f:158.

⁹⁸ Papageorghiou has argued that the north aisle did not have an apse, but a flat wall (1985f:158). This is also how Soteriou reconstructs the church in his 1937 plan. However, Pococke in 1738 specifically mentioned three semi-circular apses (see §IV.2.5 below). Pococke has proven himself to be an exact and detail-oriented observer and deserves the benefit of the doubt. The loss of the northern apse should be assigned to Mogabgab's demolition activities and 20th c. reconstruction efforts.

⁹⁹ Papageorghiou 1985f:158; 1965a:227, 1965b; Megaw 1949:12; Karageorghis 1964:8.

¹⁰⁰ The domed-octagon churches of Agios Ioannos Chrysostom (Koutsovendis), the chapel at Hilarion Castle, and the Antiphonites Monastery (Kalograia) were single-aisle buildings covered by a single dome, between 6.5 and 7.5 meters (about 35% larger than Agios Varnavas' domes). These 11th century churches clearly belong to a separate, more alien tradition.

¹⁰¹ The original dome decoration of Agia Sophia in Constantinople had a simple cross. Besides the Rotunda at Thessaloniki, which depicted the Second Coming, most Justinianic period domes had simple crosses (Kleinbauer 1972). The original dome decoration at Agia Sophia at Thessaloniki (early eight century) was probably decorated by a cross, which was replaced by an ascension scene in the late ninth century. It is in the late-ninth century or later we should place the Pantokrator in the central dome of the Holy Apostles church in Constantinople (PS: Mango 1986:200). For the discussion of the development of dome decoration, see the work of Nikolaos Gkioles (1990) and Ionnas Stouphe-Poulemenou (1986).

¹⁰² The total number of windows in the domes would equal 42—a mystical number in Christian mysticism and the Kabalistic tradition. Papageorghiou has stated that Agios Varnavas has 16 windows in each dome, and this has been accepted by other scholars (1985f: 158; Papacostas 1995: 38). I find this strange, since there are no blind windows or blocked up windows, and there is simply no room for two additional windows.

¹⁰³ 1985: 516-517.

¹⁰⁴ 1985f: 157-159.

¹⁰⁵ Soteriou 1937:178-179.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, 175-187; 1940: 407.

¹⁰⁷ The photographs in his book and article was provided by Mogabgab (Soteriou 1935: Plate 17; 1937:Plate 3).

¹⁰⁸ Dikigoropoulos argued that “The Archbishop of Cyprus resided at or near Constantia long after that city was destroyed and abandoned. An early fourth century document referring to a meeting of the ecclesiastical court states that a decision was taken ‘εν τω ναῷ του Ἀγίου Βαρνάβα εἰς τὴν Αρχιεπισκοπήν’... The church of St. Barnabas is no other than that on the outskirts of Constantia... No church of St. Barnabas is known to have existed in Nicosia before the 20th century” (1965-66: 262 n. 123). However, today we know of several historical references concerning an Agios Varnavas in Nicosia. For example the *Bulla Cypria* of 1260 mentions the “ecclesiam grecorum beati Barnabe Nicosiensis” (Hackett 1901: 361-362; PS: Richard 1996:24 n. 14; PS: Coureas and Schabel 1997: 201).

¹⁰⁹ Darrouzès 1979: 32; PS: Richard 1996:19-31.

¹¹⁰ Meinardus 1970: 25.

¹¹¹ For example, the church is mentioned by Ghilebert de Lannoy in 1422, Sebastien Mamerot in 1458, Joos Van Ghistele and Amboise Zeebout in 1481, and Conrad Grünemberg in 1486, Stephan Lusignan in 1580 [PS: Grivaud 1990:52, 90, 121, 126; also mentioned by Fra Noe in the 15th century (*Viagio da Venetia al S. Sepolcro*, PS: Cobham 1908:53)].

¹¹² Ibid, 88-89.

¹¹³ *L'Isole più famose del mondo*, PS: Cobham 1908: 165.

¹¹⁴ Soteriou 1937:176; Papageorghiou 1985f: 158.

¹¹⁵ Papageorghiou 1985f:158-159.

¹¹⁶ Meadows 1989; PS: Grishin 1994/5:95-97; PS: Stylianou 1957:113-15.

¹¹⁷ *Description of the East*, PS: Cobham 1908:256-257.

¹¹⁸ Ephraim the Monk mentioned these renovations in his 1751 *Η Περιγραφή τῆς σεβάσμας, καὶ Βασιλίκης μονῆς του Κυκκού, ἣτοι διήγησης περὶ τῆς εν Κυπρῷ αποκομίσεως τῆς θαυματουργού ἀγίας Εικόνος τῆς Υπεραγίας Θεοτόκου τῆς λεγόμενος Κυκκοτίσσης* [A narrative of the founding of the Holy Monastery of Kykkos and the history of the miraculous icon of the Mother of God], ed. and transl. by A. Jakovljevic and N. Christodoulou (Nicosia: Research Centre of Kykkos Monastery, 1996); Soteriou 1937:176; Papageorghiou 1985f: 158.

¹¹⁹ PS: Biddle 1792:103; PS: Cobham 1909: 71, 256.

¹²⁰ Papageorghiou 1985f: 159.

¹²¹ 1918: 238,239.

¹²² 1936: 225.

¹²³ 1918: 239.

¹²⁴ Megaw 1949:12.

¹²⁵ Papageorghiou 1985f:159.

¹²⁶ Karageorghis 1964:8; Papageorghiou 1965a:228, 1965b: Pl 51.

¹²⁷ 1912:2.

¹²⁸ 1931: 477-90; 1935: plan 13, PL 19; 1937: 175-187; 1940: 402.

¹²⁹ Kyriaze 1933:314-317.

¹³⁰ 1936:269; Soteriou 1935: plan 13.

¹³¹ 1926:142. Enlart was viewed as authoritative in the early writings of Peter Megaw, and his predecessor, George Jeffery. Even with the consensus based on Enlart, one British travel-writer went so far as to date Agios Lazaros to the eighteen century (Francis 1949:11).

¹³² Megaw first recorded his changed date in 1958 acknowledging Dikigoropoulos' work (elaborated his opinion in 1974: 79, 82). Soteriou's changed date was mentioned by Dikigoropoulos (1961: 191 n.1). Dikigoropoulos was assessing the historical documents of Cyprus as early as 1945 and based his opinion of Agios Lazaros on the recent information provided by Jenkins et al. (PS: Arethas, 1954: 1-40).

¹³³ 1974:79 n.88.

¹³⁴ Wharton 1988: 66, 1991: 568; followed by Ćurčić (1999:76 n. 26).

¹³⁵ 1966a:221.

¹³⁶ “Τυπολογικά ο ναός του Αγίου Λαζάρου ανήκει στον τύπο του εγγεγραμμένου σταυροειδούς με τρούλο. Δεν πρόκειται όμως για το συνήθη εγγεγραμμένο σταυροειδή αλλά για ένα σύνθετο, που στην πραγματικότητα αποτελείται από τρεις συνεπτυγμένους εγγεγραμμένους σταυροειδείς με τρούλο” (1998: 213).

¹³⁷ Ibid, 205,221.

¹³⁸ Ibid, 223.

¹³⁹ “Το μέγεθος και η μορφή των παραθύρων αυτών είναι μοναδικά στην Κύπρο” (Ibid, 218).

¹⁴⁰ “Μόνο στην Κωνσταντινούπολη υπάρχουν ναοί με επάλληλα παράθυρα στενόμακρα που φθάνουν μέχρι σχεδόν το δάπεδο” (*Ibid.*).

¹⁴¹ “Δεν είναι γνωστό αν στο ναό του Αποστόλου Βαρνάβα υπήρχαν παρόμοια παράθυρα γιατί πιο τοίχοι του ναού στο εσωτερικό καλύπτονται από παχύ στρώμα γύψος” [It is not known an in the church of Apostle Barnabas existed similar windows because the walls of church in the interior are covered by a thick layer of gypsum] (*Ibid.*, 218).

¹⁴² The drawing made by Barsky in 1727 does not show these windows. Since he was a keen observer, we can post-date these windows to a time after he visited the monastery.

¹⁴³ 1993:78.

¹⁴⁴ Perhaps Michaelides was basing his chronology on Vassos Karageorghis' opinion. The latter published the initial findings that Papageorghiou made in 1972, stating that Agios Lazaros dated to the eleventh century. But Karageorghis, far from being an expert in Byzantine architecture, provided neither evidence nor reasons for this arbitrary date (1972: 13-14, 1973:624).

¹⁴⁵ For Byzantine Cosmatesque opus sectile, see the discussion in P. Pajares-Ayuela, *Cosmatesque Ornament: Flat Polychrome Geometric Patterns in Architecture* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2001).

¹⁴⁶ Rory Kress, “1,400-Year-Old Mosaic Restored in Israel,” *Washington Post* (Monday, January 28, 2008).

¹⁴⁷ See Ann Terry, “The Opus Sectile in the Eufrasius Cathedral at Poreč,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 40(1986): 147-164.

¹⁴⁸ Mango, Hawkins, and Boyd 1990: 63-94; Michaelides 2000: 223-228.

¹⁴⁹ In terms of iconography, the Kellia crucifixion falls between the Early Christian types, as in the *Rabula Gospels* (Florence. Laurent.Plut.I.56, 586) where Christ is clothed in a Himation, and the more emotive crucifixions of the eleventh century, as at Nea Moni (Chios, Greece) of 1042-55 and The Church of the Dormition (Daphni, Greece) of c. 1090-1100.

¹⁵⁰ This date is the current consensus (Stylianou 1996; Papageorghiou 1998: 222-3; contra Papageorghiou 1985c:328; Wharton 1988:57-60).

¹⁵¹ 1979:25.

¹⁵² Chatzchristophe 1997: 277-83.

¹⁵³ Papacostas has published a tentative transcription and provided a translation (Papacostas 1999: § II.6.F; 2002: 42-64). However, Papageorghiou has also transcribed the inscription, and his findings contradict Papacostas' (personal communication 11/24/07). The former had studied the inscription first hand, while Papacostas had never visited the site. My preliminary investigation at the church has confirmed the name of “Bardas Skleros” and Papacosta's dating.

¹ Even though evidence was available in his day which would demonstrate the Early Christian nature of the barrel-vaulted churches of Afentrika, Enlart was blinded by his French patriotism, and classified them as Romanesque structures. Another critique of Enlart's work on Cyprus has been given by Professor Chris Schabel in "Ο Καμίλης Ενλάρτ και οι Κιστερκινοί στον Πύργο," *Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus* 2002: 401-406.

² Hill 1940: 322.

³ 1995: 130-145. While Vryonis' work on Byzantine poetry is erudite, his tirade against Romilly J.H. Jenkins (1907-1969) as a racist is unfounded. Vryonis directly attacked the Jenkin's biography rather than analyzing his thesis—such venomous, personal rantings disguised as scholarship should never be taken seriously. For a more useful biographical sketch of Jenkins and his biases, one must read Cyril Mango's obituary article in *Dumbarton Oak Papers* 23 (1969-70).

⁴ 1940: ix [*my italics*], see also §I.3 above.

⁵ The equation of *provincialism* with *backwardness* has been explained by Ćurčić (2000: 12-13).

⁶ In 1974, Megaw admitted that he was wrong in dating the barrel-vaulted churches of Afentrika to after 965: "The writer's initial preference for assigning these vaulted reconstructions to the tenth century was abandoned in the light of later discoveries" (1974:76). Unfortunately, Megaw has never indicated what those discoveries were. He revealed his mistake earlier to A.I. Dikigoropoulos by 1960. The latter wrote that Megaw was going to present at the 12th International Byzantine Congress at Ochrid in 1961 concerning his error on Afentrika's churches (1962: 191 n. 1). I have not been able to trace any mention of Megaw's presentation in the literature. Megaw also misdated the Saranda Kolones castle complex to the 9th century, based on little evidence ["Supplementary Excavations on a Castle Site at Paphos, Cyprus, 1970-1971," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 26 (1972):341 ff. This was corrected by John Rosser, proposing a late 12th century date (1985: 97)].

⁷ PS: Jenkins et al. 1954:1-40.

⁸ 1956b: 24-31; 1957: 43-50; 1958: 25-34; see above §III.2.3.

⁹ 1961:188-189.

¹⁰ 1974:78-79; 1986: 508-509.

¹¹ 1974:79 n.88.

¹² Wharton 1991: 568; Ćurčić 1999:76.

¹³ 1986:505-519.

¹⁴ Wharton has consistently dated aniconic fresco paintings, especially those in Cappadocia to the tenth century (1977:103-112; 1986:21-37).

¹⁵ A few scholars have not accepted her dating of aniconic fresco painting in Cappadocia (Thierry 1976:81-119; 1981:389-403; 1994; 2002; Jolivet-Lévy 1991; Lafontaine-Dosogne 1987:321-337); while Ćurčić (1999:76), Chotzakoglou (2005: 490) and Andreas Foulias (2004:130) have accepted her tenth century dating. Chapter Four (§IV.1.5) has laid out the arguments concerning why this fresco cannot be dated after the end of the eighth century.

¹⁶ Papacostas 1995, 1999a.

¹⁷ Muqaddasi (10th c.) described the distance from Cyprus to the Syrian coast as a day and half journey (PS: Strange 1975:82). The patriarch Nicholas Mouzalon described the journey from Cyprus to Constantinople in the 12th c (PS: Doanidou 1934: 119, 260-63). Wharton has written: “The island’s relative remoteness from the Empire’s bureaucratic center, as well as its physical isolation by the sea, fostered a degree of actual and political independence...” (1988:53). I would rather argue that Cyprus is accessible *because* of the sea—it has always had a sea-faring tradition. It would be more accessible to the capital than land-locked Cappadocia or the Africa provinces.

¹⁸ See notes for § III.2.4 and IV.1.5 note 53.

¹⁹ The floor mosaic represents the Villa of Dominus Julius, and is now in the Bardo Museum, Tunis.

²⁰ Fowden 2004.

²¹ History records little Arab activity on Cyprus, except for the Caliphate’s navy using Paphos as a port-of-call when they set out to conquer Crete and failed (Christides 2006:56).

²² Samuel Guyer, “La Madrasa al-Halâwiyya à Alep,” *Bulletin de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale du Caire* 11 (1914): 217-231; Lassus 1947: 153, fig. 69; Butler 1929: 170-175. In fact, W. Eugene Kleinbauer has suggested that the structure is in fact part of a tetraconch structure—by no means a multiple-domed basilica (1973: 101-103, fig. 8).

²³ A.M. Schneider, “Das Kalamon-Kloster in der Jerichoebene,” *Oriens Christianus* (series 3)13 (1938):39-43. Neither Smith nor Schneider present this church as a three-domed structure. I have drawn in the western and eastern dome, as Smith did with the others (fig.VI.8f). We do not even know if the original church even had a central dome.

²⁴ The date of the Golden Gate is a matter of controversy. Early archaeologists assumed that the current structure was built by Herod the Great (73 BC – 4 BC). However, the style of the capitals and arch reliefs point to the Byzantine Period. Most scholars attribute the gate to Justinian I (S. Gera, “The Golden Gate of Jerusalem, the Gate of Mercy” unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Tel-Aviv University, Department of Archaeology, 1986). However, M. Rosen-Ayalon has popularized the view that the Golden Gate was an Umayyad structure [*The Early Islamic Monuments of al-Haram al-Sharif, Qedem* 28 (Jerusalem, 1989)]. Most scholars today have rejected

her thesis for two reasons. First she argued that the temple mount was avoided by Christians and abandoned in the Byzantine period; however, recent archaeological work on the temple mount shows a vast array of Byzantine artifacts, from cross pendants and ceramics, to coins and pilgrim ampoules [H. Shanks, "Sifting the Temple Mount Dump," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 31.4 (July/August 2005):14]. Second, there is no comparable Umayyad structure which contains such finely carved lintels and capitals. Concerning the Heraclian dating, see Dan Bahat's article "The Golden Gate and the Date of the Madaba Map," in *The Madaba Map Centenary 1897-1997* eds. M. Piccirillo and E. Alliata (Jerusalem: Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, 1999): 254-256.

²⁵ Earlier domed or centrally-planned churches were built prior to Justinian I's reign: the tetraconches of Syria and Sant Lorenzo, Milan (Kleinbauer 1968: 1-22; 1973:89-114); Hosios David, Thessaloniki; St. George, Zorah (Syria); Theotokos Church, Garizim (Palestine); Alahan and Meriamlik churches, Anatolia (Hill 1996:45); and perhaps Agios Polyeuktos (Harrison 1989).

²⁶ Smith 1950.

²⁷ Such as the Holy Sepulchre (Jerusalem), Church of the Nativity (Bethlehem), Kal'at Sim'ân (Syria), and the Mausoleum of Galla Placida (Ravenna). The Mausoleum of Galerius was transformed into the church of St. George by 480, arguably making it the first domed church (Kleinbauer 1972: 106).

²⁸ Krautheimer 1986: 205-257; Mango 1976a: 57-88.

²⁹ Krautheimer 1986: 257.

³⁰ According to the John of Ephesus, Theodora was a strong supporter of the Monophysite cause, building Ss Sergius and Bacchus for their use (*Lives of the Eastern Saints in Patrologia Orientalis* 18 (Paris: Firmin-Didot et Cie, 1923-26): 525-681. See also Jonathan Bardill, "The Church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus in Constantinople and the Monophysite Refugees," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000):1-11.

³¹ Concerning the surviving historical descriptions and archaeological remains see the following: PS: Downey 1959: 27-51, 1957: 855-924; Dark and Özgümüş 2002: 393-413; Krautheimer 1964: 265-270.

³² *Buildings* 1.4.9-13; PS: transl. by Dewing 1940:49-51.

³³ Krautheimer 1986:69.

³⁴ PS: Downey 1959: 27-51.

³⁵ *Buildings* 5.5-6; PS: Dewing 1940:317-319.

³⁶ Keil 1951; Plommer 1962:119-129.

³⁷ Mango wrote that "It goes without saying that buildings as complex and sophisticated as Sts. Sergius and Bacchus and St. Sophia did not readily lend themselves to imitation" (1978:86).

³⁸ Bucher 1972:264.

³⁹ 1986: 242, 244.

⁴⁰ Bucher 1972: 37-51.

⁴¹ If there were no side-aisles, then the church would simply be a pavilion with four large side portals leading to the exterior. The surviving masonry shows no evidence for thin sheets of stone, like a chancel screen, which would wall off the side arches. If there were side-aisles, then they would have been rather tall, since from the “exterior” there appears to be no vaulting below the domes’ drums. And if this was the case, it is possible that the awkwardness of this structure is because it was originally a mosque.

⁴² Buchwald 1981: 317.

⁴³ Procopius wrote, “Eirene...Justinian rebuilt on a large scale, so that it was scarcely second to any of the churches in Byzantium, save that of Sophia...” (*Buildings* 1.2.13, PS: Dewing 1940:37).

⁴⁴ Peschlow 1977: 212-213.

⁴⁵ 1931: 477-90; 1935: plan 13, PL 19; 1937: 175-187; 1940: 402. Kyriaze tried to prove Soteriou’s five-dome hypothesis by excavating the church in 1933 (1933: 314-317).

⁴⁶ Soteriou 1937:178-179.

⁴⁷ Soteriou’s changed date was mentioned by Dikigoropoulos (1961: 191 n.1).

⁴⁸ Hans Buchwald apparently did not know of Soteriou’s dismissal of his own theory, and assumed that Soteriou’s 6th century dating was correct: “An attribution of the basic features of the plan and vaulting solution of St. Barnabas [Cyprus] to the late 5th century, on the other hand, permits the intriguing conjecture that the church of St. John at Alasehir was not a provincial version of forms developed in Constantinople during the Justinianic period, but rather, that it may represent a pre-Justinianic architectural development in Asia Minor which eventually reached the capital during Justinian’s reign” (1981: 318). Wharton thesis was subsequently followed by Ćurčić (1999:77).

⁴⁹ 1983: 88.

⁵⁰ 1988: 67.

⁵¹ See note VI.15 above.

⁵² Papageorghiou 1998: 222.

⁵³ For a good overview of the strife between the capital and its provinces during the Cypriot Period of Neutrality, see Haldon (1997).

⁵⁴ Concerning the secondary functions of churches see J.G. Davies' *The secular use of church buildings* (New York: Seabury Press, 1968).

⁵⁵ In the *Apostolic Constitutions* (late fourth century) congregations are characterized as a sheepfolds: "the shepherds place all the creatures distinctly, I mean goats and sheep, according to their kind and age, and still every one runs together, like to its like" (2.57).

⁵⁶ The explanation concerning the incorporation of martyria/memoria into churches was given by Grabar (1949: 95-108). He suggested that the centrally-planned shrines influenced the centrally-planned churches of the Byzantine Empire. As early as the fifth century, martyria/memoria were seen as different kinds of structures from congregational churches. According to a letter penned by Pope Innocent I (dated to 416) the Eucharistic bread (*fermentum*) was not to be served in *extra muros* martyria/memoria of Rome, which was commonly provided in the *intra muros* churches (called "titles") (*Epistola ad Decentius*).

⁵⁷ The separation of the sexes in Early Christian churches developed from Jewish synagogue practice. The practice was codified by the fifth or sixth century in the Christian church as outlined in the *Canones Hippolyti* (also called the *Apostolic Traditions* 97). The separation is also implied as early as the late fourth century by the *Apostolic Constitutions* which state: "Let the doorkeepers stand at the men's entrances to observe them, and the deaconesses at those of the women" (2.57.13-14). In larger churches, women and children occupied the galleries while men occupied the ground floor aisles.

⁵⁸ Mathews 1962:93-94. There seems to be no reason why the men's and women's aisles could not be changed, so that the men were in the south and women were in the north—I am merely following Mathew's explanation.

⁵⁹ Lateral apse passages are found at Agios Epifanios (Phase 1, Salamis), Panagia Chrysotissa and Asomatos (at Afentrika), , Agios Auxibios (Soloi), and the Campanopetra (Salamis-Constantia); wall bema passages are found at Agios Epifanios (phase 2-4) and the Panagia Kanakariá (Lythrakomi). These features were discussed above in §II.1.2. and note III.81.

⁶⁰ See notes III.33 and II.129 above.

⁶¹ Megaw 1946:53; his later article of 1974 does not state that domes were built as a response to fire, but were results of the Arab raids.

⁶² Ćurčić 1999.

⁶³ While it cannot, at this point, be proven that domed churches are more earthquake proof than wooden-roof basilicas, it does seem reasonable that barrel-vaulted churches are more prone to collapse. Barrel-vaulting thrusts the walls outward, putting more stress on walls than wooden-roof or domed buildings. The latter type concentrates the gravitational thrusts in four equal parts through the piers which are buttressed by the flanking aisle and nave vaults.

⁶⁴ The other barrel-vaulted churches, such as the Panagia Afentrika (Sykhada) and Agia Varvara probably continued to be used into the twelfth century.

⁶⁵ PS: Tabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3.2.645; Theophanes, 470; *Chronica Byzantina Breiora* (ed. by P. Schreiner, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 12/1, 1975-79) I, Reichschroniken, 2.15.49.

⁶⁶ 1950: vii.

⁶⁷ “The Dome of Heaven” in the *Art Bulletin* (1945) and *Martyrium* (1946), respectively.

⁶⁸ 1950: 3.

⁶⁹ See above §I.1.1.

⁷⁰ 1950:5.

⁷¹ *Egyptian Architecture as Cultural Expression* (New York: Appleton-Century, 1938). This sentiment is also found in *Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956). Both works were generally well-received at the time.

⁷² George Forsyth, Book review of Baldwin Smith's *The Dome: A Study in the History of Ideas* in the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 11.3 (1952): 214-219.

⁷³ *The Clash of Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999)

⁷⁴ J. Toynbee, “Roman and Medieval Architecture,” *The Classical Review*, New Ser 8.2 (June 1958):177.

⁷⁵ Plato, *Timaeus* 33B-36D; Ptolemy, *Planetary Hypotheses*.

⁷⁶ Howe wrote: “Those who think of ancient domes in terms of the great Roman structures like the Pantheon may be surprised that Niceta makes no mention of construction in concrete...Either he know nothing of its use, or he preferred to ignore it...His analogy, of course, demanded a dry stone structure, for mortar in a dome would hold the stones together just as the Stoic *pneuma* or the Hebrew Divine Wisdom [Agia Sophia] makes the parts of the universe cohere” (1966:266).

⁷⁷ Suetonius wrote that “The main banquet hall was circular and constantly revolved day and night, like the heavens” (*Nero* 31).

⁷⁸ Lehman 1945: 3-4; H. Seyrig, “Le culte de Bel et de Baälshamin,” *Syria* 14 (1933):254-265; Ward-Perkins 1965: 197-199.

⁷⁹ Lehman’s article was reprinted in the well-circulated *Modern Perspectives in Western Art History: An Anthology of 20th-Century Writings on the Visual Arts* by Eugene Kleinbauer (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971 [reprinted in 1989 by University of Toronto Press]). References to

“The Dome of Heaven” can be found in Krautheimer (1986:218, 229) and the popular textbook *Medieval Art* by Marilyn Stokstad (Boulder, CO: Westview, 2004, 2nd ed.):52.

⁸⁰ 1977a: 49-51.

⁸¹ 2001: XI, 11-16.

⁸² 1991: 140-145; see §II.1.3 above.

⁸³ Barrel-vaulted buildings in ancient Greece and Palestine were not common—they were usually used for burial chambers. Eventually, with the Roman conquest the use of barrel-vaults became more widespread and commonplace. The Latin term for *barrel-vault* was *fornix*. From this word we get the term *fornication* since in the Roman culture prostitutes had brothels where “clients” would go; this was a very different system than in Greece, where prostitutes came to the clients home during symposia. Therefore during the Roman Empire, the Roman term “forneia” was conflated with the Greek term “porneia,” associating the new type of architecture (the Roman arch) with a new type of prostitute (*πόρνη*).

⁸⁴ *Scenica* 381; *Fabulae* 150.2, respectively.

⁸⁵ 2 Peter 2; several Early Church fathers take up this exegesis, like Ambrose (*De mysteriis* 9-12).

⁸⁶ Howe 1966: 261-273.

⁸⁷ Job 22:12-14. Septuagint Greek:

μη ουχὶ ο τα υψηλὰ ναιῶν εφορα τους δε υβρει
φερομενους εταπεινωσεν και ειπας τι εγνω
ο ισχυρος η κατά του γνοφου ιρινει
νεφη αποκρυψη αυτου και ουχ οραθησεται
και γυρον ουρανου διαπορευευσεται

Latin Vulgate:

an cogitas quod Deus excelsior caelo et super stellarum
vertices sublimetur et dicis quid enim novit Deus et
quasi per caliginem iudicat nubes latibulum eius nec
nostra considerat et circa **cardines caeli** perambulat

Hebrew:

כָּלָא-אָלֹהֶת, גְּבָה שְׁמִים; וְרָאָה רָאשׁ פּוֹכְבִּימִכִּי-רָמוֹת
וְאַמְرָתִ, מֵה-זֶדֶע אֵל; כְּבָעֵד עֲרָפֵל יְשֻׁפּוֹת
עֲבִים סְתִּיר-לוֹ, וְלֹא יַרְאָה; וְחוֹג שְׁמִים, יְתַהְלָךְ

Greek: **γυρον**—circuit, brim, edge

Latin: **cardines**—axis, pole, apex

Hebrew: **וְחוֹג** (chuwg)—circuit, circumference

In all three languages, these terms are used in describing bowls or cup-shapes. Other similar verses that speaks of God's throne on the vault of heaven can be found in Amos 9:6 and Sirach 24:4-5 (Latin Vulgate, 24:7-8).

⁸⁸ Arnobius (297–303) refers to all mankind living under “vault of heaven (*sub hac caeli convexione*)” (*Adversus Gentes* I.12).

⁸⁹ Alan Cameron, “On the Date of John of Gaza,” *The Classical Quarterly*, New Series 43.1 (1993): 348-351; Glanville Downey, “John of Gaza and the Mosaic of Ge and Karpoi,” *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* 2 (Princeton: Princeton University, 1938): 205-12; Cupane-Palermo 1979:195-207.

⁹⁰ *Buildings* 1.1.46, PS: Dewing 1940:21). Krautheimer supported the “Dome of Heaven” theory: “In the sixth-century Byzantium...the ceremonial of the Mass fell into two parts: one, removed from profane eyes, took place inside the chancel—in Greek church parlance, the Great Mystery; the other, public and meant to be seen by all, was staged in the nave where clergy and Emperor met to perform their respective roles below the eastern rim of the great dome...the traditional basilica plan had been marked by new accents. The nave where Christ revealed Himself in the word and in the flesh, accompanied by the processions of the clergy, was turned into the central element of the design. The dome rose above it, chosen perhaps ‘because in the ancient Near East it already had a clear and specific symbolic meaning ...the canopy of Heaven’” (Krautheimer 1986: 218, 229). Here he is quoting J.B. Ward-Perkins (1965:198).

⁹¹ PS: Mango 1986: 38; Grabar 1947:41-67; PS: McVey 1983: 91-121; Palmer and Rodley 1989: 117-69.

⁹² PS: Percival 1900: 383; *see* discussion in Barber (2003:39-59).

⁹³ PS: Mango 1986: 83.

⁹⁴ Barber discusses how the cross became a representation of the Divine Logos rather than the human nature of Christ. We must keep in mind that the jeweled cross does not have the same iconography as the crucifix. This is why the orthodox Patriarch Nikephoros felt the need to reestablish the connection between cross and crucifix in the early ninth century against the Iconoclasts (Barber 2003: 83-105).

⁹⁵ Grabar 1957; Barber 1995: 5-10.

⁹⁶ Mango 1986: 200, 232, 249. Several scholars have attempted to trace the development of the Pantocrator; it is beyond the scope of thesis to critique their theories here (Gkioles 1990; Mathews 1990: 191-214; Stouphe-Poulemenou 1986: 793-854; Capizzi 1964:177-360).

⁹⁷ Also the theophany described in Ezekiel (1:28) mentions a rainbow around the cosmic throne.

⁹⁸ Perhaps the Anglo-Saxon book was copied from an earlier Byzantine work; the figurative style looks Carolingian (“Day 3 and 4” in the *Genesis poem*, Bodleian MS Junius XI B, pages 6 and 7; reproduced in Robertson 1975:70-72).

⁹⁹ Schiller 1966-1980:5.21-30, Pl.10, 40, 68, 69, 74, etc.

¹⁰⁰ The idea that the rainbow was a half circle is mentioned by Gregory of Nyssa: “the half-circle shining in the midst with its dye of purple, and the golden mist round the circle ringed round and glistening at its edge with its many rainbow hues” (*Against Eunomius* 3.2). The term *apse* (ἀψης) originally meant the joining of two arcs forming a circle—the bending of two pieces of wood to form a wheel.

¹⁰¹ This formulation can be seen in earlier images of the Pantocrator, as in the fresco from Bawit (Egypt), dating from the 6th to 7th century (now at the Cairo Coptic Museum).

¹⁰² Thomson 1979:104-106.

¹⁰³ *De Coelesti Hierarchia* 2.5.12, 3.3.16; PS: Parker 1897.

¹⁰⁴ Kleinbauer 1999:44.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, 42-44. Eugene Kleinbauer has also pointed out that the analogy between the dome and light and illumination is found in earlier writers such as Gregory of Nazianzus, who described a domed martyrium: “At the top is a gleaming heaven that illuminates the eye all round with abundant founts of light—truly a place wherein light dwells” (Kleinbauer et al. 2004: 47).

¹⁰⁶ PS: McVey 1983:119. Other scholars have identified the Neo-Platonic scheme at Agia Sophia: Grabar 1947:55; Smith 1950: 90, 92; Krautheimer 1986: 218-219.

¹⁰⁷ Downey 1946-1948: 98-118.

¹⁰⁸ See Nahman Avigad’s article “The Nea: Justinian’s Church of St. Mary, Mother of God, Discovered in the Old City of Jerusalem” in Tsafrir (1993: 128-135). Other influential Justinianic-period basilicas are also known, such as St. Catherine’s Monastery at Sinai of around 565.

¹⁰⁹ There are several pre-Christian precursors of the Pantocrator (cosmic ruler) image in the top of a vault or dome. As mentioned above (note VI.75) a bust of the cosmic ruler Bel-Jupiter is found in the center of the north dome in the Temple of Bel at Palmyra from the 1st century. It is surrounded by personifications of the seven planets. The base of the dome is ornamented with a band showing the 12 signs of the zodiac [Iain Browning. *Palmyra* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1979): 122, fig. 62]. At the top of the barrel vault of the Arch of Titus, the Emperor is seen being transported to the realm of the immortals, seated on the back of the eagle of Jupiter—an apotheosis and in some sense as a cosmic ruler. From the Temple of Heracles in Sabratha, Libya, are fresco fragments of the apotheosis of Hadrian in the dome, surrounded by zodiac signs and almond-rosette stars [G. Caputo and F. Ghedini. *Il Tempio D’Ercole di Sabratha* (Rome: L’Erma di Bretschneider, 1984)]. In the dome of the mausoleum near the Torre dei Schiavi (Rome), datable to 309, there was probably an image of Jupiter seated on clouds and hurling thunderbolts [J. Rasch’s *Das Mausoleum bei Tor de’ Schiavi in Rom* (Mainz: P. von Zabern,

1993): 69-70, pl. 51]. Just how these images relate to the earliest known Christ-Pantokrator ceiling decoration, such as the vault of the San Zeno chapel in St. Prassede in Rome (dating to ca. 820), is matter for a separate study [See also J. Deckers's review of T. Mathews's *The Clash of Gods* in the *Byzantinischen Zeitschrift*, 89 (1996): 485-486]. But it is recognized here that the St. Zeno mosaic is certainly a pre-Iconoclastic Christ-Pantocrator image on vaulting (at the apex of the groin-vault, masons smoothed the ridges forming a circular medallion for the image, as if the decoration was planned prior to the building). As mentioned in the previous section (VI.3.4.), Christ portraiture in domes and half-domes are well attested to in Early Christian buildings, such as the Rotunda in Salonica. Of course none of these images are found in Cyprus. For a longer discussion of the development of the Pantocrator see J.T. Matthews' *The Pantocrator: title and image* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1976).

¹¹⁰ Maximus the Confessor, *Epistle* 20; Sherwood 1952: 5, 6, 34; Kruger 1996:4; PS: Allen and Neil 2002:13.

¹¹¹ *Ad Domnum Marinum Cypri presbyterum* (Letter to the priest Marinus of Cyprus); PS: Migne, PG 91, 134D-136C; PS: Allen and Neil 2002: 15. Information in this and the next paragraph is drawn from a multitude of sources (PS: Balthasar 2003; Bathrellos 2004; PS: Blowers 2003; PS: Brock 1973; PS: Esbroeck 1986: 299–346; PS: Cantarella 1931; Cooper 2005; Nichols 1993; Sherwood 1955; Thunberg 1985, 1965; Törönen 2007). Kyrres wrote: “Maximos the Confessor...had passed part of his life in Cyprus, like John Moschos the author of the *Λειμών*, his friend Sophronios the future anitmonothelite Patriarch of Jerusalem, and others. Their contacts with the Cypriot John Eleemon (the Almsgiver) Patriarch of Alexandria, whose Life was composed by Sophronios and Moschos (before the latter’s death in Rome in 619) together with the other examples cited point to a widespread diffusion of ideas, through and via Cyprus to and from the East and West, which made the island a place of considerable tolerance and relatively independent theological reach on the eve of the Arab raids” (1985: 175).

¹¹² See the commentary by Brightman (1908: 248-267, 387-397).

¹¹³ PS: Stead 1982:61.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, 99, 100.

¹¹⁵ Maximus’ theme of unity in diversity or uni-versity and tri-unity is discussed in length by Törönen (2007).

¹¹⁶ Ozoline 1995: 30-38.

¹¹⁷ The Patriarch Germanus I further elaborated Maximus’ *Mystagogia* and wrote concerning the presence of angels within the sanctuary with the deacons (PS: Meyendorff 1984:87,91, 95).

¹¹⁸ Following Maximus, the Patriarch Germanus wrote: “The church is an earthly heaven in which the super-celestial God dwells and walks about” (Ibid, 57).

¹¹⁹ PS: Migne, PG 91 col. 681C; PS: Stead 1982: 70, 82.

¹²⁰ The quotes in this paragraph are based on Stead's translation (*Ibid*, 71, 78, 99-100). I define *mystery* here as merely a *paradox* for the sake of convenience. The Church's doctrines of Christian mysteries are quite extensive and it is far from the purpose of this section to glibly provide a summary [Mathias Scheeben, *Die Mysterien des Christenthums* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1898; English transl. by Cyril Vollert, St. Louis, 1946); Jacques Bossuet, *Elévations à Dieu sur tous les mystères de la religion chrétienne* (Paris: Librairie philosophique J. Vrin, 1962, originally published in 1711)]. With that being said, the three actions highlighted by Maximus the Confessor are easy to characterize as paradoxes. It should further be noted that the formulation of mysteries as paradoxes predate Maximus; for example Justinian offered this praise in 532: "Only-begotten Son and Word of God, you who are immortal, and who deigned to take a body form the Holy Mother of God and always Virgin Mary, and who without change, became human, and were crucified...and throughout death overpowered death. You are the One of the Holy Trinity, glorified with the Father and the Holy Spirit" [(H. Paprocki, *Le mystère de l'Eucharistie: Genèse et interprétation de la liturgie eucharistique byzantine* (Paris: Cerf, 1993):409]. It is clear that bodies are mortal; but Christ's is immortal; Christ became human, yet did not change; death conquers death; God is one and a Trinity; and of course, the Virgin birth.

¹²¹ Germanus calls the liturgy of the Word the "mysteries of Christ's incarnation" and "the coming of God" referring to John 1 (PS: Meyendorff 1984: 81, 97).

¹²² *Ibid*, 87, 90, 93, 96.

¹²³ Maximus wrote "His ascension into heaven and restoration to His throne above the heavens, after His first coming, is symbolically represented by the priest's entrance into the sanctuary and his ascent to the sacerdotal chair" (*Ibid*, 87).

¹²⁴ It might be argued that the iconostasis would have obstructed the spectator's view. However, we do not have any evidence for iconostases prior to the sixteenth century in Cyprus. Early Christian templons and chancel screens would have been continued throughout the Period of Neutrality, these are typically waist-high, thus permitting the laity to witness all three mysteries discussed here.

¹²⁵ *Ibid*, 104.

¹²⁶ Baldwin Smith has discussed the domed gateway at length (1956). The same symbolism is found in the Chalke gate of the Great Palace in Constantinople [Cyril Mango, *The Brazen House: A Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace in Constantinople* (Copenhagen, 1959)]. The multiple-domed Golden Gate at Jerusalem belongs to the same cosmic iconography.

¹²⁷ PS: Stead 1982: 88.

¹²⁸ "Γυναῖκες ερχόμεναι από θέας, δεῦτε τῆς εν εἰδει και σχήματι, φημί κατά τήν πρόσοφιν τῶν αισθητῶν περιπλανησεως" (PS: Migne, PG 91 697C; *Ibid*, 97).

¹²⁹ Côté and Levin 2002.

¹³⁰ Some have argued that identity begins with the recognition of *difference* between self and others [M. Sökefeld, "Debating Self, Identity, and Culture in Anthropology," *Current Anthropology*.

40. 4. (Aug. – Oct. 1999): 417-418, 423; J. Derrida, *Margins of Philosophy* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1982)].

¹³¹ Vryonis 1995: 131.

¹³² Several studies have outlined the problem of Cypriot identity today and its political motivations: Nikos Stamatakis, “History and Nationalism: The Cultural Reconstruction of the Modern Greek Cypriot Identity,” *The Cyprus Review* 3.1 (1991): 59-86; Yiannis Papadakis, ‘Greek Cypriot Narratives of History and Collective Identity,’ *American Ethnologist* 25.2 (1998): 150-175; Vangelis Calotychos, “Inter-Disciplinary Perspectives: Difference at the Heart of Cypriot Identity and its Study,” in *Cyprus and Its People* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press: 1998): 1-34. For an argument against Cypriot identity during the Byzantine Period, see Savvides (1996: 35-38), whose work I find unpersuasive.

¹³³ Every historical account has mentioned Cyprus’ veneration during Iconoclasm. However, it is not clear if the Islamic presence on the island curbed the production of images. Only two icons survive from Cyprus which dates from the Period of Neutrality (Sophocleous 1994; PS: Sahas 1986a: 20 n. 87; concerning Cyprus and the icons of Sinai, see Weitzmann 1975: 245-270, 1976).

¹³⁴ 1995:12. Several studies of Cypriot coins have appeared concerning the Period of Neutrality. The generalizations in this section are drawn from these scholars (Goodwin 1994: 357-59; Grierson 1968; Mansfield 1992: 81-82; Phillips and Goodwin 1997: 61-87; Pitsillides 2000/2001:25-32; Pitsillides and Metcalf 1997:1-7, 1995: 1-13; Dikigoropoulos 1961: appendix 1, 1956: 255-65).

¹³⁵ For example, evidence taken from the Kalavasos-Kopetra excavations show that importation of foreign pottery was “sharply reduced after 650” (Rautman 2000: 320).

¹³⁶ Hayes 1980: 375-388. A comprehensive sampling of seventh to eleventh century pottery at Constantinople was uncovered at the Sarachane excavations [J.W. Hayes, *Excavations at Sarachane in Istanbul: The Pottery* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992)]. These Constantinopolitan types are rare in Cyprus during the Period of Neutrality.

¹³⁷ Michaelides and Bakirtzis 2003: 125-136.

¹³⁸ 2005: 458.

¹³⁹ Ibid; Papageorgiou 1993: 27-51; Megaw 1986: 505-519; Papacostas 2001: 107-128.

¹⁴⁰ See above note III.29.

¹⁴¹ See the entry for *proedros* in the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (pg. 1727). In the Council of Trullo (692), Canon 39, repeatedly refers to the Archbishop of Cyprus as “proedros,” and therefore, would indicate it was not merely metaphorical reference. See also the next section.

¹⁴² A deal between the Emperor and the Caliph is implied by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*De administrando imperio* 47; PS: Moravcsik and Jenkins 1967: 225).

¹⁴³ There are some examples of exarchs in other provinces that have risen in opposition to Byzantine rule. The case of Carthage, is interesting, since Maximus the Confessor was the instigator. As Ostrogorsky wrote:

“North Africa was at that time the refuge of orthodoxy in the struggle against monotheletism, and it was here that Maximus the Confessor, the real leader of the orthodox party and the outstanding theologian of his age worked for many years. It was at his instigation that synods were held in many North African cities early in 646, and the monothelete teaching which the Byzantine government supported was condemned as heretical. This opposition to the central Byzantine government soon took on a highly ominous political significance. The exarch of Carthage, Gregory, proclaimed himself Emperor supported by both the population of the imperial province and the neighboring Moorish tribes. It was the Arabs who saved the imperial central authority from the dangers which might have arisen from such a situation. After consolidating their conquest in Egypt, they organized an attack on the North African exarchate in 647, and the rival emperor Gregory was killed fighting against them. The Arabs sacked his capital, Sufetula, exacted heavy tribute and then withdrew” (1969: 118).

¹⁴⁴ 1965:264.

¹⁴⁵ The seminal work concerning the coins and lead seals of this period comes from Dikigoropoulos’ thesis (1961); and the later work by Metcalf (2004).

¹⁴⁶ 1977-1979: 106-107.

¹⁴⁷ Nesibitt and Oikonomides 1991:101; Pitsilides and Metcalf 1995:1-13; Jenkins 1953a: 1008-9.

¹⁴⁸ *Sūrat al-Ardh*; PS: Mansouri 2001:34.

¹⁴⁹ Christides provided a coherent argument against the “Condominium” or “division of land” theory (2006:29-46).

¹⁵⁰ 1937:103-104.

¹⁵¹ Malik bn Anas in Ibn Sallām’s *Kitāb al-Amwāl* (early ninth c.); PS: Mansouri 2001:18; Christides 2006:41.

¹⁵² Christides 2006:41.

¹⁵³ Tabari, *Ta’rikh al-rusul wa al-Muluk*; PS: Mansouri 2001:30.

¹⁵⁴ Concerning the Arabic lead seals, eight are known and one particularly states “Qubrus / Salām” or “Salām from Cyprus” (Metcalf 2004: 501-504).

¹⁵⁵ J. Whittle, “The ‘Theme’ of Carabisiani” in *Treasures of Arab-Byzantine Navigation (7th-13th c.)* (Athens: Institute for Graeco-Oriental and African Studies, 2004):139-145.

¹⁵⁶ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, AM 6298. Tabari reported the deportation of 16,000 Cypriots to Al-Raqqa, Syria (Treadgold 1988: 408 n. 193).

¹⁵⁷ Attacks on Rhodes and Cyprus took place in 807 (Theophanes, *Chronographia*, AM 6300; Treadgold 1988: 148).

¹⁵⁸ Theophanes, AM 6305; as quoted above in note II.105.

¹⁵⁹ Kyrris 1993:203-235.

¹⁶⁰ One section of the *Vita* of St. Epiphanius described a 7th c. Monophysite from Egypt fleeing from the Arab invasion. Upon his arrival in Cyprus, he has a dream, in which Epiphanius convinces him to convert to orthodoxy (Rapp 1991:60). Perhaps this anti-Monophysite propaganda was interpolated into the text at a later date. Monophysites maintained a steady presence on the island, no doubt, to the frustration of the Cypriot church. Today a monophysite bible is on display at the Monastery of St. Neophytos Enkleistra dating from the 10th c. Krueger provides a small synopsis of Monophysitism on the island (PS: 1996: Chapter 1 §4)

¹⁶¹ Wood from Cyprus was shipped by the archbishop of Salamis-Constantia to the Patriarch of Jerusalem for the renovation of the Holy Sepulcher in the eighth century [*Annals of Eutychius* (Melchite Patriarch of Alexandria), 876-940 (PS: Migne, PG 111 col.1130)].

¹⁶² PS: Delehaye 1925: 628-656; PS: Gregoire 1907: 209-12. What I provide here follows Rydén, though I do not completely agree with his interpretations (1993:189-202).

¹⁶³ Goodwin 1978:165, 147.

¹⁶⁴ The mention of these two obscure shrines clearly illustrates that the author of the Vita either visited Cyprus himself or was provided with first-hand information. Therefore, I am not sure why Rydén stated that the writer “had never been to Cyprus” (1993:201).

¹⁶⁵ PS: Delehaye 1925: 639; PS: Rydén 1993:194. We do not have any clear-cut accounts of Moslems converting to Christianity, or vice versa. However, we do know of an Arab-speaking Christian community in Cyprus by the 11th century (Mango 1976c: 1-13). See above §IV.1.5.

¹⁶⁶ Jenkins 1949:269.

¹⁶⁷ PS: Jenkins and Westerink 1973:7.

¹⁶⁸ All these Byzantine terms are discussed in The *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (1991).

¹⁶⁹ Metcalf 2004:117.

¹⁷⁰ Metcalf wrote that “[In other provinces,] under the *strategos*, military matters were deputed to a *doux* or a *katepano*, and the civil and judicial functions to a judge (*krites*) and a *protochronarios*. In Cyprus however, the seals show no sign of this style of government by judge and *doux*, etc., until a date somewhere around 1065...[Instead] from c.750 until c.1065, the seals from Cyprus provide positive evidence for an administration run by imperial officials in the various grades of *spatharioi*...[Furthermore] the seals provide no confirmation that Cyprus was administered as a theme... (ibid, 69,124). Concerning Byzantine administration in the provinces, see Ahrweiler (1960): 1-111.

¹⁷¹ *Taktikon Uspenskij*: Listes, 57, line 15; Metcalf 2004: 69. Photios, Patriarch of Constantinople (858-867, 877-886) to a certain “Staurakios, *spantharocandidatos* and governor of Cyprus...” (*Epistulae* 278; PS: Pohlsander 1999:83).

¹⁷² 2006:41.

¹⁷³ The full context of the passage was provided above (note III.103); Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio* 47; PS: Moravcsik and Jenkins 1967:224-5.

¹⁷⁴ Metcalf illustrates ten *illouistros* seals that bear images of St. Epiphanius (2004:242-249).

¹⁷⁵ Christides 2006:41; Gounaris 1996: 175-184.

¹⁷⁶ Weitzmann 1979b: 178.

¹⁷⁷ Concerning the spelling mistakes, ΠΩΛΗΣ should have been spelt as ΠΟΛΙΣ, and ΚΩΝΤΑΝΘΝΟΥΠΩΛΗΣ as ΚΩΝΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΙΣ ; in regards to grammar ΚΤΠΡΟC should have been spelt in the genitive case ΚΤΠΡΟΥ (Piguet-Panayotova 2002: 44).

¹⁷⁸ Strzygowski 1917: 8-11.

¹⁷⁹ Werner 1986:12-13.

¹⁸⁰ Shelton 1979: 27-38.

¹⁸¹ 2002: 48, 60.

¹⁸² The *Bamberg Tapestry* currently resides in the Bamberg Diocese Museum (Germany). It was used as a burial cloth for Bishop Gunther of Bamberg who died in 1065.

¹⁸³ 2003:375-392.

¹⁸⁴ In the *Notitia dignitatum* personifications of the eparchia are often depicted as tyches.

¹⁸⁵ 1976c: 1-13. Mango’s initial work on Cypriot identity has been continued by Cypriot historian Anthoullis Demosthenous (2006: 1-17; 2001: 1-67). I have been told by Dr. Demosthenous that

his presentation “Εθνος Κυπρίων – Πόλης Κύπρου: constructing identities in the Byzantine province” at the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies (London 2006) was very close to the arguments that I make in this section. He plans to publish his paper in *Byzantino-Slavica* 65 (2007).

¹⁸⁶ 1976c: 4,5.

¹⁸⁷ Mango described the situation well: “At the time of the condominium the total tax yield of Cyprus was a little less than 15,000 gold pieces; in 1191 the island is said to have paid to the emperor 700 pounds of gold per annum, i.e. 50,400 nomismata at the old rate of 72 to the pound” (*Ibid*, 10).

¹⁸⁸ For Eroitus, see Cedrenus II, 549; Zonaras, 17.22; Hill 1940: 296; for Rhapsomates see Anna Comnena, *Alexiad* 217-218; Zonaras 18.22; for Isaac Comnenos, see Hill (1940:312-315).

¹⁸⁹ This excerpt is a loose translation, or paraphrase, provided by George Hill (1940:303-304); for the Greek text see PS: Doanidou 1934: 109-50 and PS: Nerantzi-Varmazi 1996:63.

¹⁹⁰ 1976c: 7, 8.

¹⁹¹ This account is discussed and well referenced in Djabadze (1984:196-7).

¹⁹² PS: Doanidou 1934: 109-50.

¹⁹³ 1976c: 7, 8.

¹⁹⁴ Kykko was founded at the end of the eleventh century and given an imperial charter by Emperor Alexios Komnenos (1081-1118) (Hackett 1901:331-45; Hill 1940:302-3). Agios Ioannis Chrysostom was founded in 1090, and its founding was commissioned by “a princess” (Mango and Hawkins 1964:333-4; Hackett 1901: 356-8). Machairas was founded in the twelfth century and received a charter and funds from Emperor Manuel I Comnenos (Hackett 1901: 345-348).

¹⁹⁵ 1976c : 10-11.

¹⁹⁶ The unconventional and peculiar writing style of Neophytos Encleistros (1134-1214) is evident in his writings (PS: Hadjioannou 1985).

¹⁹⁷ 1976c : 10-11.

¹⁹⁸ *Hodoiporikon* 4.152-58; PS: Pohlsander 1999: 129.

¹ Papacostas 1999 I: 217-19.

² Mango and Hawkins 1964: 333-4.

³ Ibid, 333-7.

⁴ See above §VI.3.5.3; note VI.187.

⁵ It is situated on a high mountain (2,260 feet, 689 m.), from which it takes its name “Mountain of the Cross.” It is so tall that the monks report that they can see Lebanon on a clear day [as told to me by a monk there named Demetrios when I visited on March 15, 2005; also mentioned by Hill (1940:5)]. Remains of a marble classical temple are still scattered at the peak, and it is rather remarkable that such stones were imported to the island and hauled up this tall steep slope. Originally the mountain was called “Mount Olympos.” Strabo first recorded “[From] Citium...then to the city of Amathus, and, in the interval, to a small town called Palaea, and to a breast-shaped mountain called Olympos” [Κιτιον...εἰτ' Ἀμαθους πόλις καὶ μεταξύ πολιχνη, Παλαιά καλουμένη, καὶ ορός μαστοειδές Όλυμπος]. Claudius Ptolemaeus wrote “The Southern side of the middle portion into the Amathusian, with the mount Olympus nearby” (*Geographica Hyphegesis* 5.14; Cobham 1908: 4); Pliny the Elder (23-79 AD), *Naturalis Historia* 5.24.129. The largest mountain on the island is called Mount Olympus today, also known as Mount Troodos (401 ft, 1,951 m.). Several mountains in Cyprus bear the “Mount Olympos” moniker, such as at the eastern most tip of the Karpas peninsula, mentioned by Strabo (*Geographia* 14.6.3; see discussion in Hill 1940:8 n.4). The designation of Stavrovouni as Mount Olympus continued in the Roman period. History first records the monastery when Rhapsommates took refuge here in 1092 (Hill 1940:298). Anna Comnena wrote “So hard pressed by him and foiled in his hope, he reached the mountain on the other side and sought refuge in the church, built of old, to the name of the Holy Cross...then Butumites (to whom Ducas had assigned this pursuit) captured him there, promised him his life and took him back with him to the Great Duke” (Alexiad 8; PS: Dawes 1928: 218). Another early account was provided by the Russian Abbot Daniel in 1106: “There is a very high mountain here on the summit of which is a cross of cypress wood erected by Empress Helena to drive away evil spirits, and heal all diseases. She put into this cross on e of the sacred nails of Christ. Manifestations and great miracles are worked at this spot, and near this cross, even at the present day. The cross is suspended in the air without being attached by anything to the ground: it is the Holy Spirit which sustains it in space. I, the unworthy, worshiped this holy and miraculous thing, and saw with my sinful eyes the Divine favor which rests upon the place” (PS: Wilson 1888: 8).

⁶ During the Lusignan and Venetian period it was known as “Mons Sanctae Crucis,” “Monte Croce,” or “Monte Saincte-Croix” [as marked on various historical maps (Stylianou 1980)]. The pagan tradition never completely died. Bishop Eustathios of Salonica (12th century) wrote “A ridge on Cyprus was named Olympos; on it was a temple of Aphrodite Akraia, which was forbidden to women” [*Commentary on the Illiad* 2.499 (267.1-2); PS: Pohlsander (1999: 130)]. This is, curiously enough, now the only monastery in Cyprus in which women are still prohibited to enter.

⁷ Apparently this triconch apse was still intact in 1915 when Jeffery published his plan (1915-6: 108).

⁸ Leontios Machairas (PS: Dawkins 1932 I:672); Hackett 1901: 441-50; Hill 1940:482 n.2;; I. Stavrides, “Ο σεισμός της 24^{ης} Απριλίου στην Κύπρο,” *Επετηρίς των Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών* 24 (1998):139-43; S. Menardos, *Τοπωνυμικοί και λαογραφικοί μελέται* (Nicosia, 1970): 293.

⁹ PS: Cobham 1908:303; Enlart 1987: 309; Christos Taousiani, *Αι εκκλησίαι του Πιζοκαρπάσου* (Nicosia: X. N. Ταουσιάνης, 1983).

¹⁰ Krautheimer 1986: 511 n.65.

¹¹ For a list of multiple-domed Coptic churches, see Grossmann (1982, 2002).

¹² Bolman 2002.

¹³ Enlart 1987:80.

¹⁴ Diehl 1926 :721; Soteriou 1940: 408-9 ; Ionescu 1935:50-120; Enlart 1899 : 706-7, 1926 :129-152; see Oursel's opinion in note I.75 above.

¹⁵ There are other Apulian churches that belong to the multiple-domed basilica type, such as San Corrado (Molfetta Cathedral), San Valentino (Otranto), San Michele in Frangesto, Sant'Antonio (Trani), Santa Lucia (Trani), San Francesco (Trani), and the churches in Monopoli, Siponto, and Fasano. These are clearly twelfth century structures, which are relevant to my study, but too late for my thesis.

¹⁶ The characterization of Apulian churches as Byzantine is summed up Krautheimer (1986: 401-3); concerning the literature that came before on Byzantine southern Italy see his bibliographic notes on page 511. He stated that the Apulian “basilicas with three domes rising over the longitudinal axis of the nave, found as late as the thirteenth century in the cathedral at Molfetta, find their closest parallel in Cypriot architecture.” An important study was published by Georgios Demitrokallis in *Contribution à l'étude des monuments byzantins et médiévaux d'Italie* (Athens: Thesyrisma, 1971) and by A. Venditti in *Architettura bizantina nell'Italia meridionale* (Napoli: Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 1967). A more recent, but general treatment was provided by Philip Ditchfield's *La culture matérielle médiévale : l'Italie méridionale byzantine et normande* (Rome : École française de Rome, 2007). Papacostas concluded that “once and for all” we can reject the relationship between France, Apulia, and the Cypriot multiple-domed churches (1995: 48). Papageorghiou also dismissed the Cypriot-Apulian connection (1998: 220-1).

¹⁷ Ludwig Preiss, *Apulien : mittelalterliche Architektur und Skulptur der Normannen und Hohenstaufen im südöstlichsten Italien* (Stuttgart: J. Hoffmann, 1922); G. Bertelli, *Cultura Longobarda nella Puglia altomedievale. Il tempio di Seppannibale* (Fasano 1994); G. Bertelli, *Puglia preromanica, dal V secolo agli inizi dell'XI* (Milan: Jaca, 2004); V. M. Valente, *Il Duomo di Molfetta e la Basilica di S. Marco a Venezia* (Bari: Levante, 1992); L. Mongiello, *Chiese di Puglia* (Bari: M. Adda, 1988); C. Willemse,

Apulien, Kathedralen und Kastelle (Cologne: DuMont Schauberg, 1971); M. Ludes, *Die romanischen Kuppelkirchen Apuliens* (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Munich, Technologischen Universität, 1985).

¹⁸ That number is calculated by Jean Secret [*L'art en Périgord* (Paris: Nouvelles Éditions latines, 1976):13]. Concerning the “accidental architectural history,” Louise Welch wrote “The domed Romanesque churches of southern France are an anomaly in the history of architecture” (“The Domed Romanesque Churches of Southern France,” Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Louisville, 1976: iii). Earlier Sir Alfred William Clapham wrote “...it is argued that the adoption of domes was more or less accidental” [*Romanesque Architecture in Western Europe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936): 86]. It is not clear how an accident would cause a dome to be built.

¹⁹ A recent reassessment was carried out by Alon Lior (2003). However, his treatment of Cypriot churches was cursory leaving us to question his conclusions that rejected Enlart’s thesis.

²⁰ Concerning the history of the village see Phaidon Giagkiozes’ *Ανατολικά των Χορτιάτη, Ο Προάθως της Περιστεράς* (Thessaloniki: Ekdoseis Pekos, 2005). For the history of the church see C. Maruopoulou-Tsiume and A. Kuntura’s “Ηώ ναός του Αγίου Ανδρέα στην Περιστέρα,” *Κληρονομία* 13 (1981): 487-507; and A. Orlandos’ “Το Καθολικών της παρά την Θεσσαλικήν μονής Περιστερών,” *Αρχείων των βυζαντινών μνημείων της Ελλάδος* 7 (1951):416-67.

²¹ Concerning the life of St. Euthymios the younger, see L.Petit’s “Vie et office de saint Euthyme le Jeune,” *Revue de l’Orient Chrétien* 8 (1903): 192-94.

²² Regarding archbishop Makarios III’s life, see Stanley Mayes’ *Makarios: a Biography* (London: Macmillan, 1980).

²³GDP statistics are available in the Central Intelligence Agency’s *The World Factbook* [<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2004rank.html> ; <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/cy.html>] (15 March 2008).

²⁴ In January 2008 Cypriot Pound was replaced by the Euro.

²⁵ The application was made for two churches on 02/02/2004 by Cypriot authorities [source: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/1874/> and <http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/1875/>] (10/01/2007).

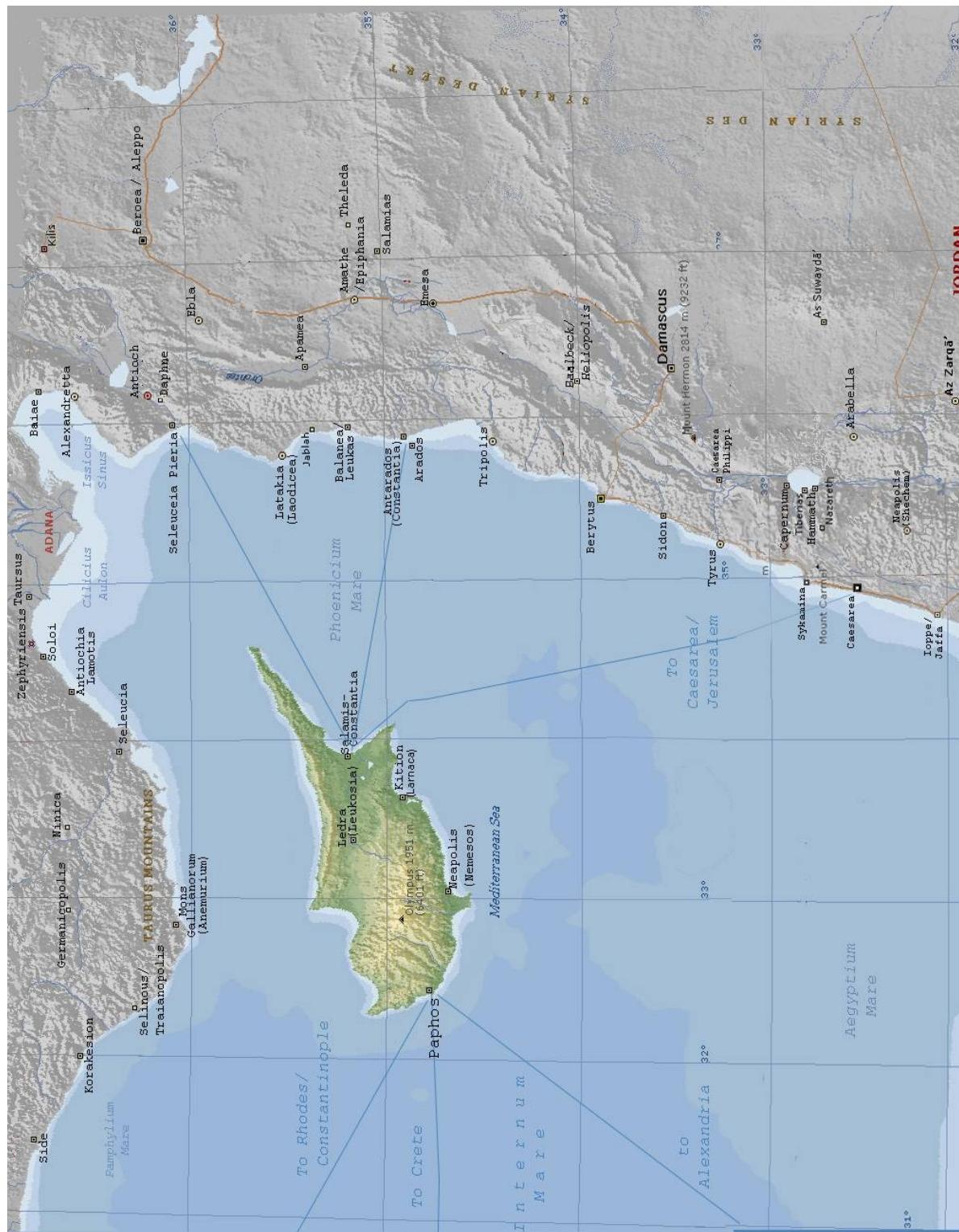


Figure. I.1.a. Map A. Cyprus in relation to the Eastern Mediterranean (C.A. Stewart)

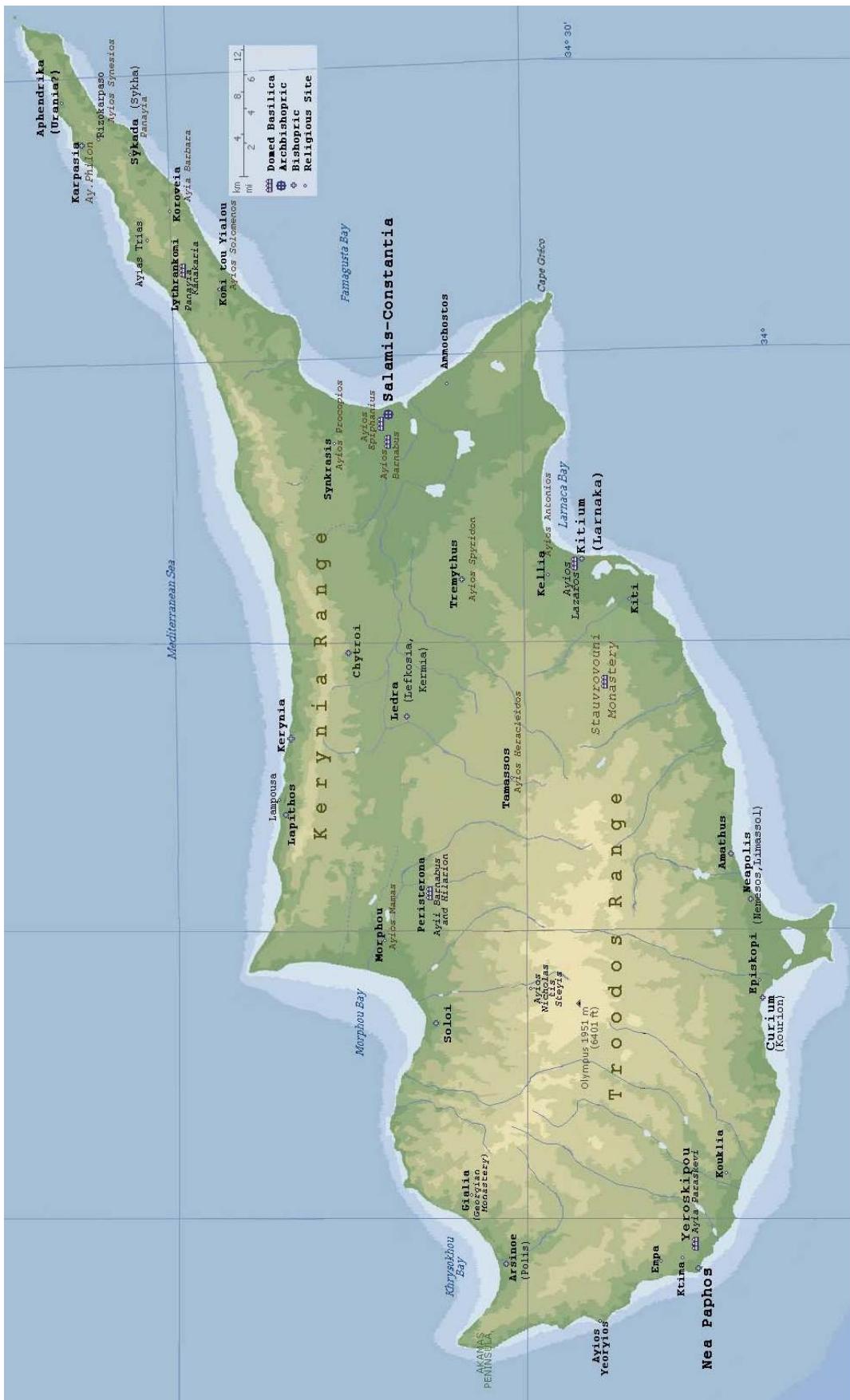


Figure. I.1. b. Map B. Principle places in Cyprus mentioned in this dissertation (C.A. Stewart)



Fig. I.2. Agia Paraskevi (Geroskipou), exterior, looking south (Photo: C.A.Stewart).



Fig. I.3. Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion (Peristerona), exterior, looking east (Photo: C.A.Stewart).



Fig. I.4. Agios Lazaros (Larnaka), exterior, looking south (Photo: C.A.Stewart).



Fig. I.5. Agios Varnavas Monastery (near Salamis-Constantia), exterior, looking south (Photo: C.A.Stewart).



Fig. I.6. Saint-Front at Périgueux, exterior, aerial looking southwest.

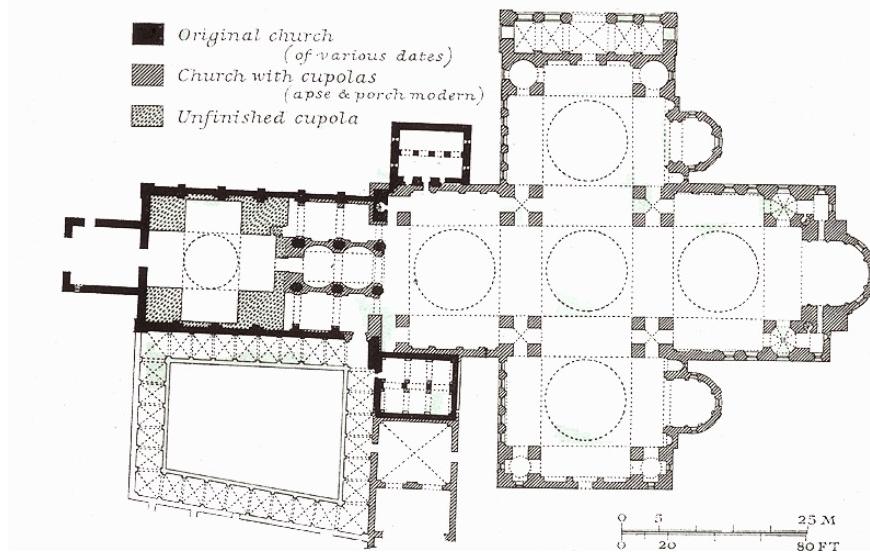


Fig. I.7. Saint-Front at Périgueux, plan.

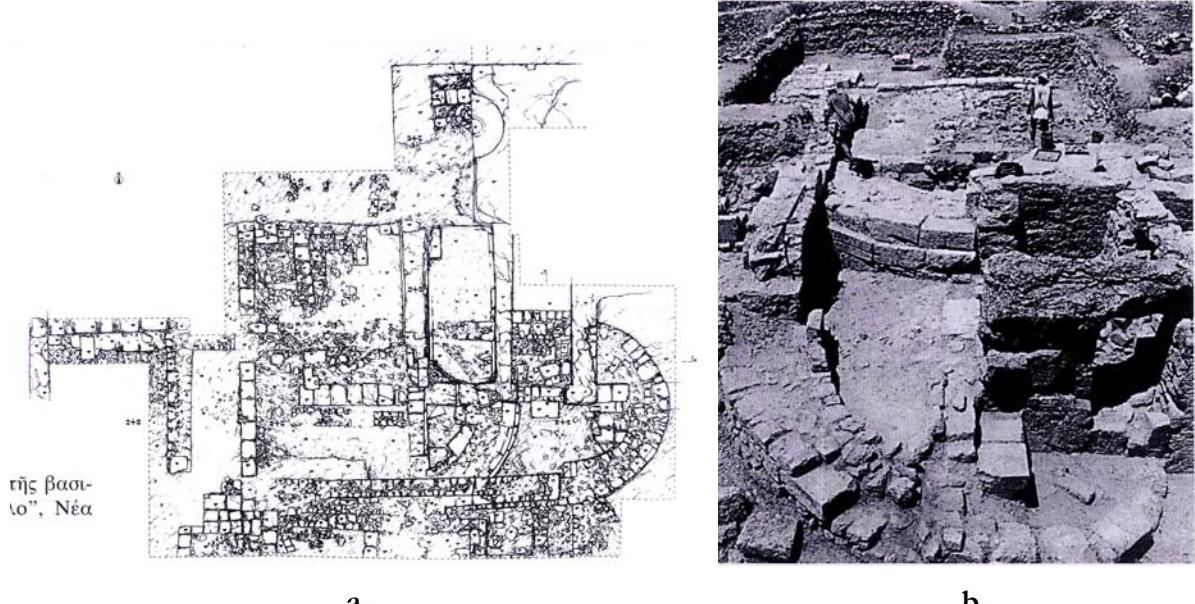


Figure II.1.a & b. Early Christian Chapel/shrine, Garrison's Camp, Paphos, **a.** plan, **b.** photo (Chotzakoglou 2005).



Fig. II.2. Agios Spyridon at Tremithus, exterior (Papageorghiou 1966b).

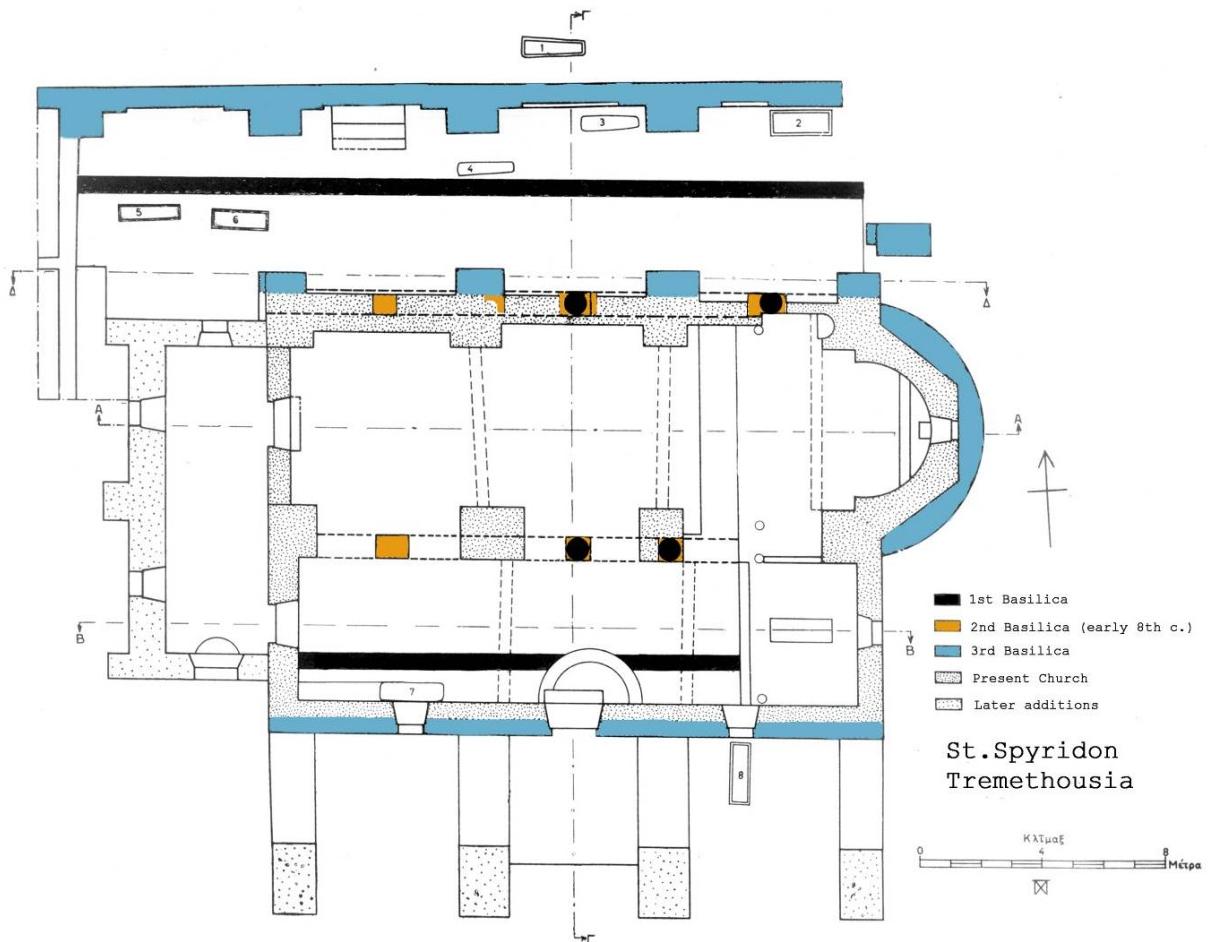


Fig. II.3. Agios Spyridon at Tremithus, plan, (after Papageorghiou 1966b)

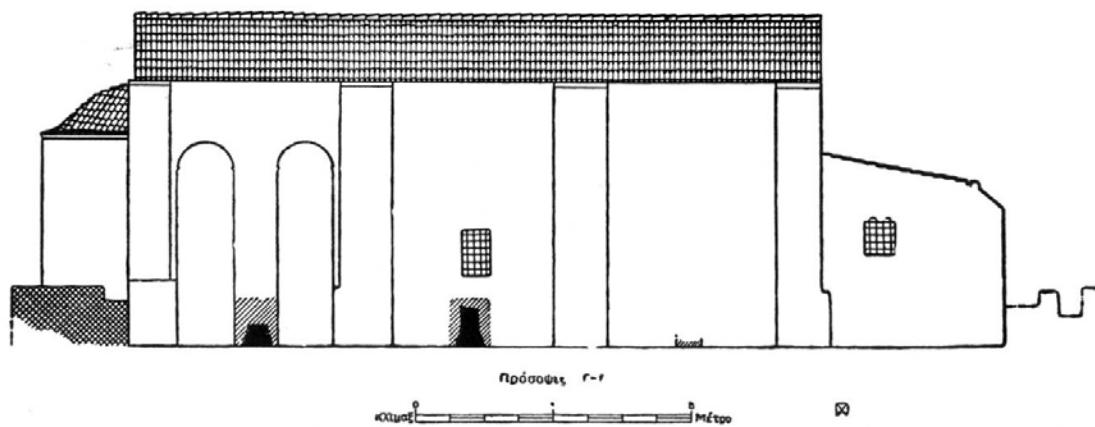


Fig. II.4. Agios Spyridon at Tremithus current elevation (Papageorghiou 1966b)

a.



b.



Fig. II.5.a. and b. Agios Spyridon floor mosaics (Papageorghiou 1966b)



Fig. II.6. Agios Spyridon at Tremithus exterior, Phase 2 square-pier basilica; arrow points to the column base of the original Early Christian church (Papageorghiou 1966b).

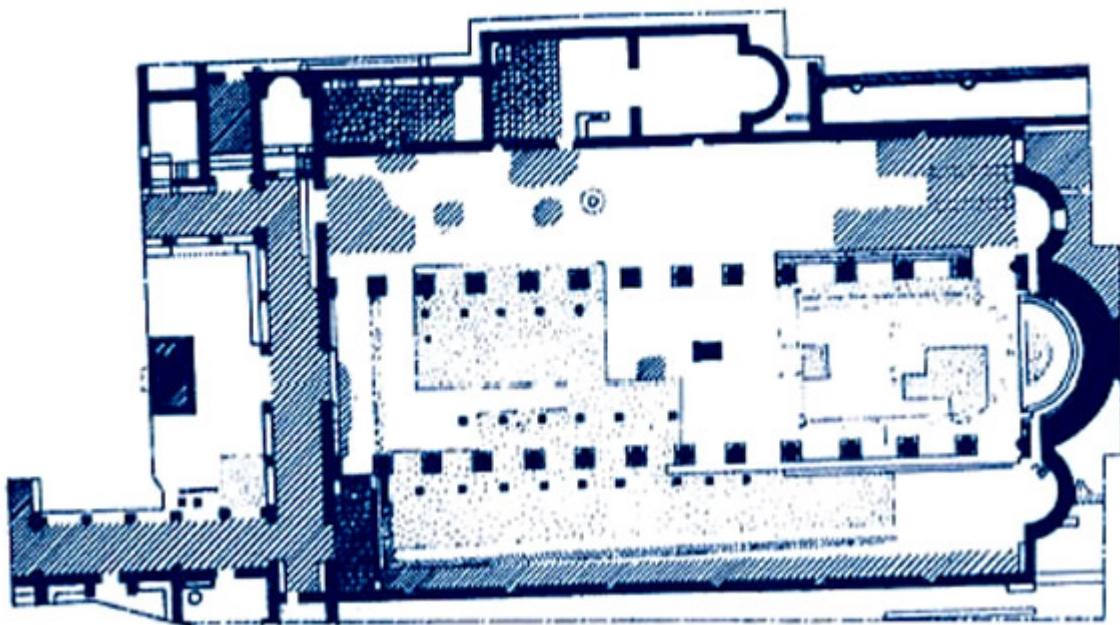


Fig. II.7. Agios Auxibios at Soloi, plan.



Fig. II.8. Agios Auxibios at Soloi, view of the ruins looking south-east from narthex (Photo: C.A.Stewart)



Fig. II.9. Agios Auxibios at Soloi, parts of the original *domus ecclesia* under sanctuary (Photo: C.A.Stewart)

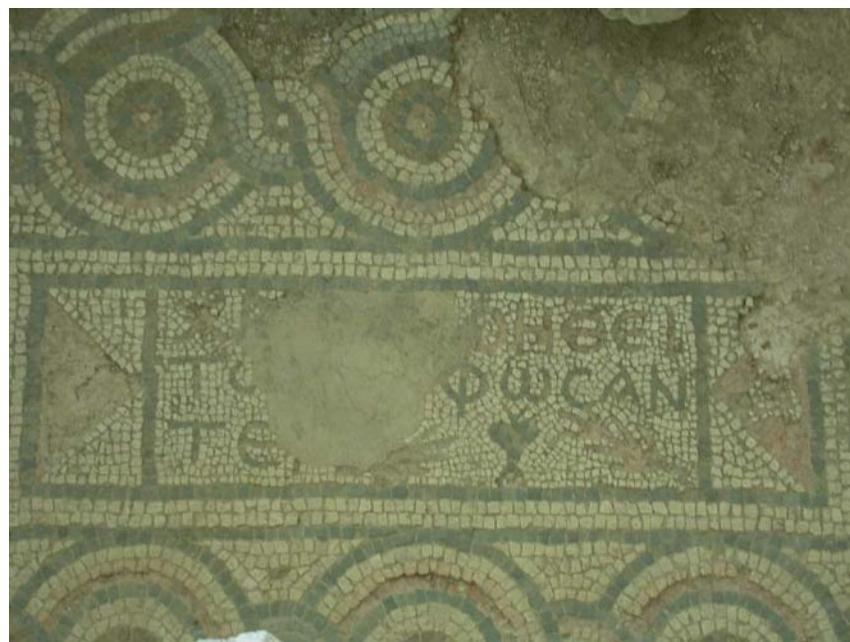


Fig. II.10. Agios Auxibios at Soloi, apse floor mosaic inscription (Photo: C.A.Stewart)



Fig. II.11. Agios Auxibios at Soloi, floor mosaics (Photo: C.A.Stewart)

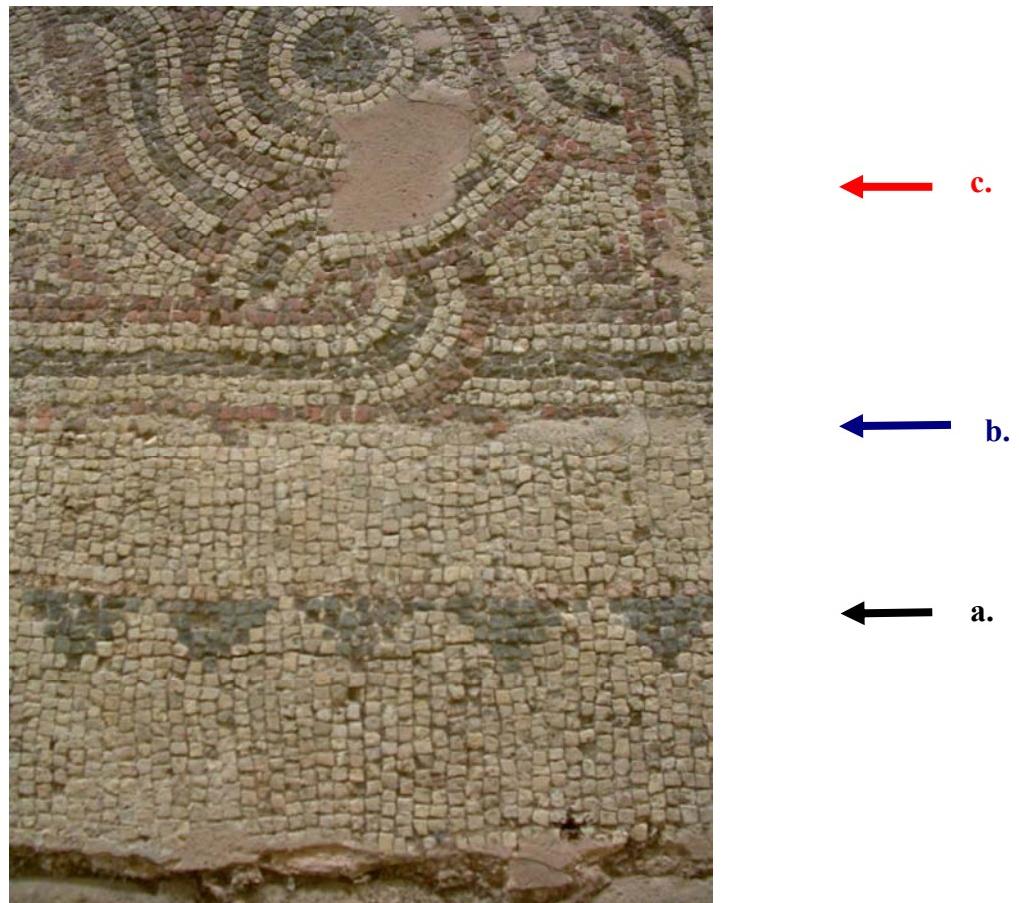


Fig. II.12. Agios Auxibios at Soloi, floor mosaic (a.) Early Christian mosaic 4th/5th c.; (b.) break in the mosaic; (c.) 6th/7th c. mosaic (Photo: C.A.Stewart)

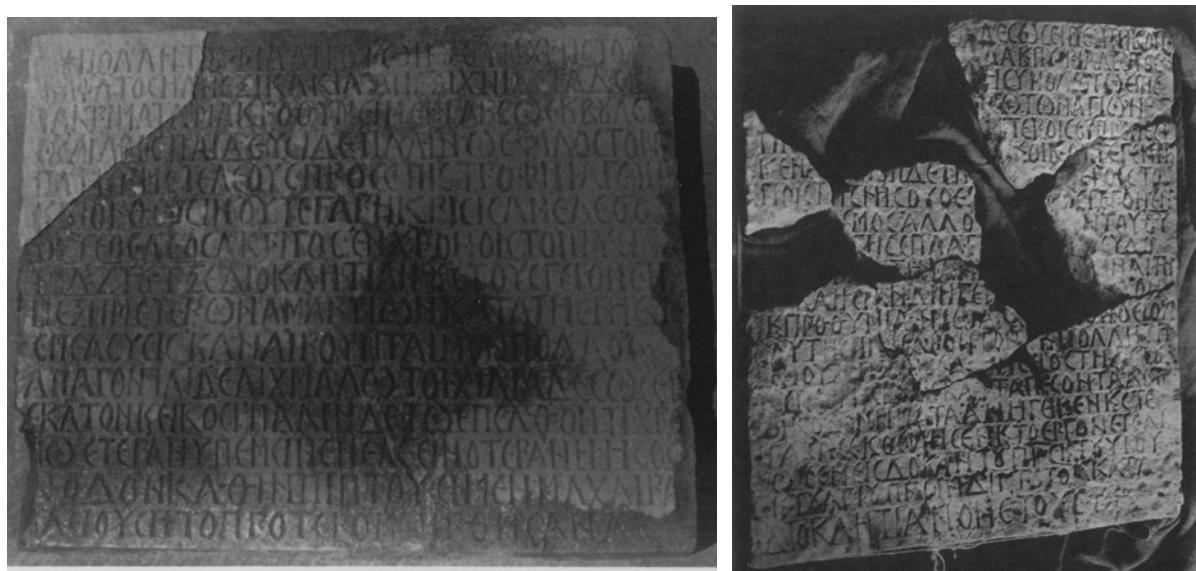


Fig. II.13.a. and b. Agios Auxibios at Soloi, (a.) inscription 1 (b.) inscription 2 (Gagniers and Tinh 1985)

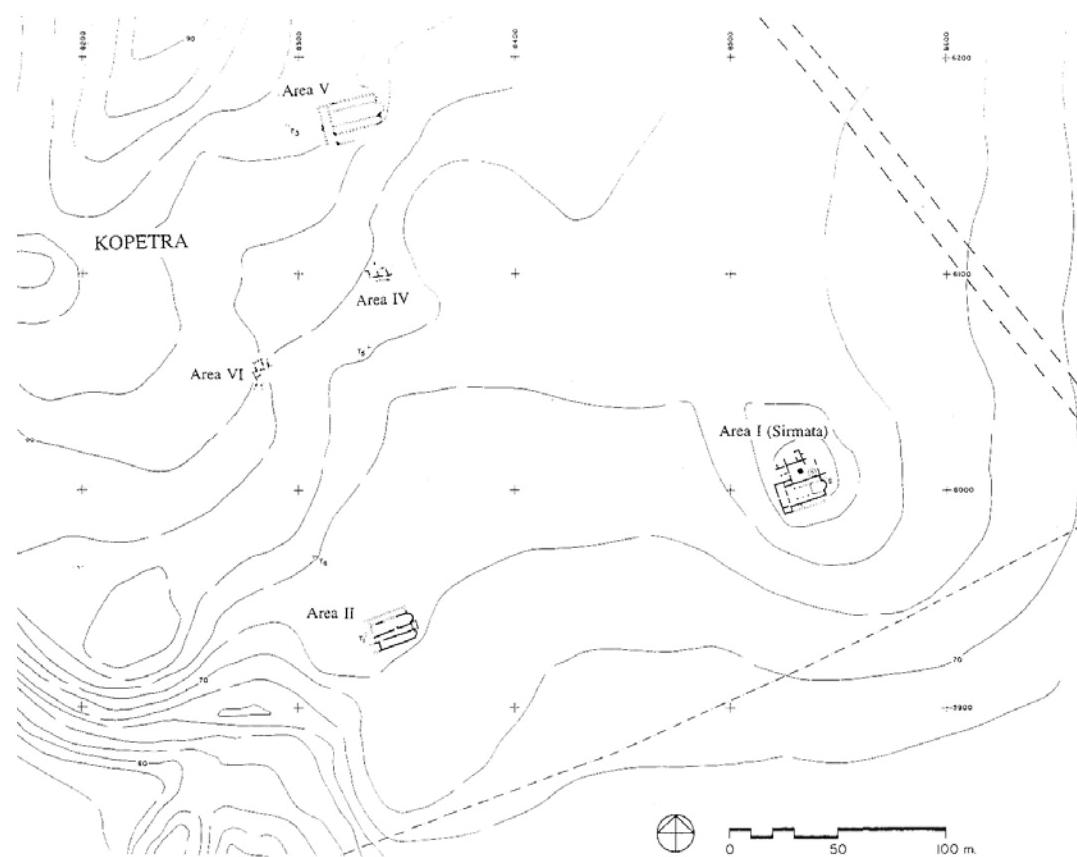


Fig. II.14. Monastery at Kopetra-Kalavasos/Sirmata map (Rautman 2003)

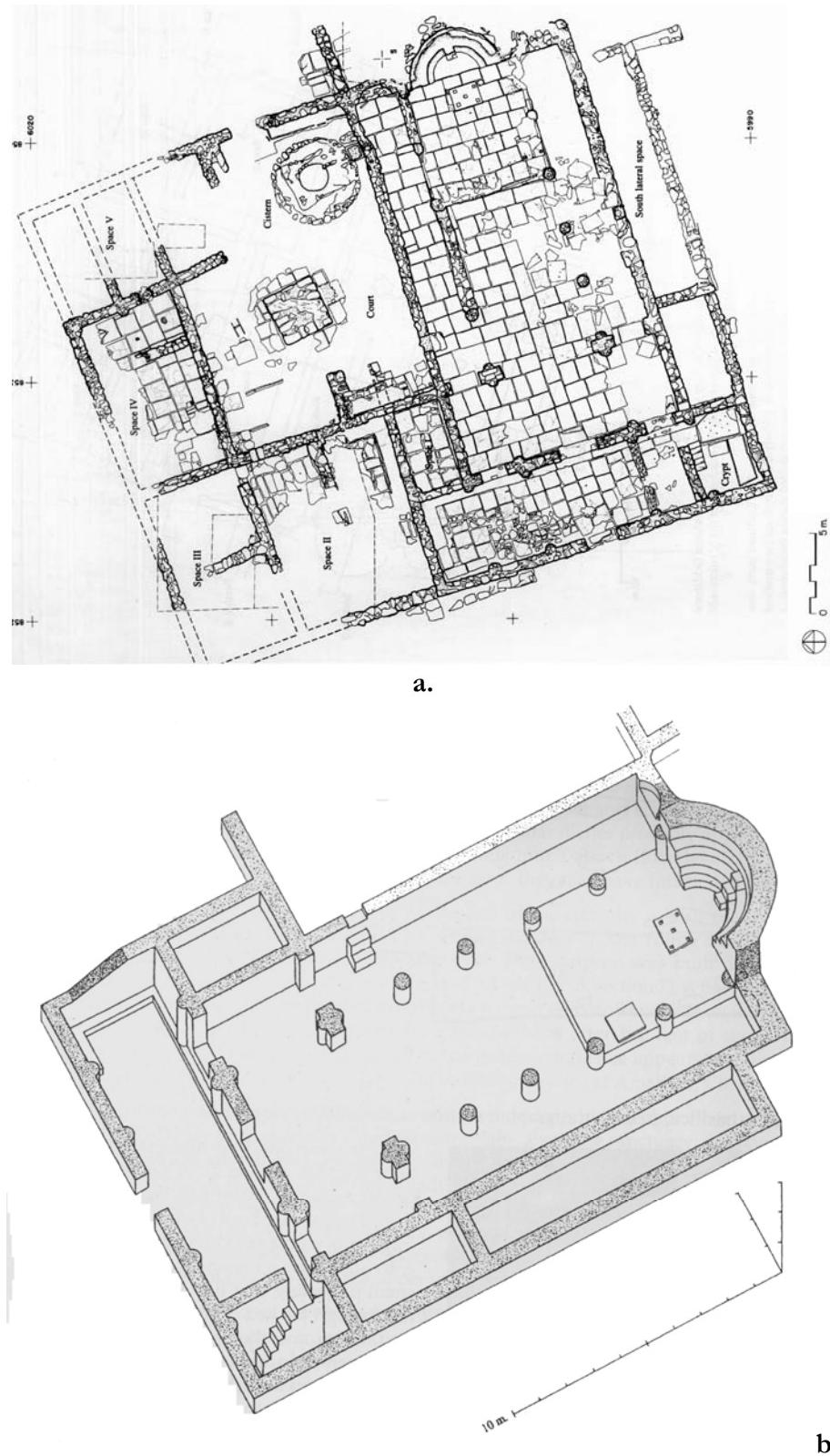


Fig. II.15.a. Monastery at Kalavasos-Sirmata plan, **b.** interior isometric reconstruction
(Rautman 2003)

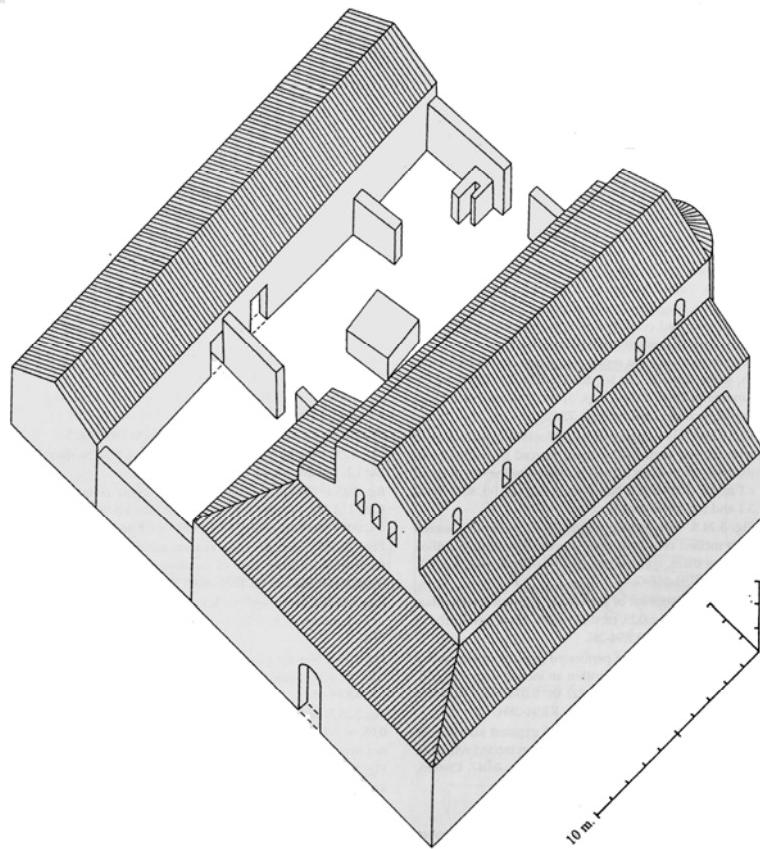


Fig. II.16. Monastery at Kalavasos-Sirmata, exterior isometric reconstruction (Rautman 2003)

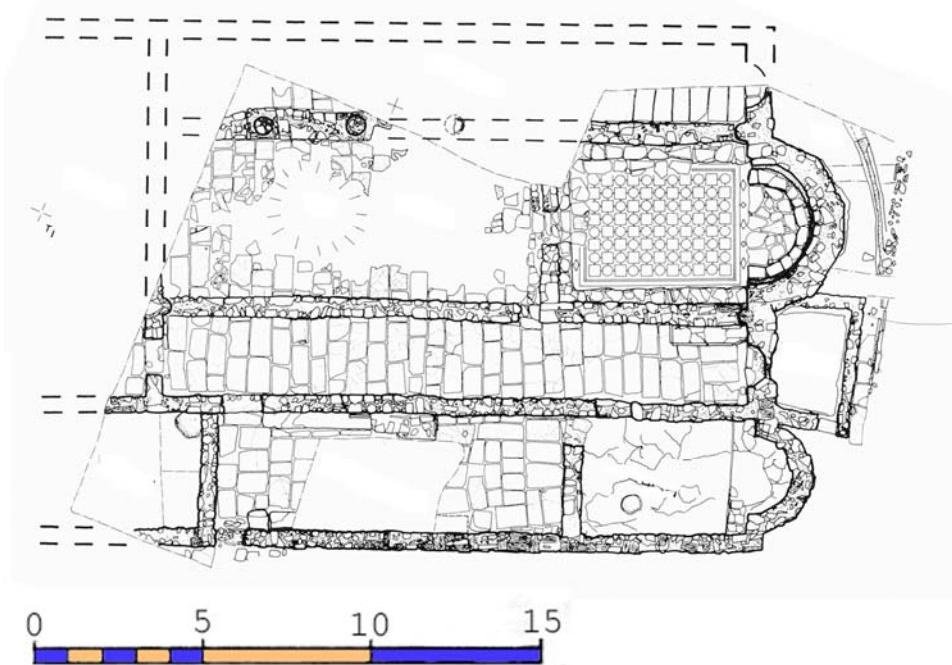


Fig. II.17. Basilica in Area 2, Kalavasos-Kopetra (Rautman 2003)

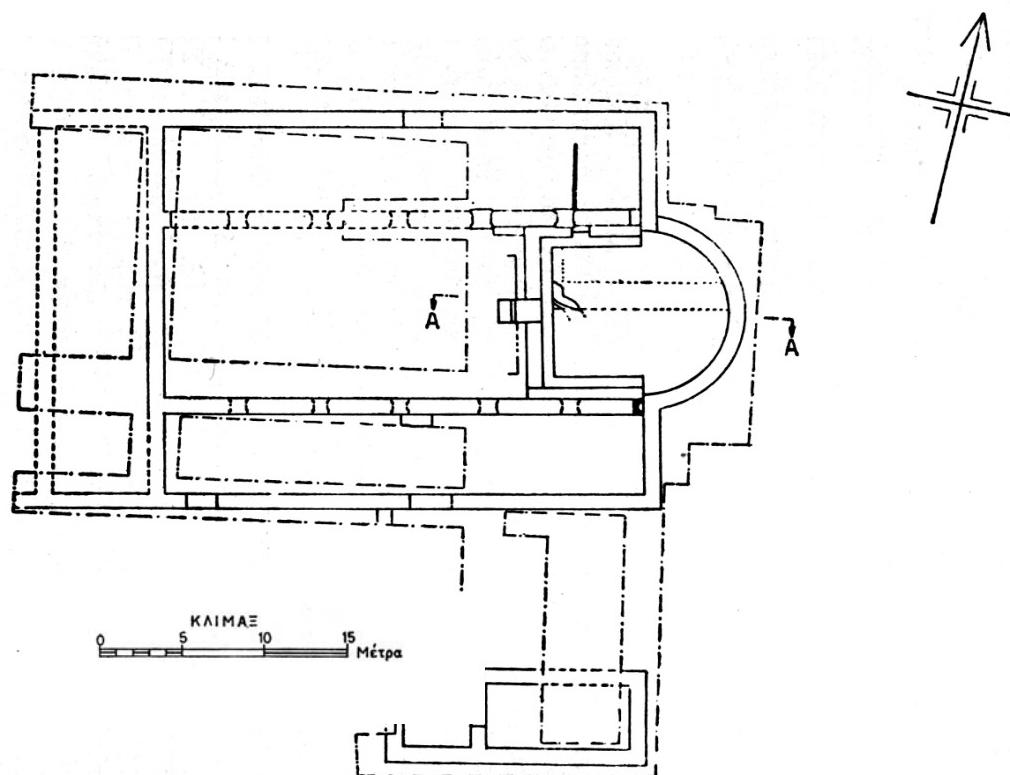


Fig. II.18. Marathovouno basilica plan (Papageorghiou 1963b)

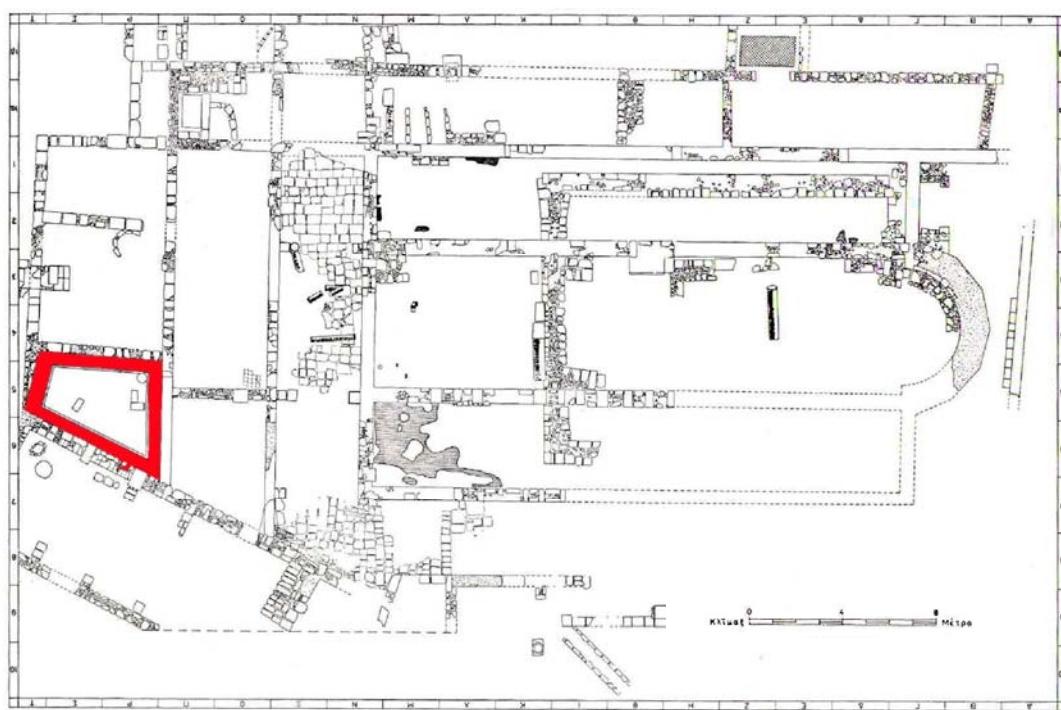


Fig. II.19. Panagia Limeniotissa, Paphos, plan. Red indicating Arab tower (Papageorghiou 1986)



Fig. II.20. Panagia Limeniotissa, Paphos, interior remains (Photo: C.A.Stewart)



Fig. II.21. Panagia Limeniotissa, Paphos, interior remains Arab tower (mineret?) (Photo: C.A.Stewart)



Fig. II.22.a-e. Various Arab inscriptions found in the vicinity of Paphos, Cyprus dating from the seventh and eighth century (Christides 2006: 115-122).



Fig. II.23. Getty Research Institute's experimental Byzantine church model on a shake table
(Gavrilović, Predrag et al. 2004)

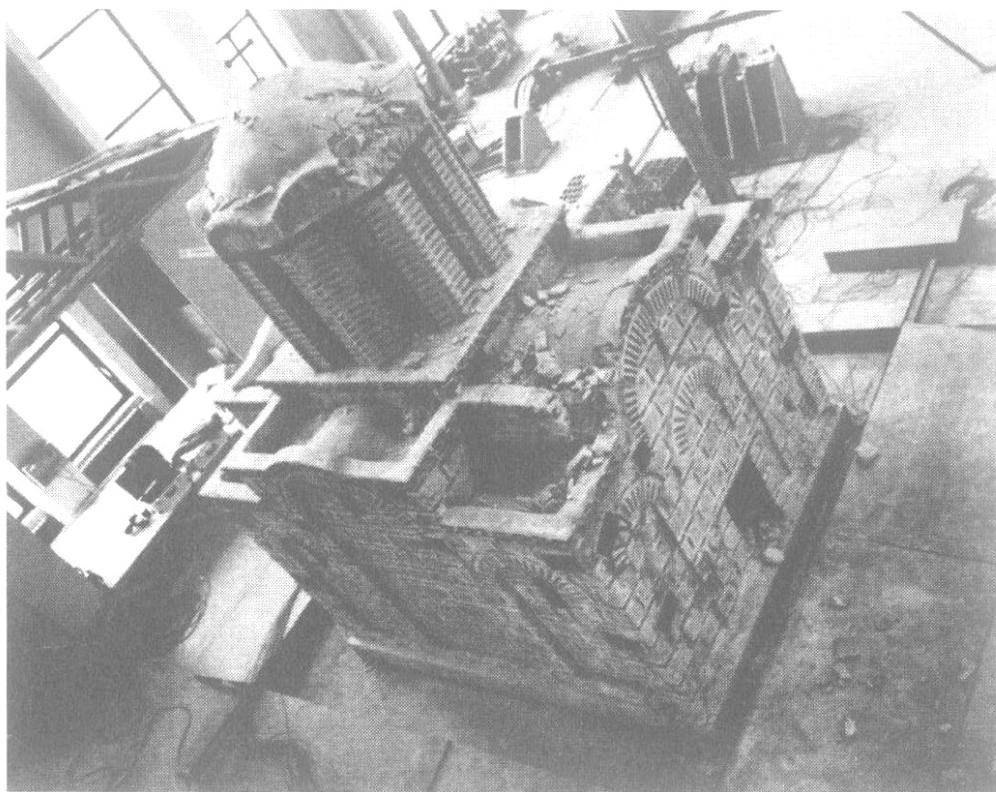


Fig. II.25. Result of “earthquakes” on the Getty Research Institute’s experimental Byzantine church model (Gavrilović, Predrag et al. 2004)

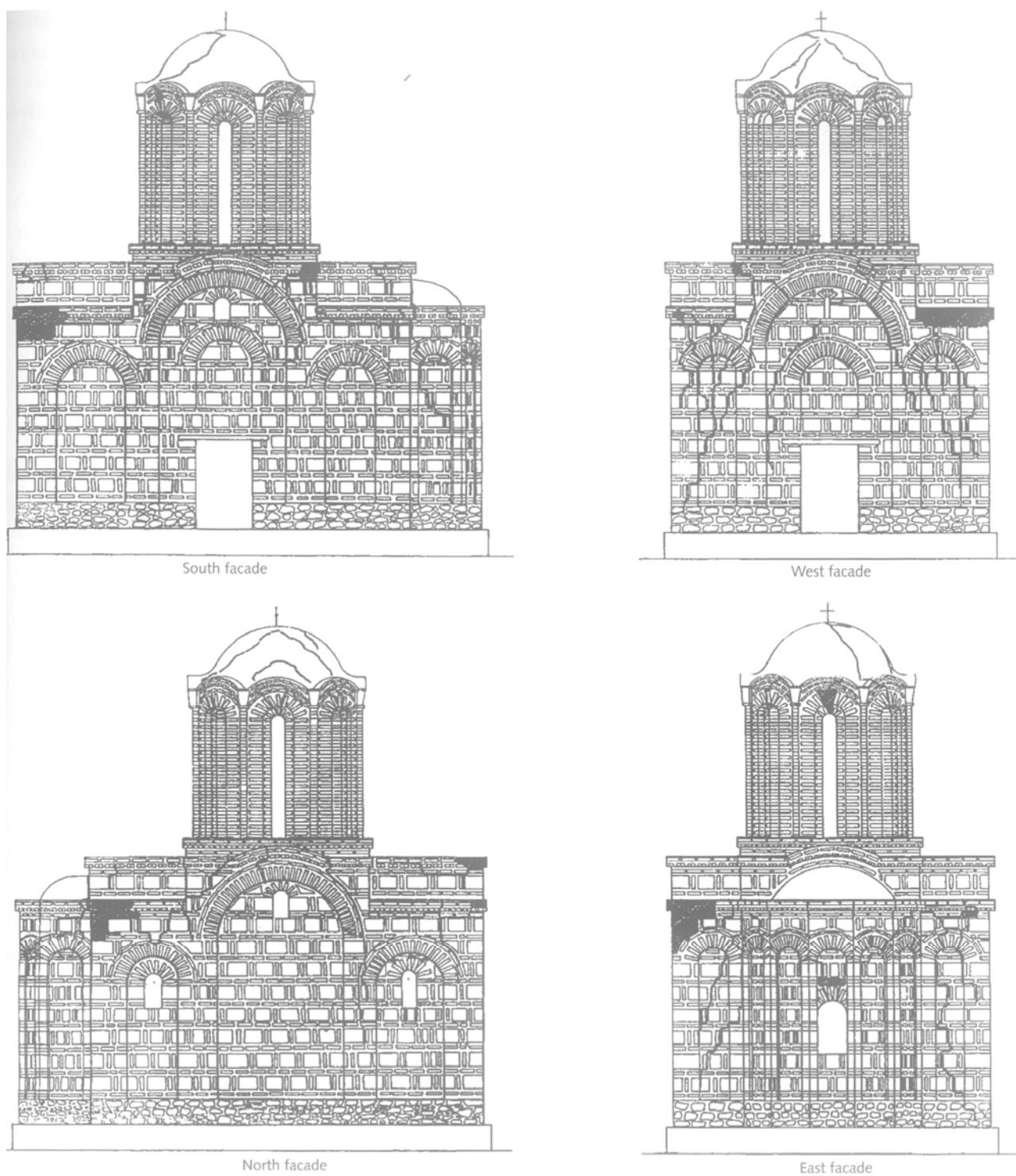


Fig. II.24. Effects of “earthquakes” on the Getty Research Institute’s experimental Byzantine church model (Gavrilović, Predrag et al. 2004)



Fig. II.26. Agios Mamas (the Cathedral of Morphou), exterior, present church (Photo: C.A.Stewart)

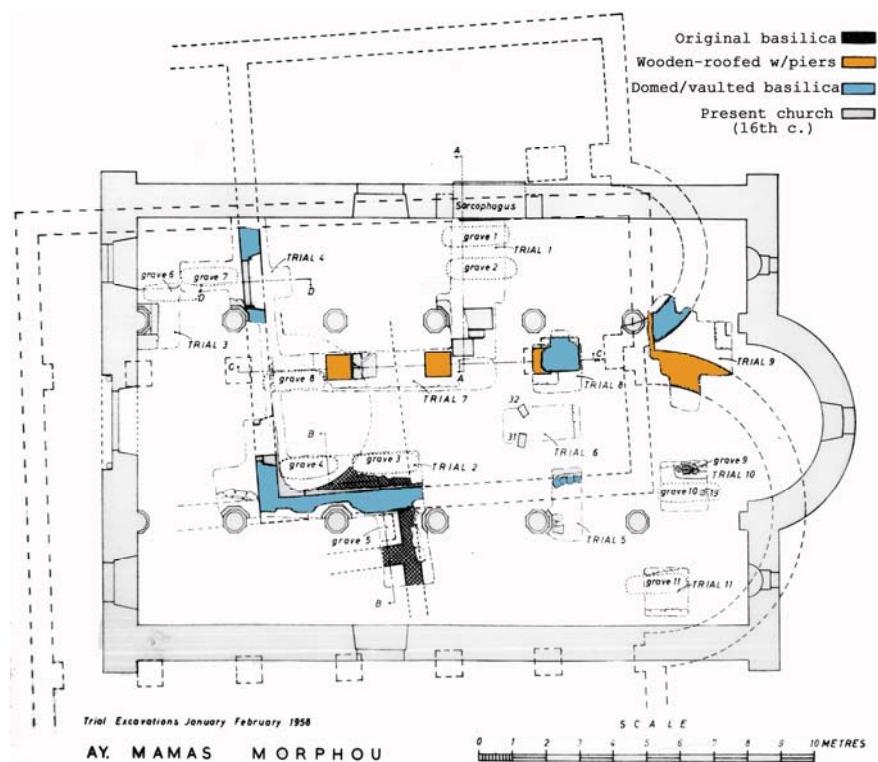


Fig. II.27. Agios Mamas (the Cathedral of Morphou), exterior, plan (after Dikigoropoulos 1961)



Fig. II.28. Panagia Angeloktisti at Kiti, exterior (Photo: C.A. Stewart)



Fig. II.29. Panagia Angeloktisti at Kiti, apse mosaic (Stylianou 1965)

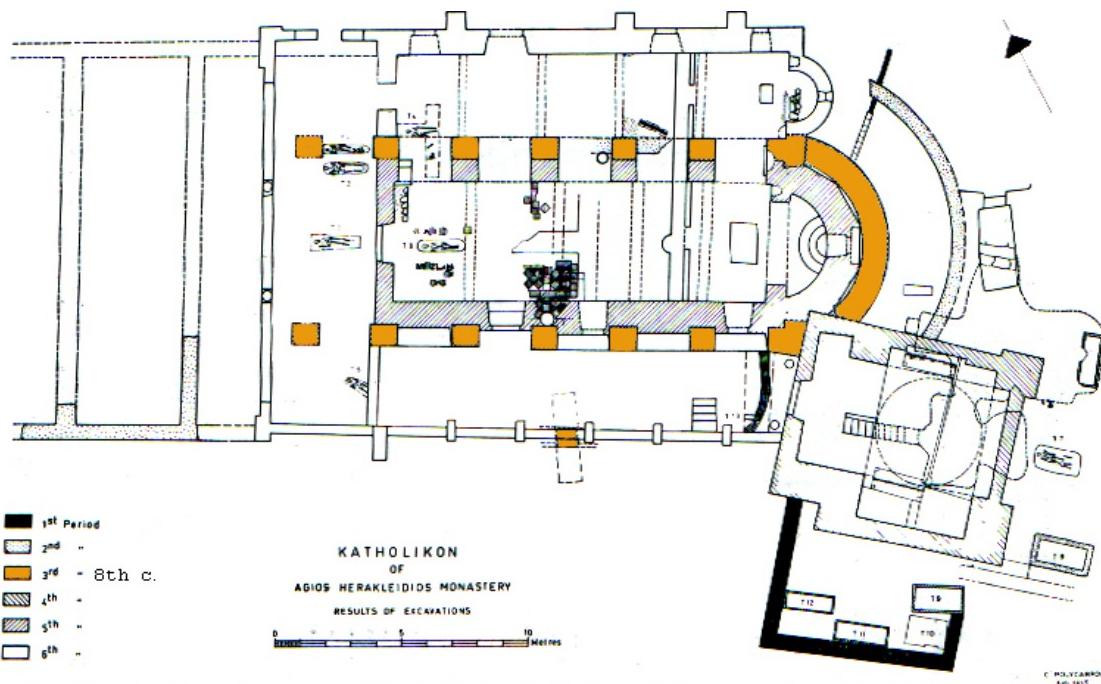


Fig. II.30. Cathedral of Agios Heracleidos at Tamassos-Polikitiko, plan (after Papageorghiou 1986)

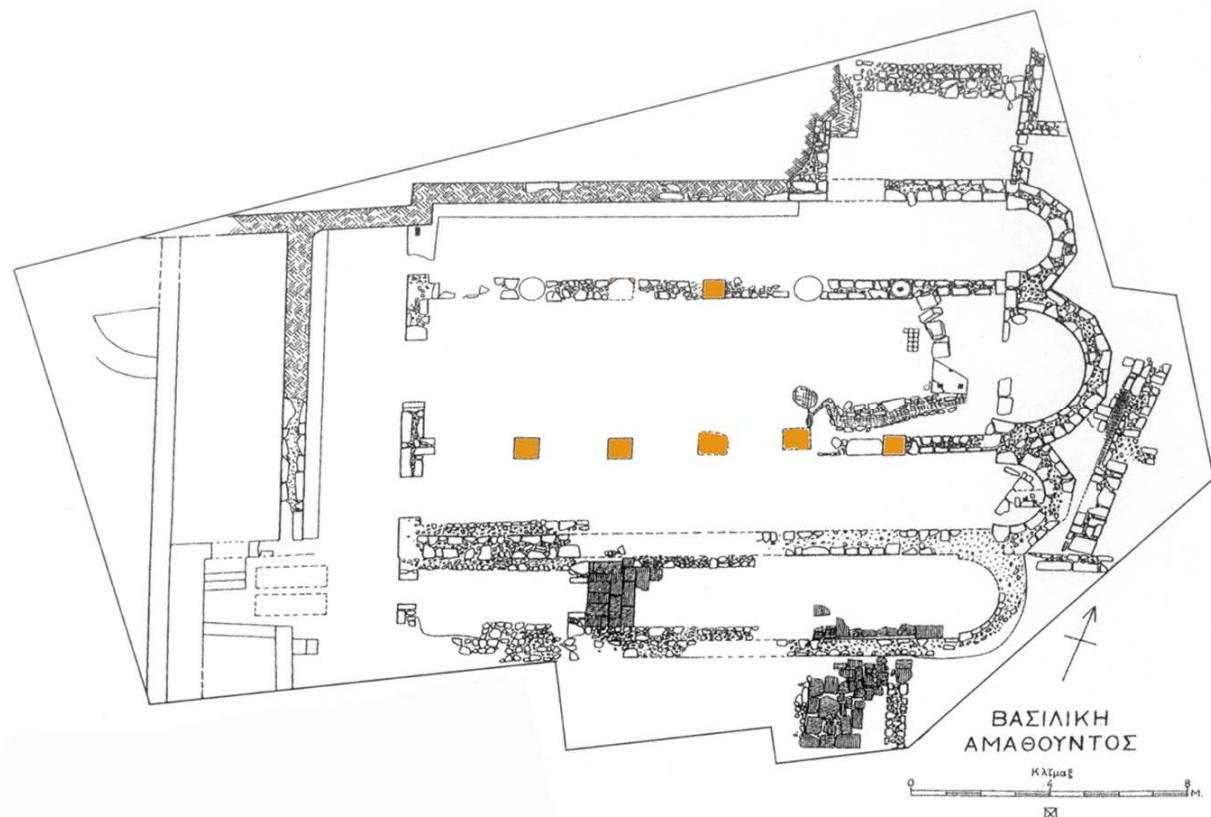


Fig. II.31. Southwest basilica at Amathous, plan (after Papageorghiou 1986)



Fig. II.32. Southwest basilica at Amathous, ruins (Photo: C. A. Stewart)



Fig. II.33. Sarayia chapel at Episkopi, ruins (Photo: C. A. Stewart)

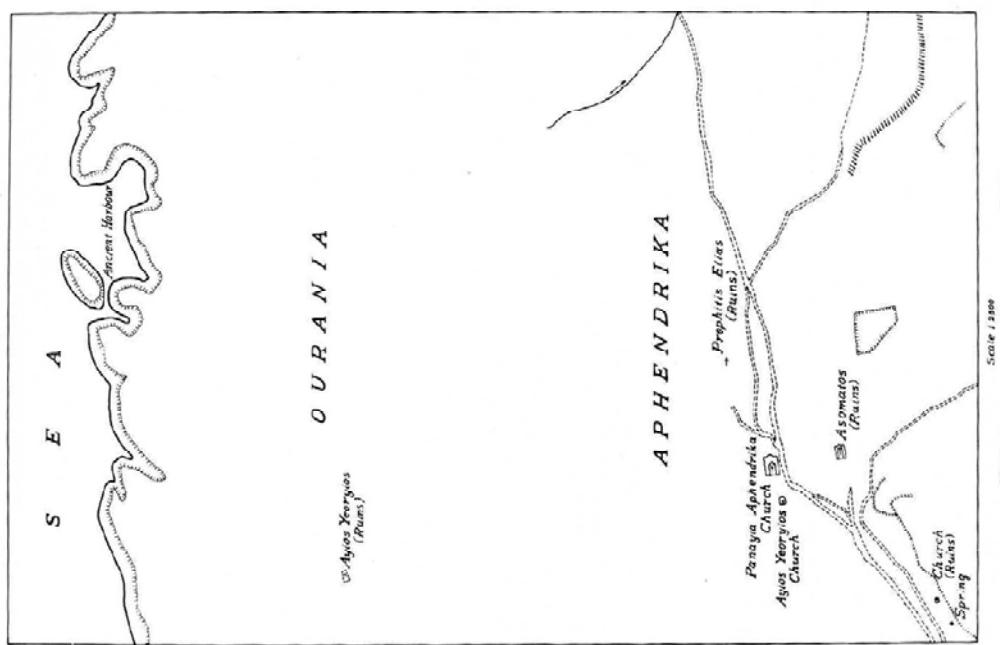


Fig. II.34. Map C. Afentrika-Urania (Papageorghiou 1993)



Fig. II.35. The area of Afentrika, looking north from the acropolis. Agios Georgios is at the top left, Panagia Chrysotissa is at the top center, and Asomatos at the right (Photo: C. A. Stewart).



Fig. II.36. The acropolis at Afentrika (Photo: C. A. Stewart)

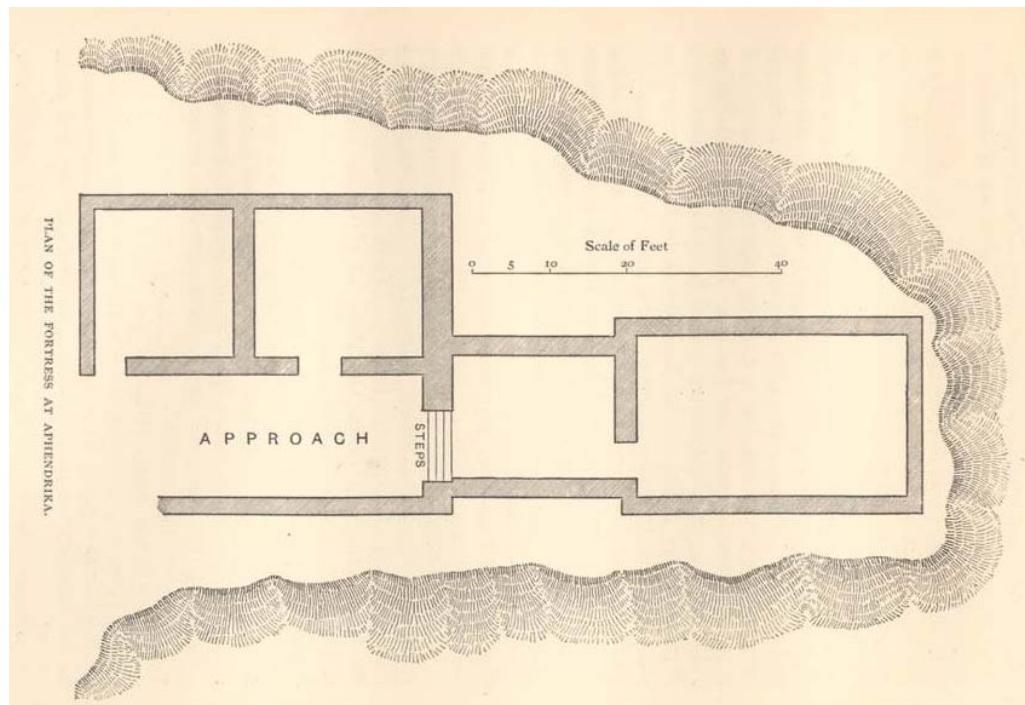


Fig. II.37. The acropolis at Afentrika, plan (Hogarth 1889)

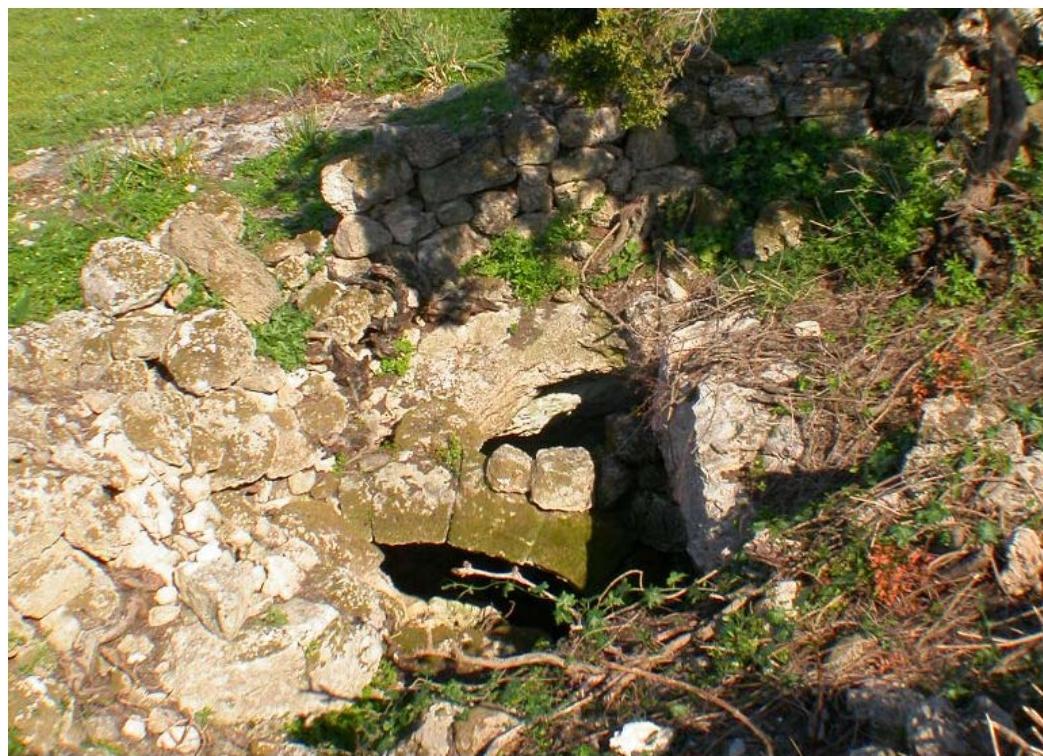


Fig. II.38. Subterranean Byzantine shrine, Afentrika, exterior (Photo: C. A. Stewart)



Fig. II.39. Subterranean Byzantine (and earlier) shrine, Afentrika, interior (Photo: C. A. Stewart)

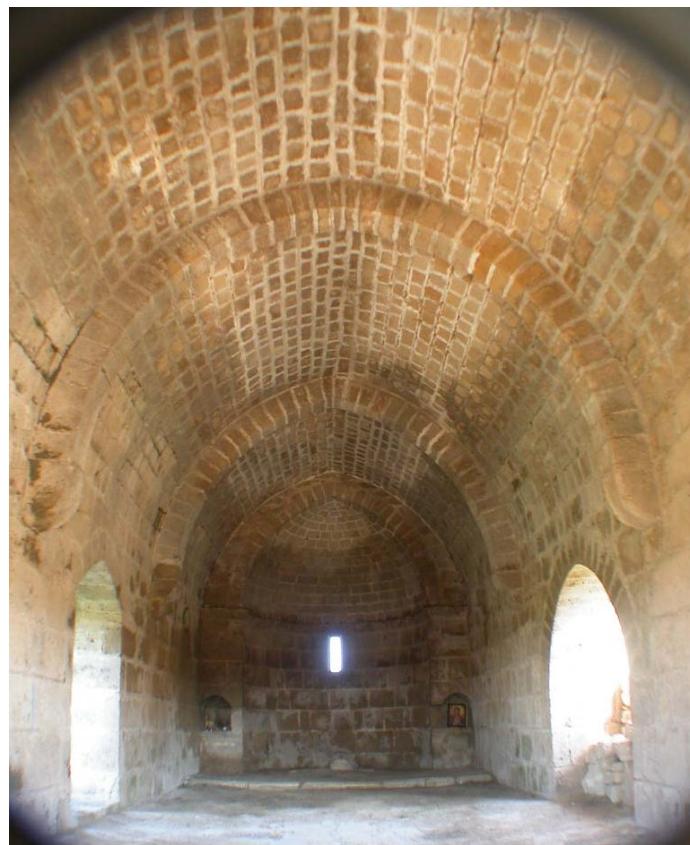


Fig. II.40. Present Panagia Chrysotissa (Afentrika), 16th century, interior (Photo: C. A. Stewart)



Fig. II.41. Panagia Chrysotissa (Afentrika), exterior, looking westward (Photo: C. A. Stewart)



Fig. II.42. Panagia Chrysotissa (Afentrika), exterior (Photo: Soteriou 1935)

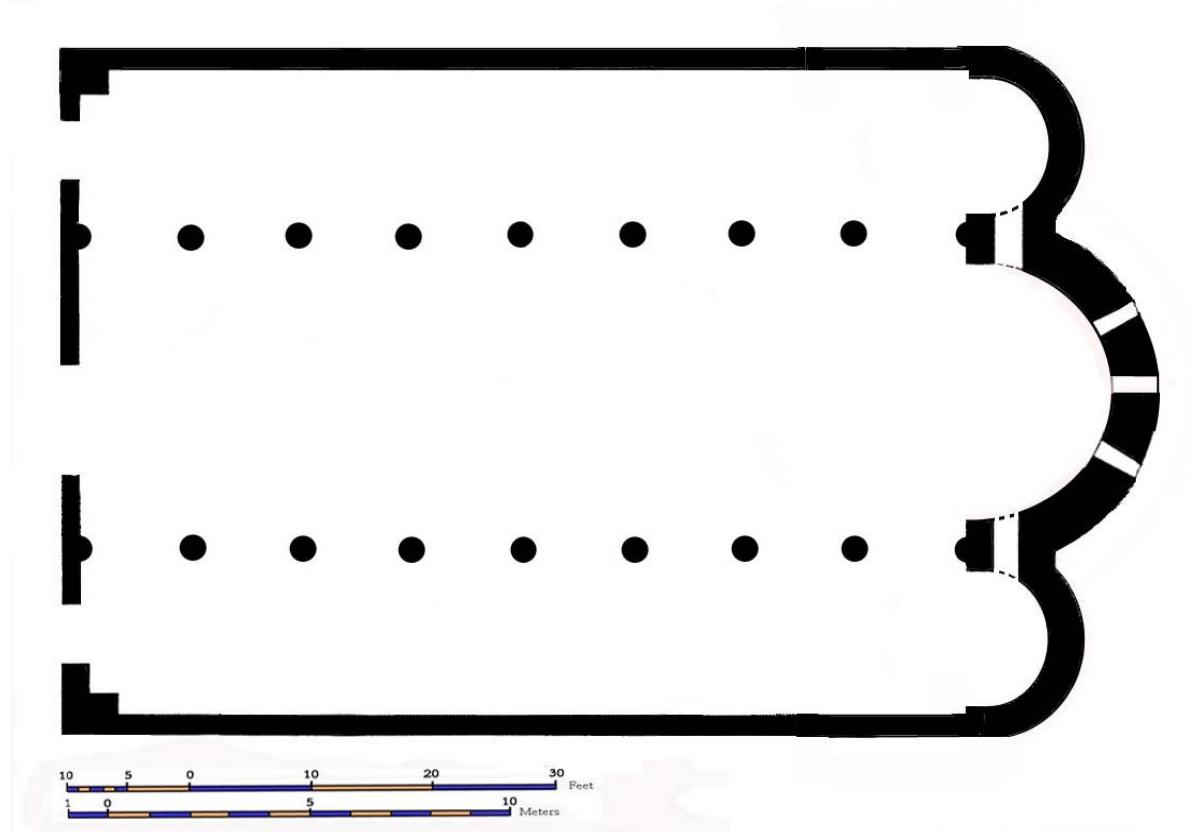


Fig. II.43. Panagia Chrysotissa (Afentrika), plan of Early Christian church (C.A. Stewart after Megaw 1946)

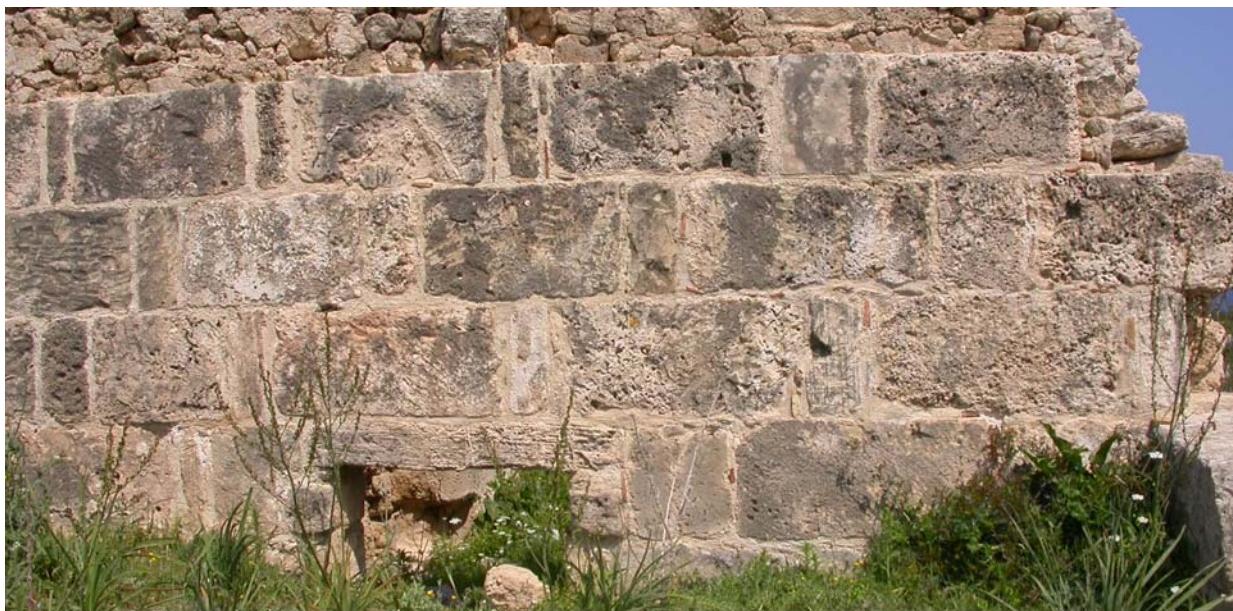


Fig. II.44. Panagia Chrysotissa (Afentrika), masonry of Early Christian church exterior, south side: “headers” are the vertical stones and “stretchers” are the horizontal ashlar (Photo: C. A. Stewart).

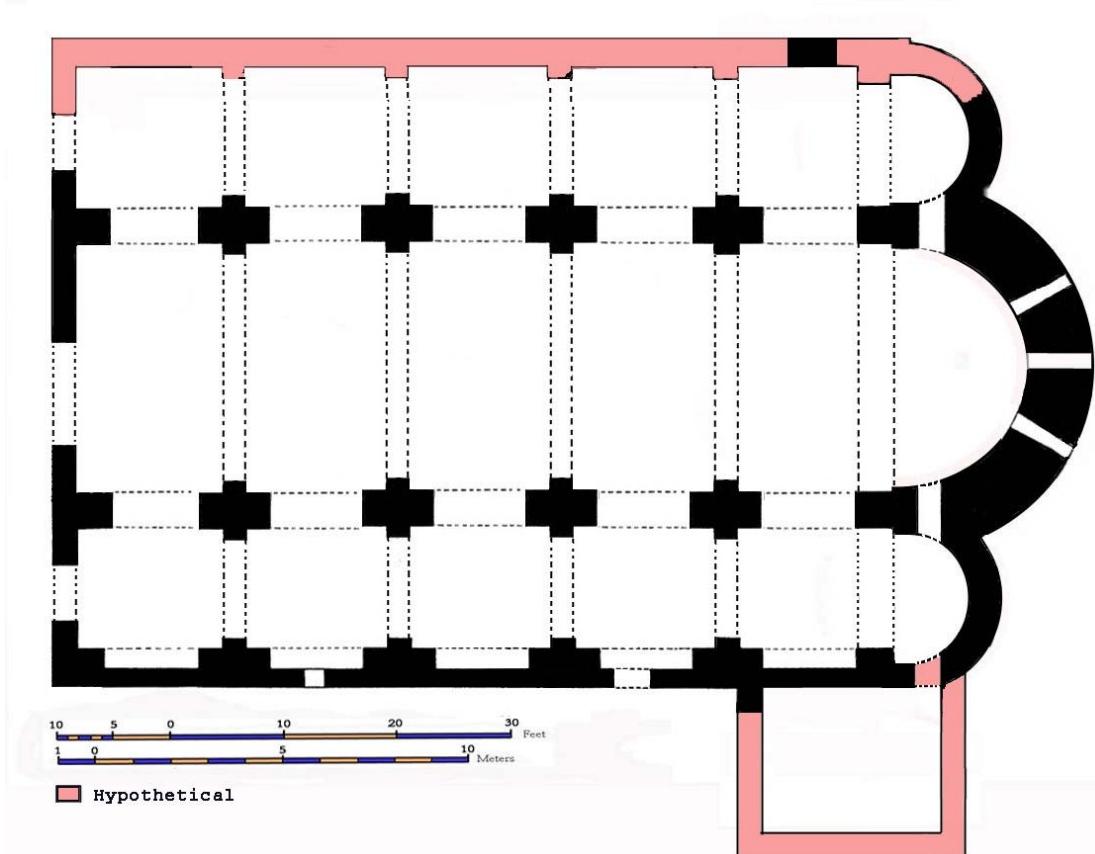


Fig. II.45. Panagia Chrysotissa (Afentrika), plan of Barrel-vaulted church

(C.A.Stewart after Megaw 1946)



Fig. II.46. Panagia Chrysotissa (Afentrika) original column (Photo: C. A. Stewart).

Fig. II.47. Panagia Chrysotissa (Afentrika), south aisle recess-niches (Photo: C. A. Stewart).



Fig. II.48. Panagia Chrysotissa (Afentrika). (a.) Original apse, left, Phase 2 supporting wall, right. (b.) Apse window showing narrowing in Phase 2. (Photo: C. A. Stewart).

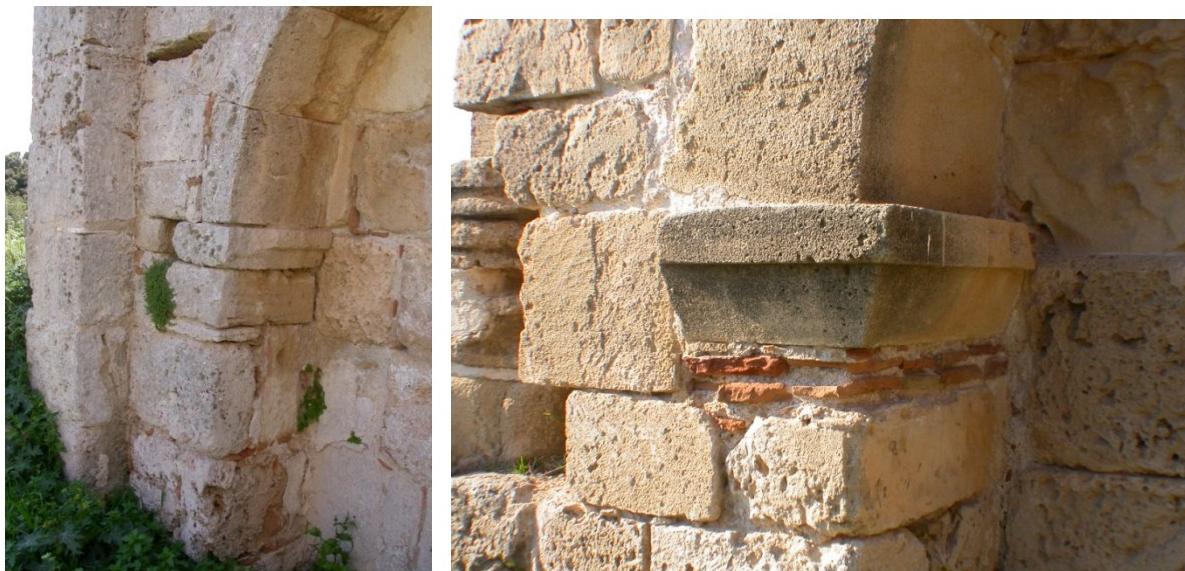


Fig. II.49. a. & b. Panagia Chrysotissa (Afentrika), details of the Second Phase masonry construction (Photo: C. A. Stewart).

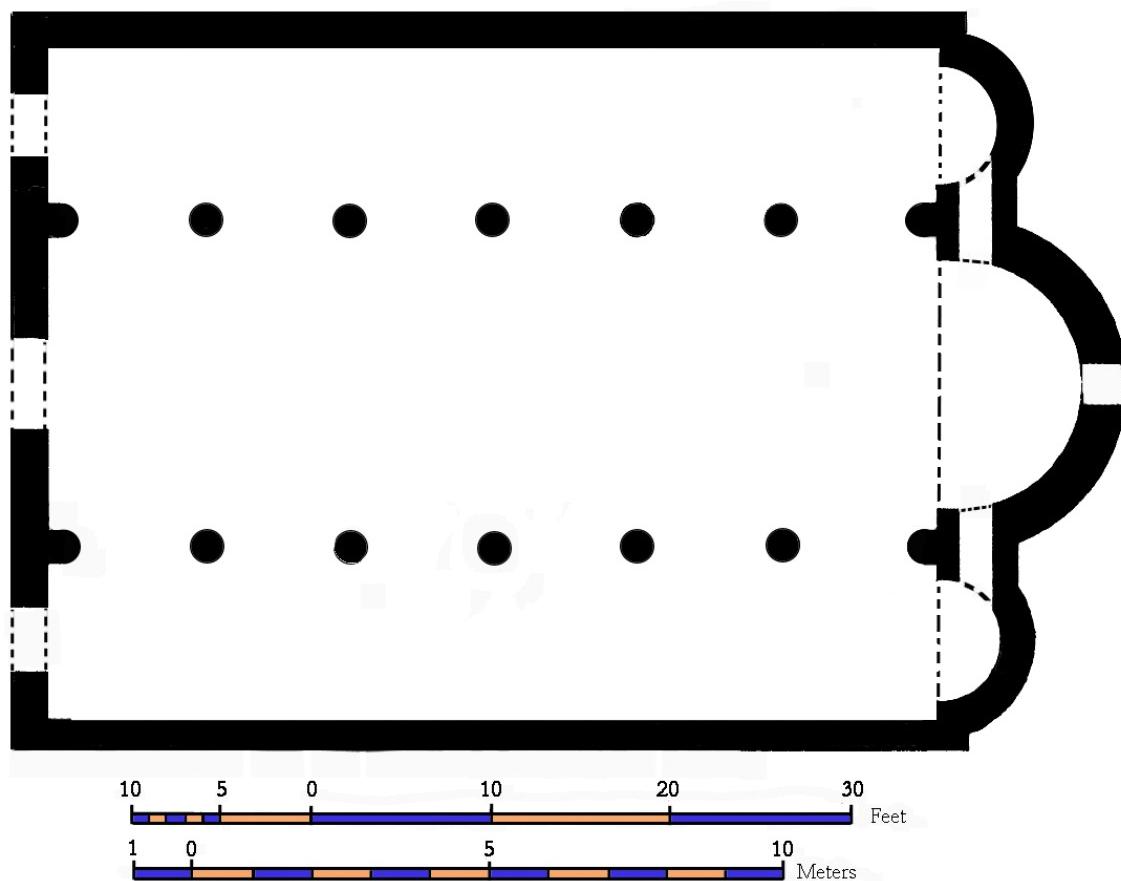


Fig. II.50. Asomatos basilica (Afentrika), plan of Early Christian church (C.A. Stewart after Megaw 1946)



Fig. II.51. Asomatos basilica (Afentrika), plan of Early Christian church elevation
 (a.) North-south cross-section (b.) West-east cross section (C.A.Stewart)

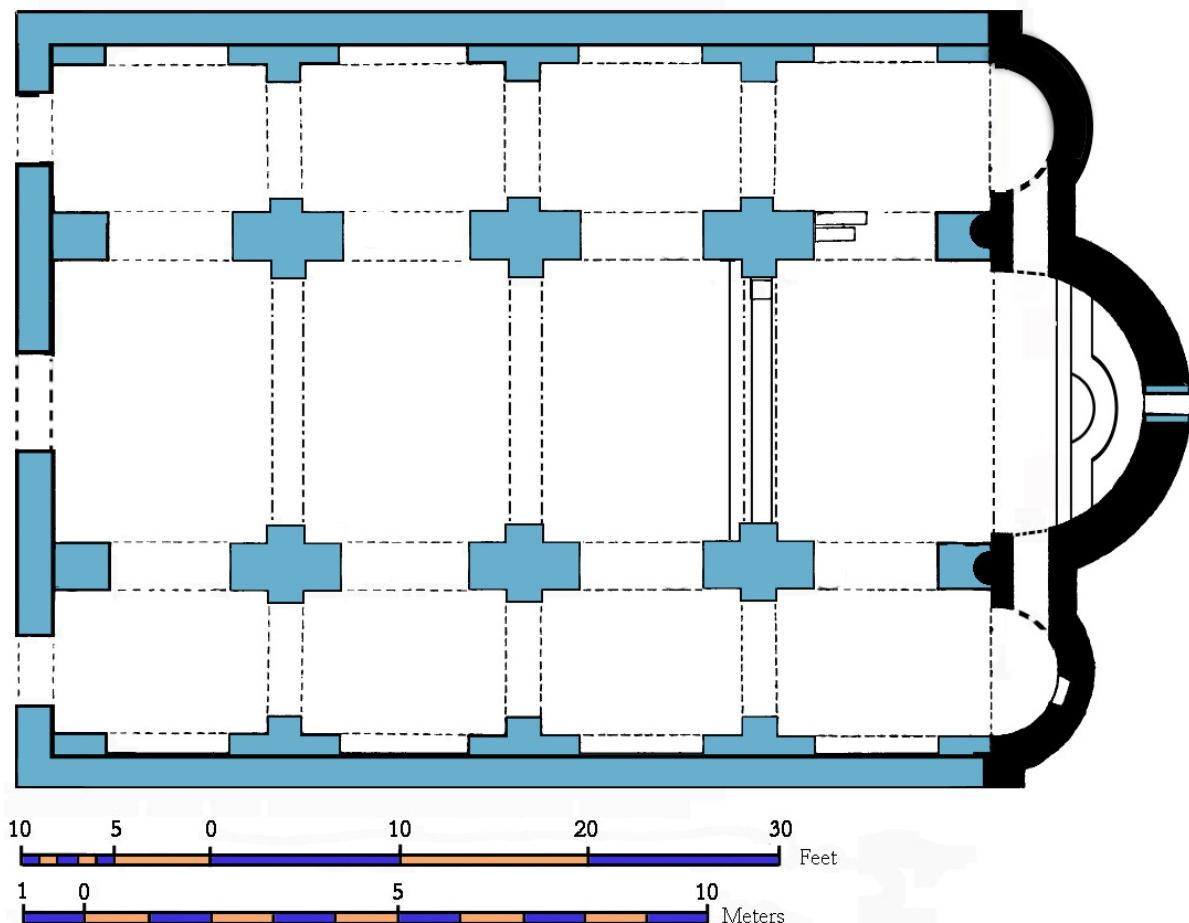
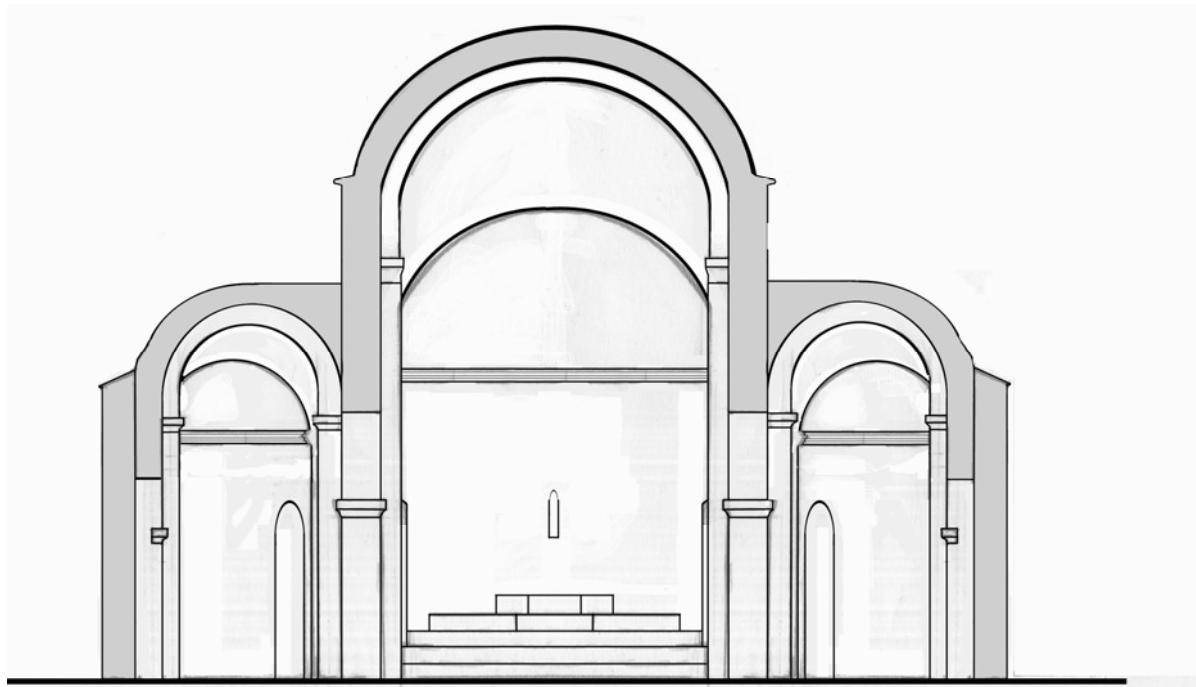
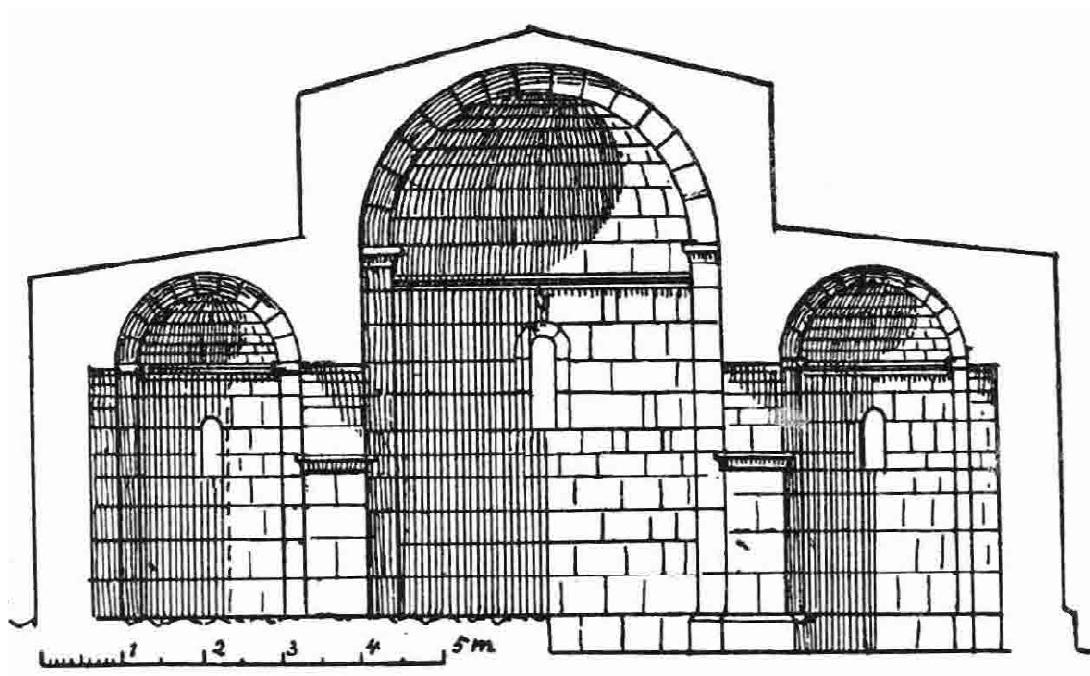


Fig. II.52. Asomatos basilica (Afentrika), Phase 2 (barrel-vaulted) plan
 (C.A. Stewart after Megaw 1946)



a.



b.

Fig. II.53. Asomatos basilica (Afentrika), Phase 2 (barrel-vaulted) elevation, **a.** North-south cross-section (C.A.Stewart); **b.** elevation as reconstructed by Enlart (1899).

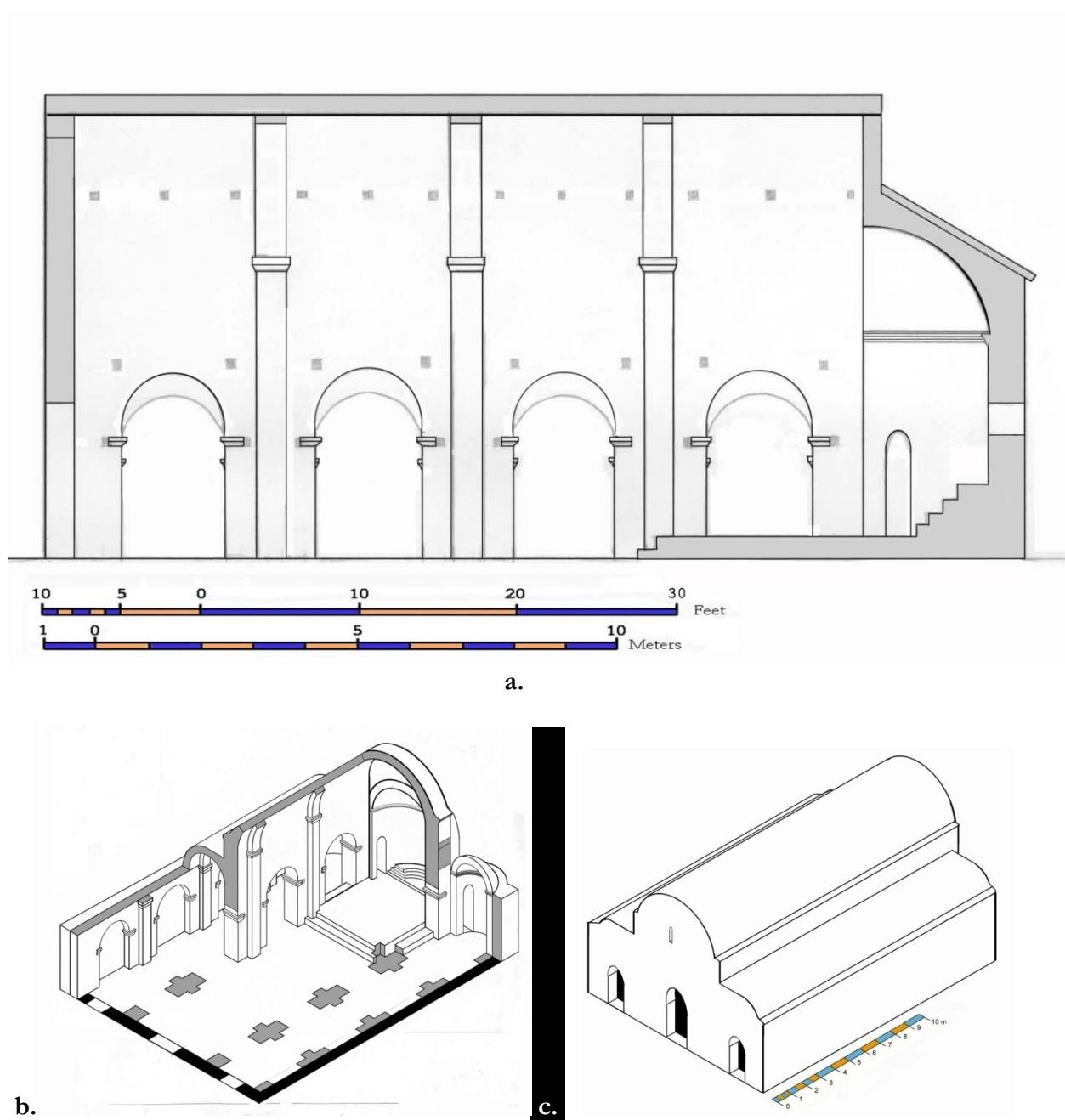


Fig. II.54 Asomatos basilica (Afentrika), Phase 2 (barrel-vaulted) **a.** reconstructed elevation West-east cross section; **b.** isometric, cutaway reconstruction; **c.** exterior, isometric reconstruction (C.A. Stewart)



Fig. II.55. Asomatos basilica (Afentrika), current state, exterior (Photo: C.A. Stewart)



Fig. II.56. Asomatos basilica (Afentrika), current state, interior, central nave looking west (Photo: C.A. Stewart)



Fig. II.57. Asomatos basilica (Afentrika), exterior, south door way (Photo: C.A. Stewart)



Fig. II.58. Asomatos basilica (Afentrika), interior, South aisle looking east (Photo: C.A. Stewart)



Fig. II.59. Asomatos basilica (Afentrika), apse passage ways looking north from south aisle (Photo: C.A. Stewart)



Fig. II.60. Asomatos basilica(Afentrika) South aisle barrel-vaulting (Photo: C.A.Stewart)

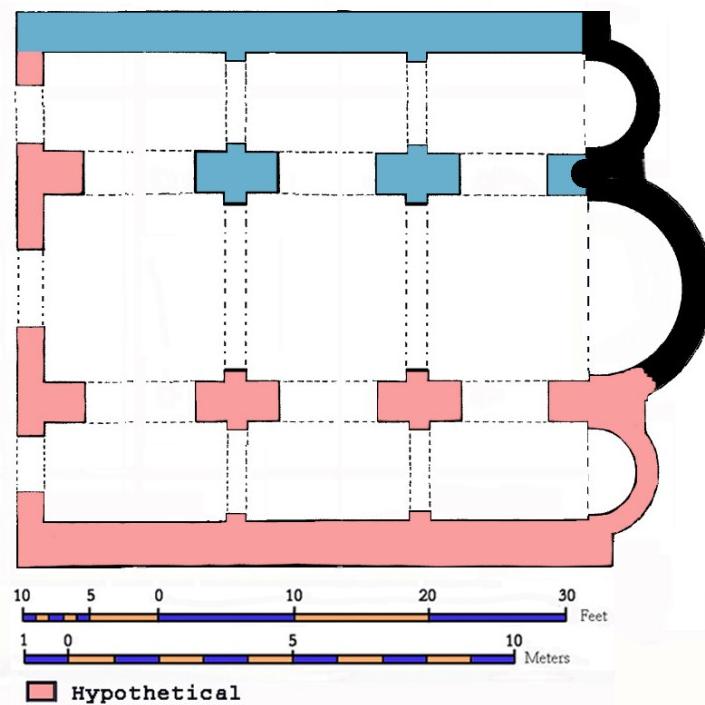


Fig. II.61. Agia Varvara, hypothetical ground plan (C.A. Stewart)



Fig. II.62. Agia Varvara, present state, looking north (Photo: C.A. Stewart)



Fig. II.63. Agia Varvara, present state, north aisle looking east (Photo: C.A. Stewart)



Fig. II.64. Agia Varvara, fresco easternmost north arcade soffits (Photo: C.A. Stewart)



Fig. II.65. Agia Varvara, fresco reconstruction (C.A. Stewart)

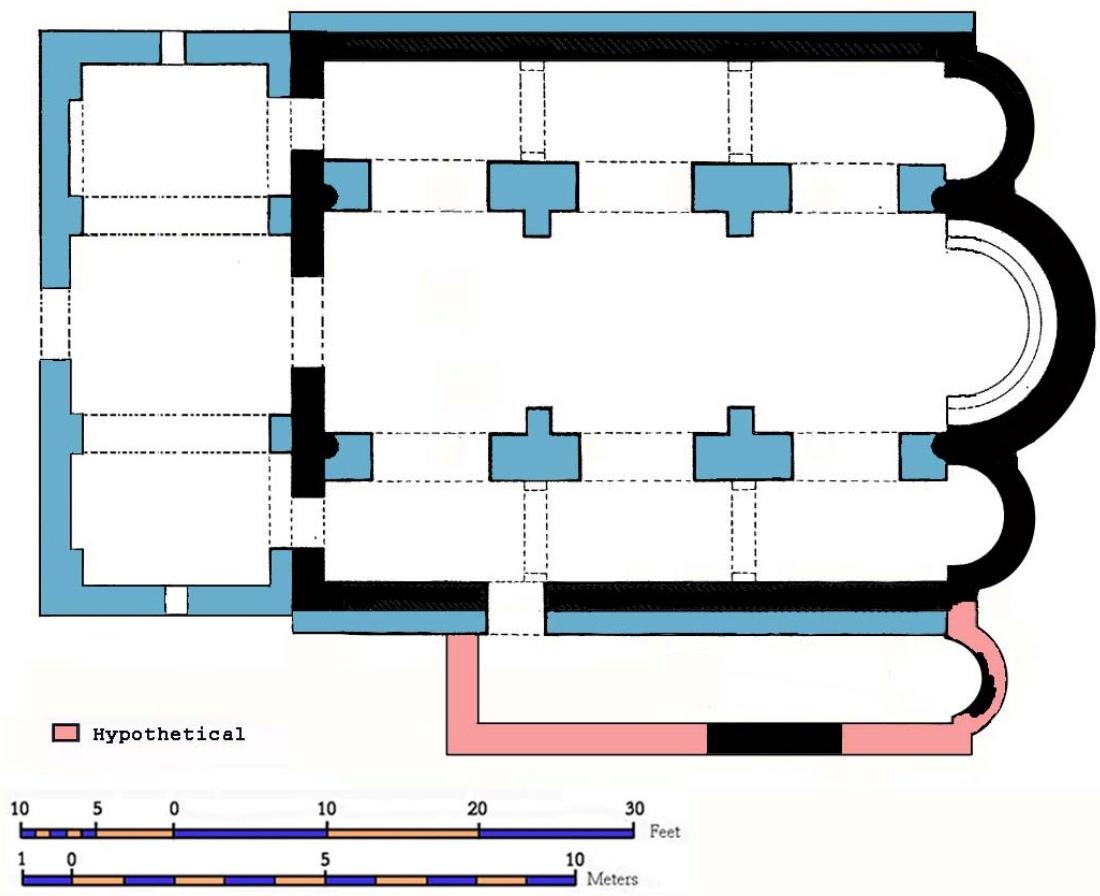


Fig. II.66. Panagia Afentrika at Sykada, ground plan (C.A. Stewart, after Megaw 1946)



Fig. II.67. Panagia Afentrika at Sykada, present state, looking west (Photo: C.A. Stewart)



Fig. II.68. Panagia Afentrika at Sykada, present state, looking south west towards south arcade
(Photo: C.A. Stewart)



Fig. II.69. Panagia Afentrika at Sykada, south aisle, “hanging” springing corbel, supporting transverse arch (Photo: C.A. Stewart)



Fig. II.70. Panagia Afentrika at Sykada, doorway leading to south chapel/martyrium (Photo: C.A. Stewart)



Fig. II.71. Panagia Afentrika at Sykada, nave looking east towards apse (Photo: Alexis Stewart)



Fig. II.72. Panagia Afentrika at Sykada,
Early Christian engaged column, reused in
Phase 2 narthex (Photo: C.A. Stewart)



Fig. II.73. Panagia Afentrika at Sykada,
recess-niche (Photo: C.A. Stewart)



Fig. II.74. Panagia Afentrika at Sykada, preparatory drawing for a fresco, intrados in south arcade (Photo: C.A. Stewart)



Fig. II.75. Panagia Afentrika at Sykada, border of a fresco painting, north aisle (Photo: C.A. Stewart)



Fig. II.76. Panagia Afentrika at Sykada, doorway into Sykada, south aisle (Photo: C.A. Stewart)



Fig. II.77. Panagia Afentrika at marble furnishings from Early Christian period Megaw 1946

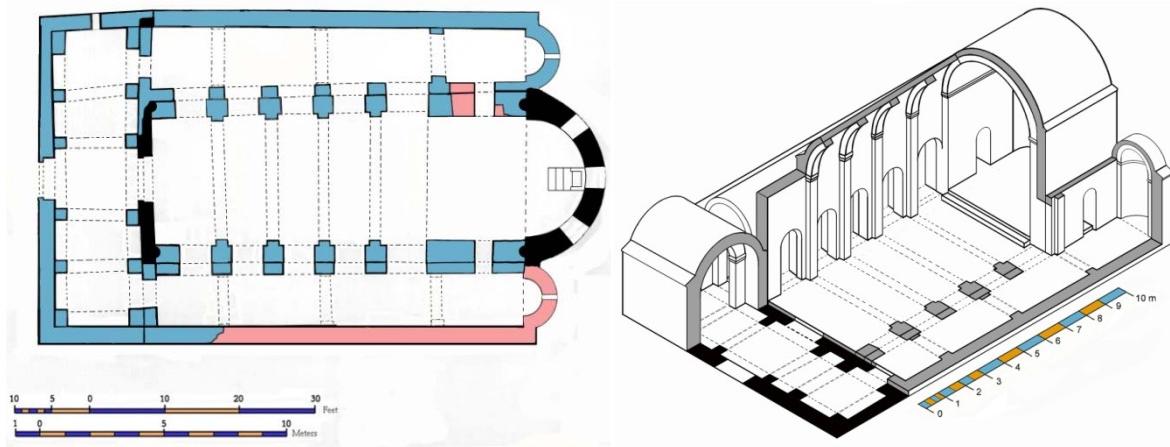


Fig. II.78. Panagia Kanakariá (Lythrakomi): **a.** ground plan, Black=Phase 1 remnants (Early Christian); Blue = Phase 2 (Barrel-vaulting); Pink=Hypothetical Phase 2; **b.** isometric cutaway reconstruction of Phase 2 (C.A. Stewart)



Fig. II.79. Panagia Kanakariá (Lythrakomi), interior looking up towards barrel-vaulting, arrow indicates springing corbel of Phase 2 (Photo: C.A. Stewart)



Fig. II.80. Panagia Kanakariá (Lythrakomi), interior, north aisle arcade (Photo: C.A. Stewart)



Fig. II.81. Panagia Kanakariá (Lythrakomi), interior, north aisle apse (Photo: C.A. Stewart)



Fig. II.82. Panagia Kanakariá (Lythrakomi), interior recess niches of the narthex interior (Photo: C.A. Stewart)



Fig. II.83. Panagia Kanakariá (Lythrakomi), narthex door looking east through the southern aisle (Photo: C.A. Stewart)

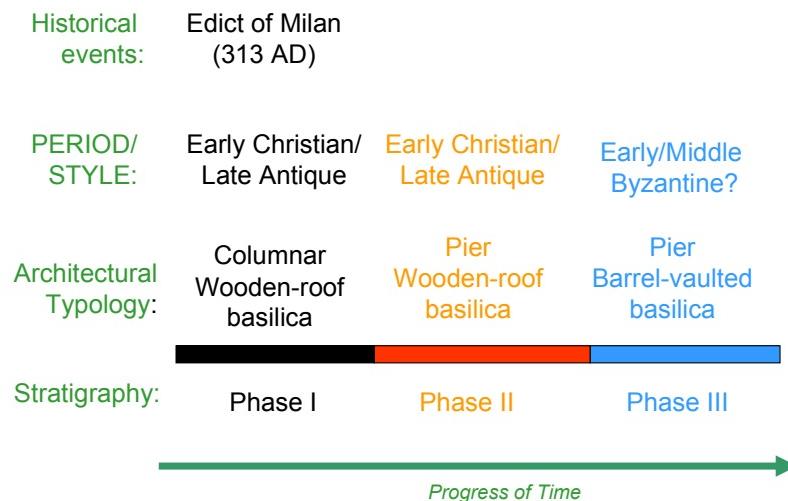


Fig. II.84. Diachronic approach to Late Antique architectural development on Cyprus.
Each building phase takes place, one after another (C.A.Stewart).

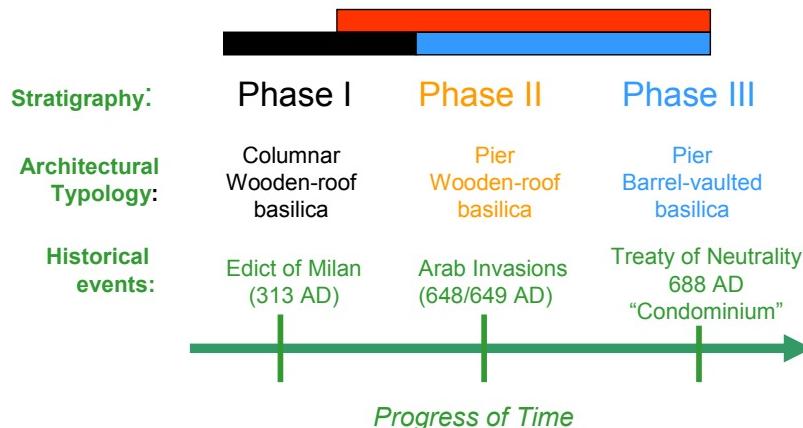


Fig. II.85. Synchronic approach to Late Antique architectural development on Cyprus.
Some building phases occur contemporaneously (C.A.Stewart).

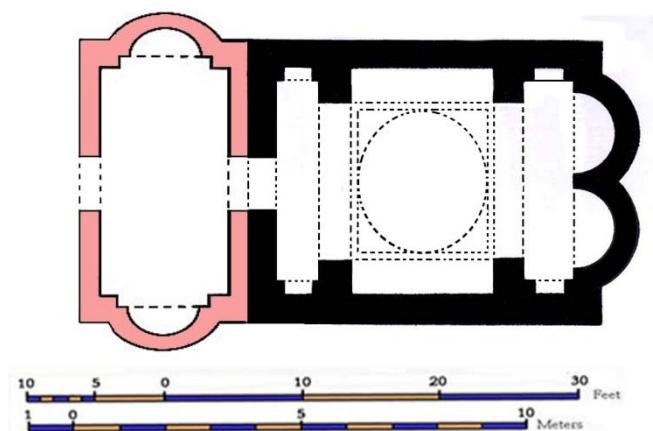


Fig. II.86. Agios Georgios, Afentrika, ground plan (C.A. Stewart)



Fig. II.87. Agios Georgios, Afentrika, exterior looking east. Ruins of Panagia Chrysotissa (left) and the Asomatos (right) are in the background (Photo: C.A. Stewart)



Fig. II.88. Agios Georgios, Afentrika, interior, looking north (Photo: Alexis Clark)



Fig. II.89. Agios Georgios, Afentrika, interior, looking east (Photo: Alexis Clark)

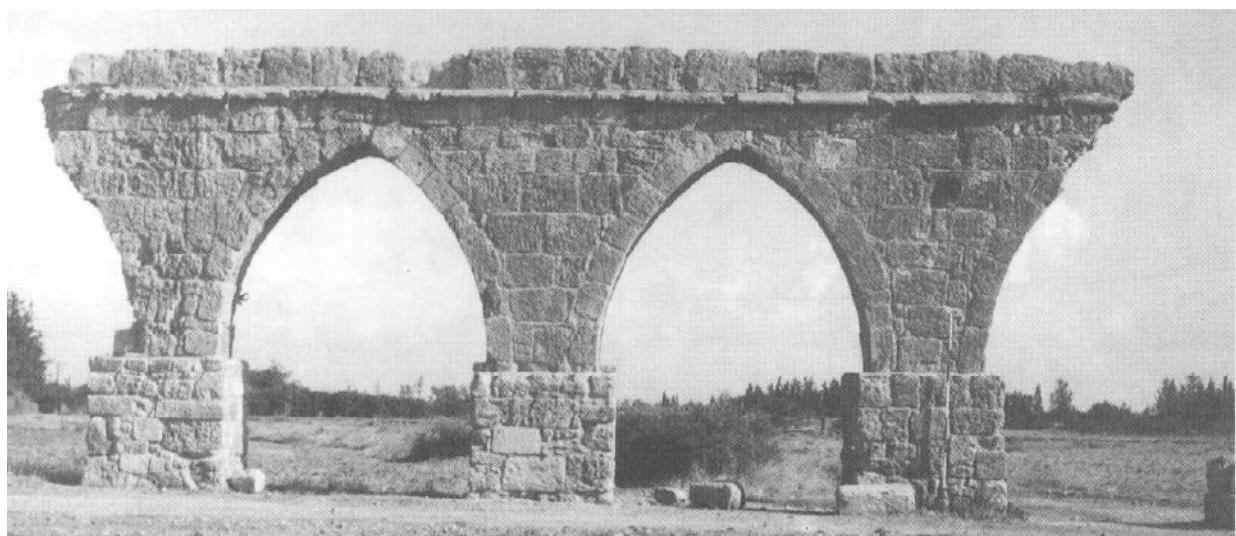


Fig. II.90. Chytroi to Salamis-Constantia Aqueduct (7th c.) (Sodini 1998)



Fig. II.91. Kourion cathedral (6th c.), southern rooms (Photo: C.A.Stewart)



Fig. II.92. Panagia Limeniotissa (Kourion), atrium 6th – mid 7th c. (Photo: C.A.Stewart)



Fig. II.93. Barrel-vaulted cistern
Gymnasium of Salamis-Constantia
(Photo: C.A.Stewart)



Fig. II.94. “St. Catherine’s prison,” barrel-vaulted tomb Geometric-period (2000 B.C.)
(Photo: C.A.Stewart)

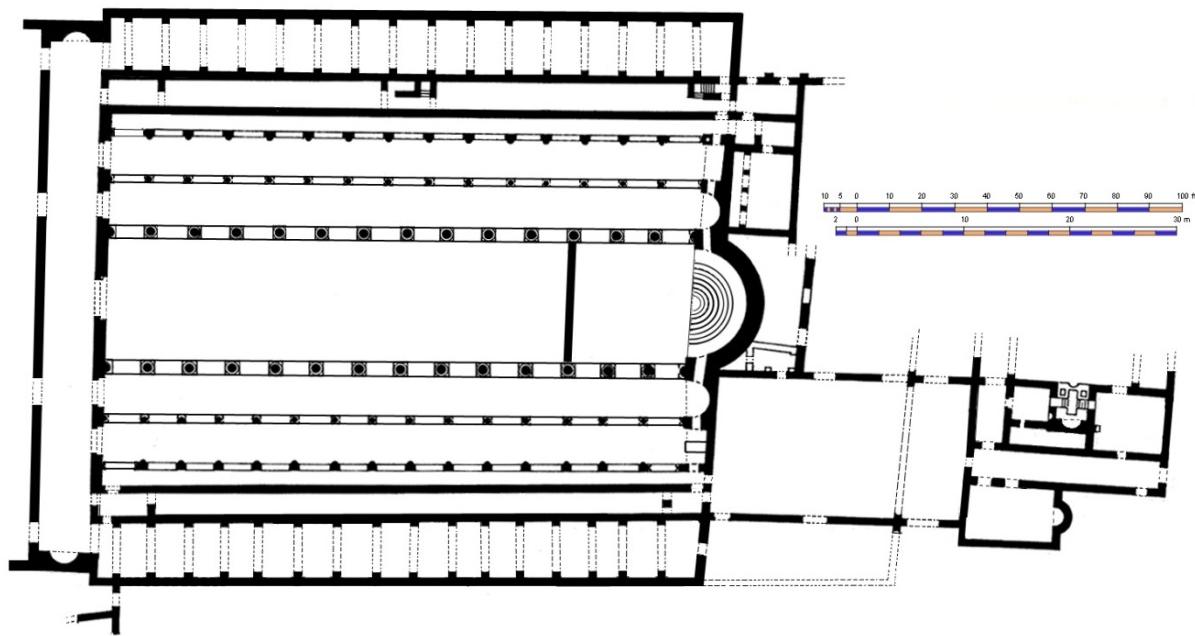


Figure III.1. Agios Epifanios cathedral, Salamis-Constantia. Hypothetical ground plan (C.A. Stewart, after Dikigoropoulos 1961 and Megaw 1974).



Fig. III.2. Agios Epifanios cathedral, Salamis-Constantia. Current state looking east down the nave towards the central apse. (Photo: C. A. Stewart).

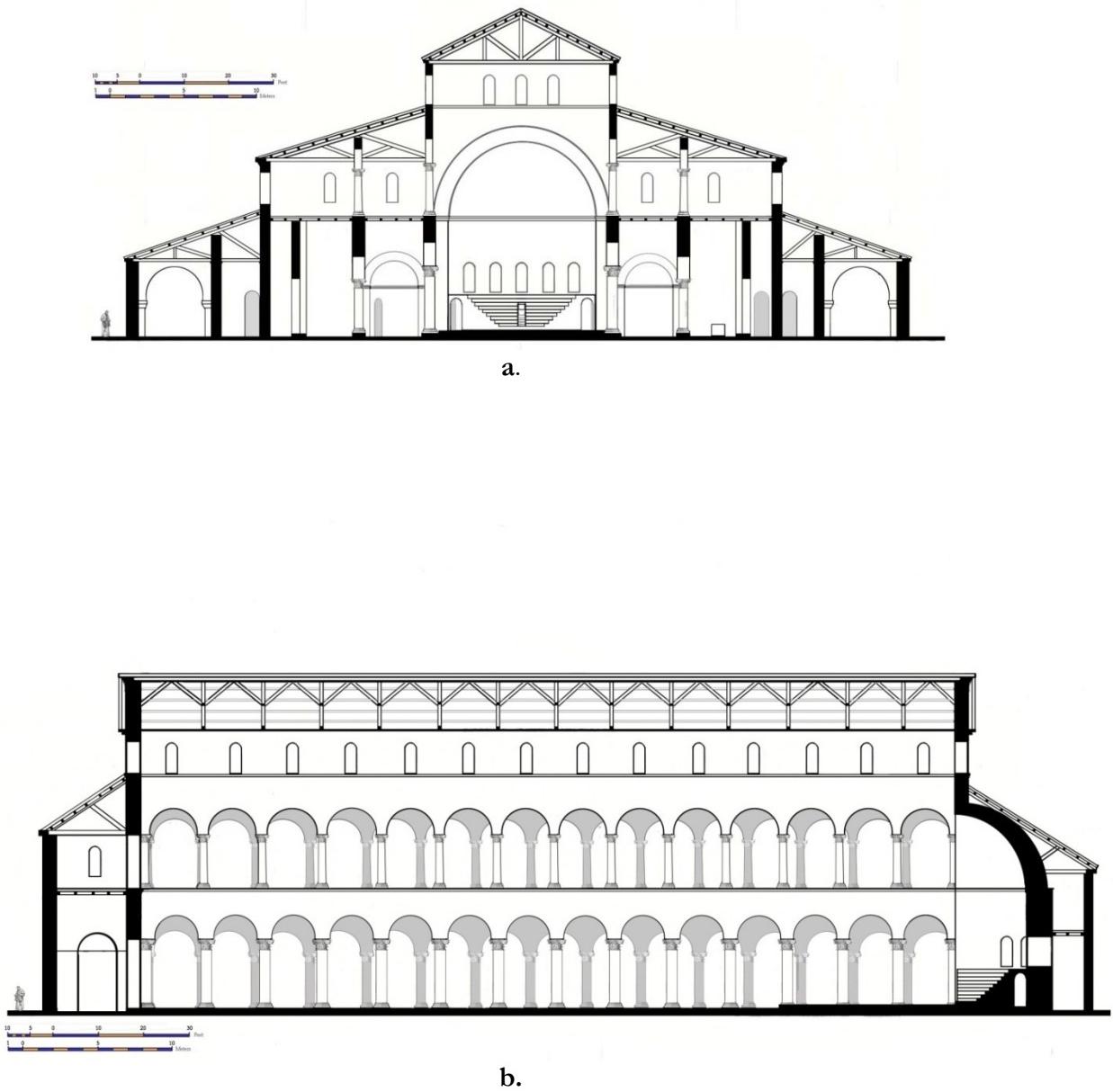


Fig. III.3. Agios Epifanios cathedral, Salamis-Constantia. Hypothetical (a.) east-west (b.) north-south Elevation (C.A. Stewart).

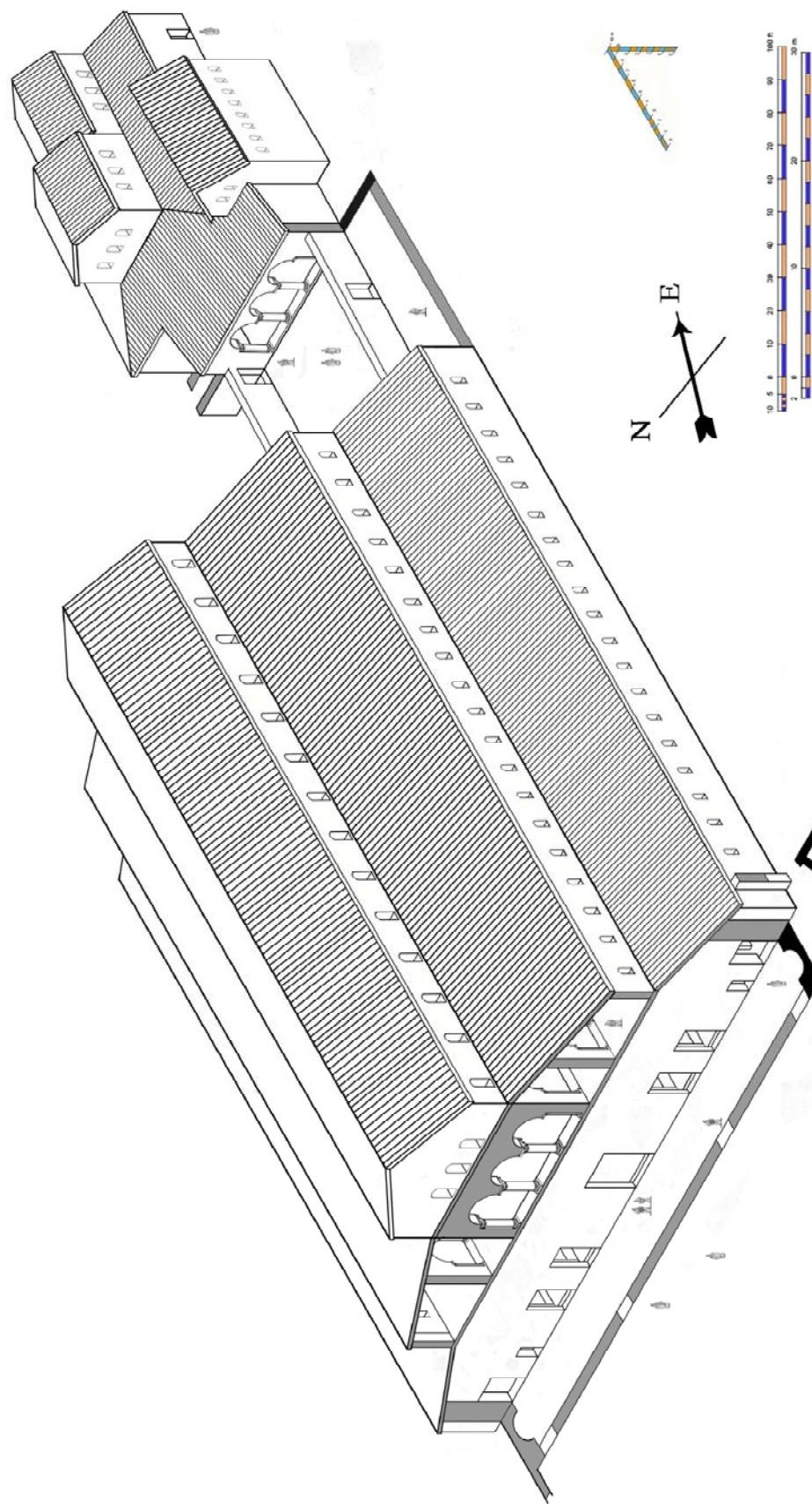


Fig. III.4. Agios Epifanios cathedral, Salamis-Constantia. Hypothetical Exterior Perspective with baptistery area on the right (C. A. Stewart).



Fig. III.5. Agios Epifanios, Salamis-Constantia, Early Christian hallway leading from the basilica to the baptistery (Photo: C.A. Stewart)

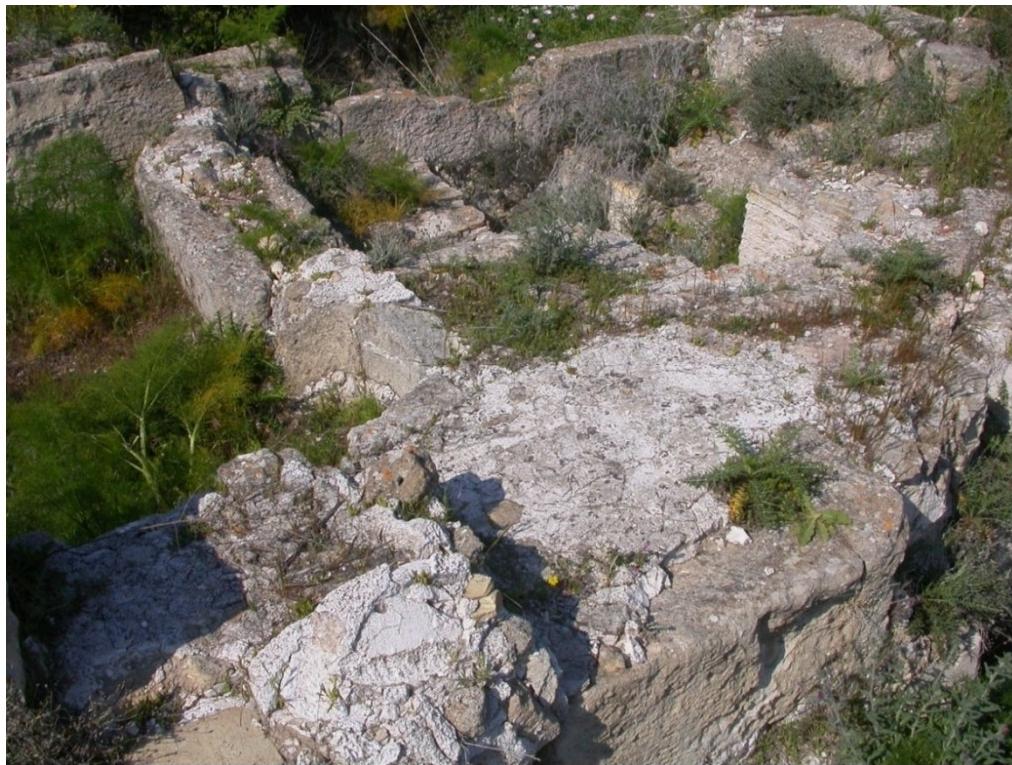


Fig. III.6. Agios Epifanios, Salamis-Constantia, Early Christian baptistery (C.A. Stewart)



Fig. III.7. Agios Epiphanios cathedral, Salamis-Constantia. Current state of St. Epiphanius' tomb (Photo: C. A. Stewart).

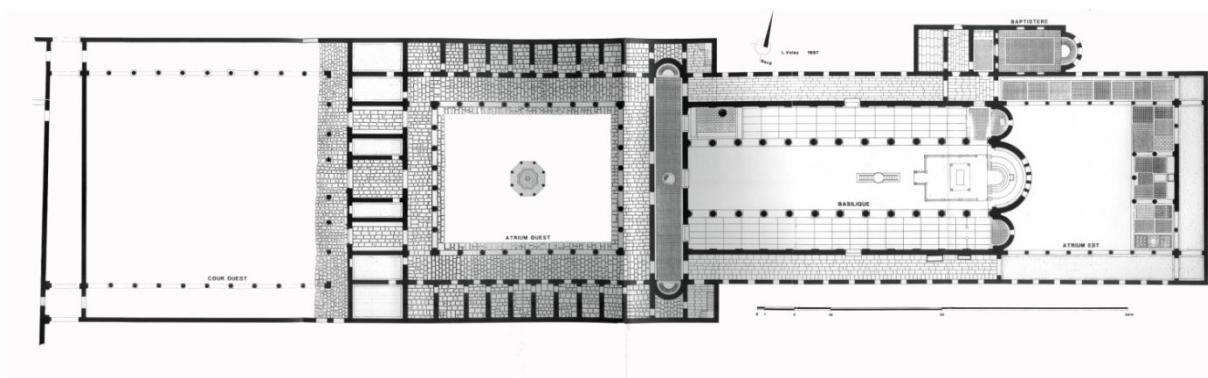


Fig. III.8. Campanopetra church, Salamis-Constantia. Ground Plan (Roux 1998)

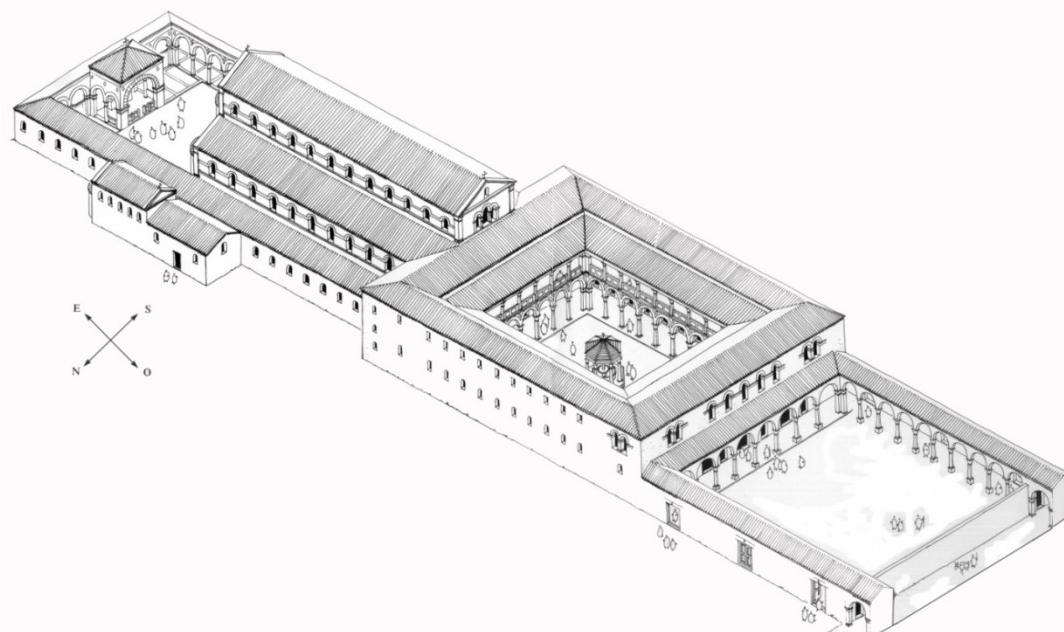


Fig. III.9. Campanopetra church, Salamis-Constantia. Exterior Reconstruction (Roux 1998)



Fig. III.10. Campanopetra church, Salamis-Constantia. Current state looking eastward towards apse (Photo: C.A. Stewart)



Fig. III.11. Campanopetra church, Salamis-Constantia. Opus sectile of adjacent rooms east of the eastern atrium (Photo: C.A. Stewart)

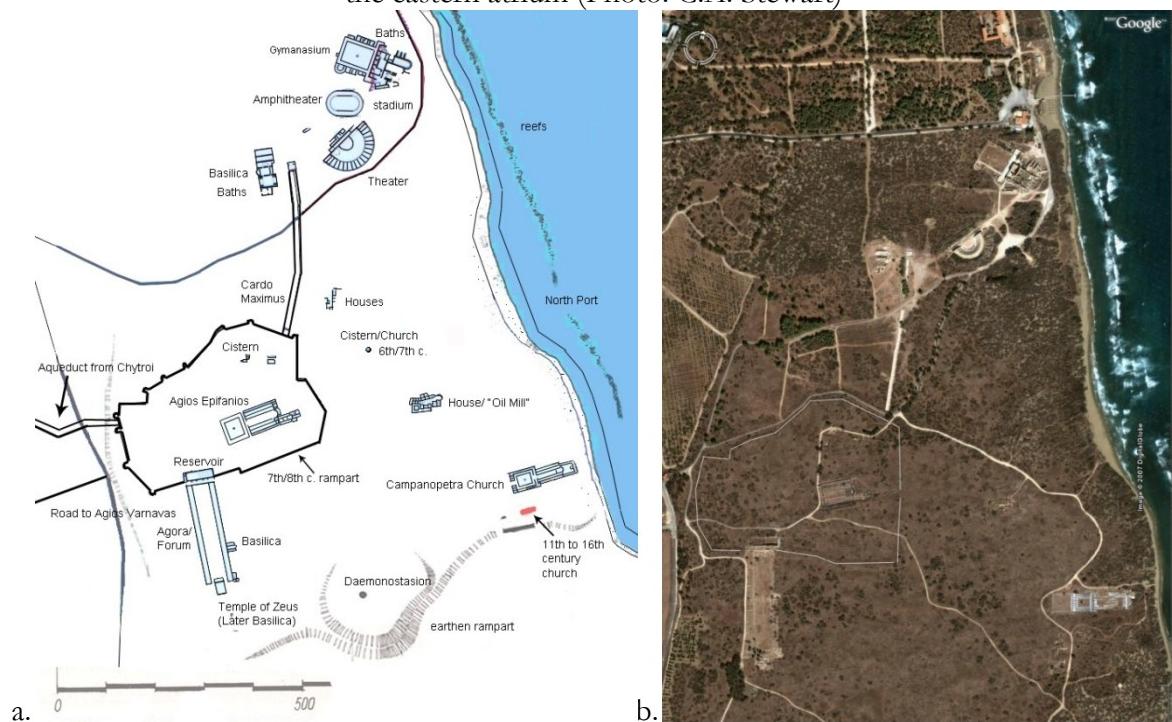


Fig. III.12. a. Map D. Salamis-Constantia in the late 7th century (C.A. Stewart; after Bruce-Mitford 1950 and Yon 1993), **b.** current satellite map, highlighting monuments (© Google).



Fig. III.13. Salamis-Constantia. Late 7th century wall blocking the *cardo maximus* (Photo: C.A. Stewart).

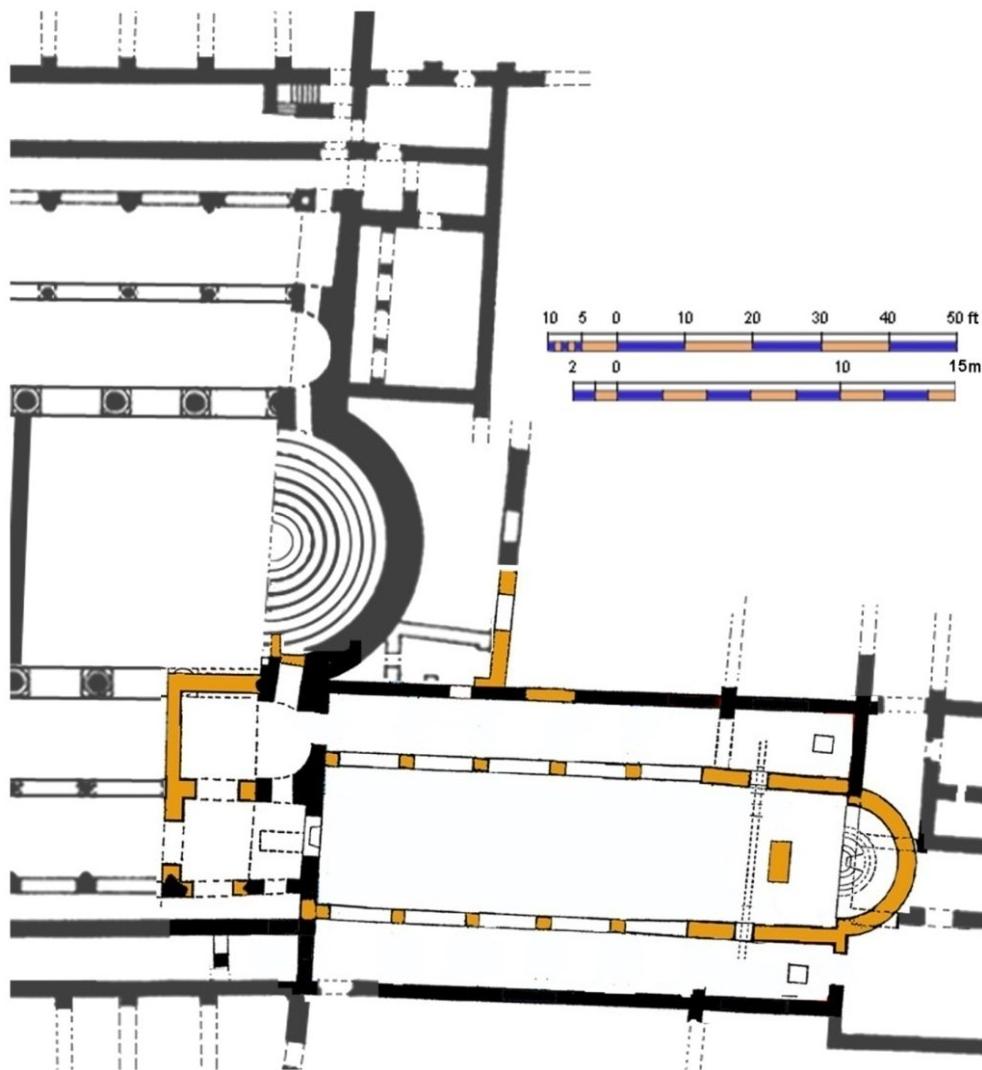


Fig. III.14. Agios Epifanios cathedral (Phase 2, orange), Salamis-Constantia. Ground Plan (C.A. Stewart, after Dikigoropoulos 1961).

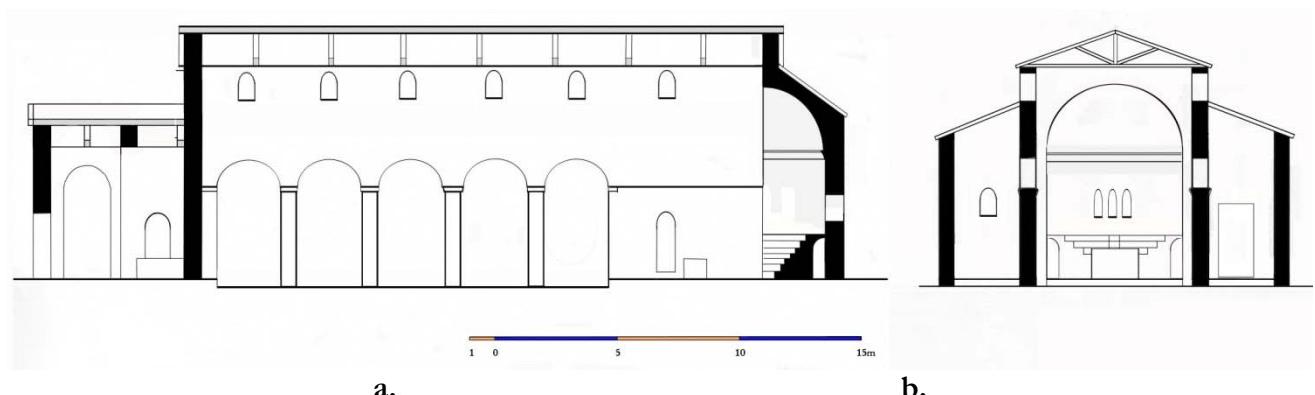


Fig. III.15. Agios Epifanios cathedral (Phase 2), Salamis-Constantia. Hypothetical Elevation (a) west-east section (b) north-south section (C. A. Stewart).



Fig. III.16. Agios Epifanios cathedral (Phase 2), Salamis-Constantia. Current state, altar and synthronon (Photo: C. A. Stewart).

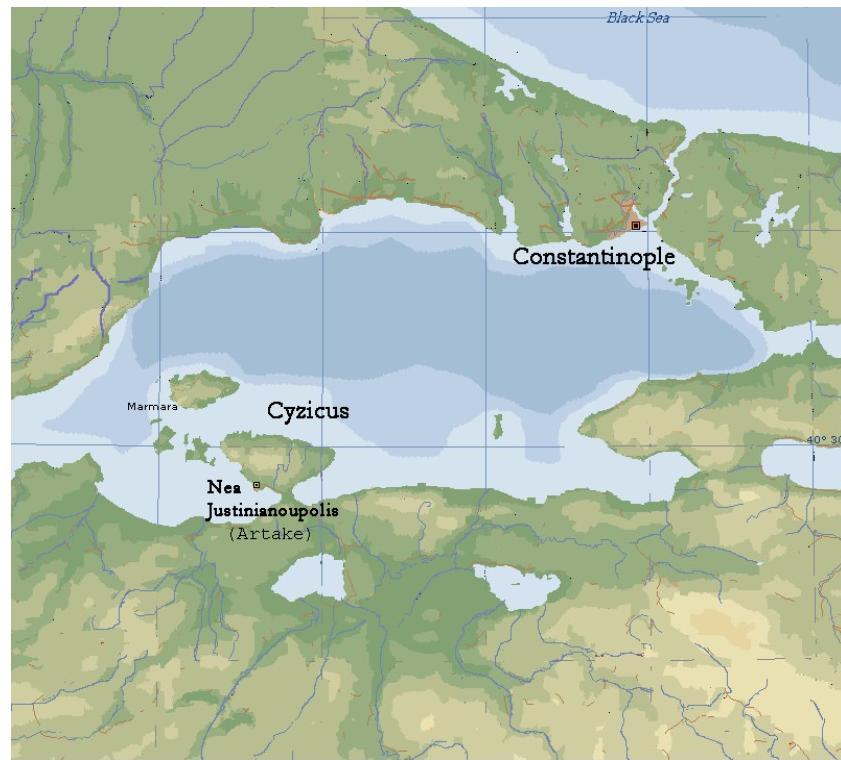


Fig. III.17. Map E. Cyzicus in Relation to Constantinople (C.A.Stewart).



Fig. III.18. Agios Epifanios cathedral (Phase 2-4), Current state looking northeast from south aisle entrance (Photo: C. A. Stewart).

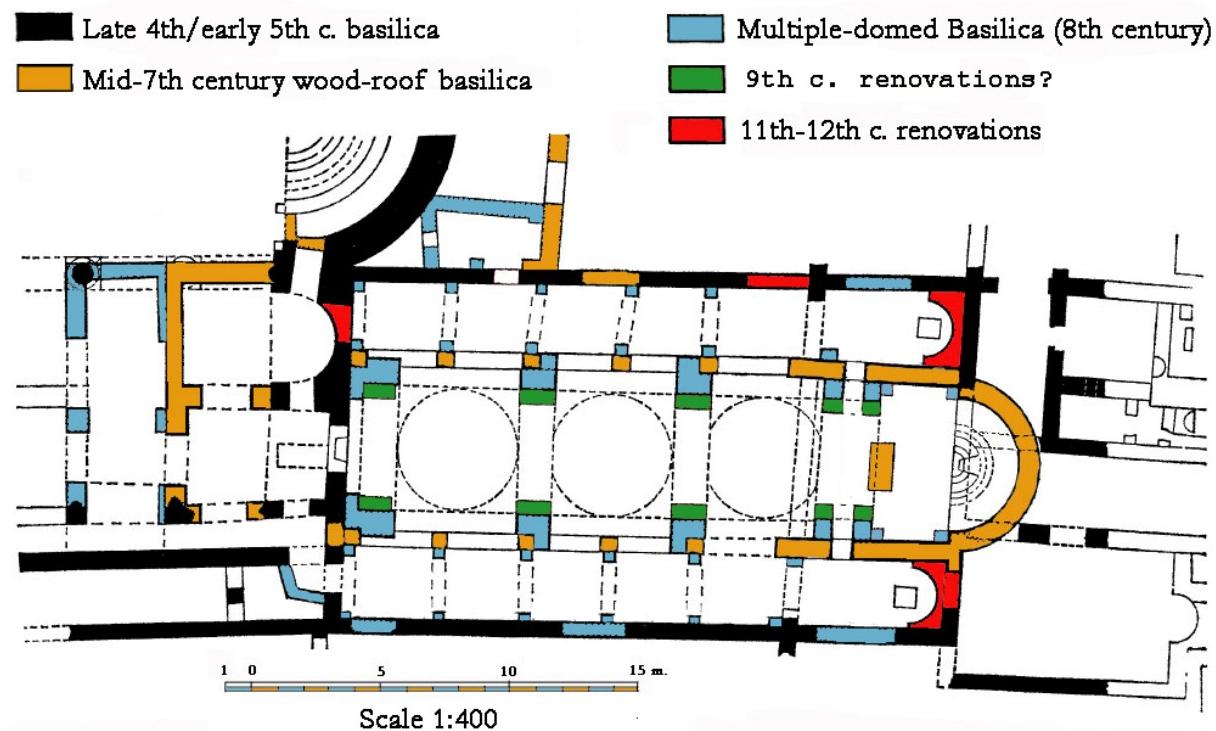


Fig. III.19. Agios Epifanios cathedral (Phase 3 and later), Salamis-Constantia. Ground Plan (C.A. Stewart, after Dikigoropoulos 1961).

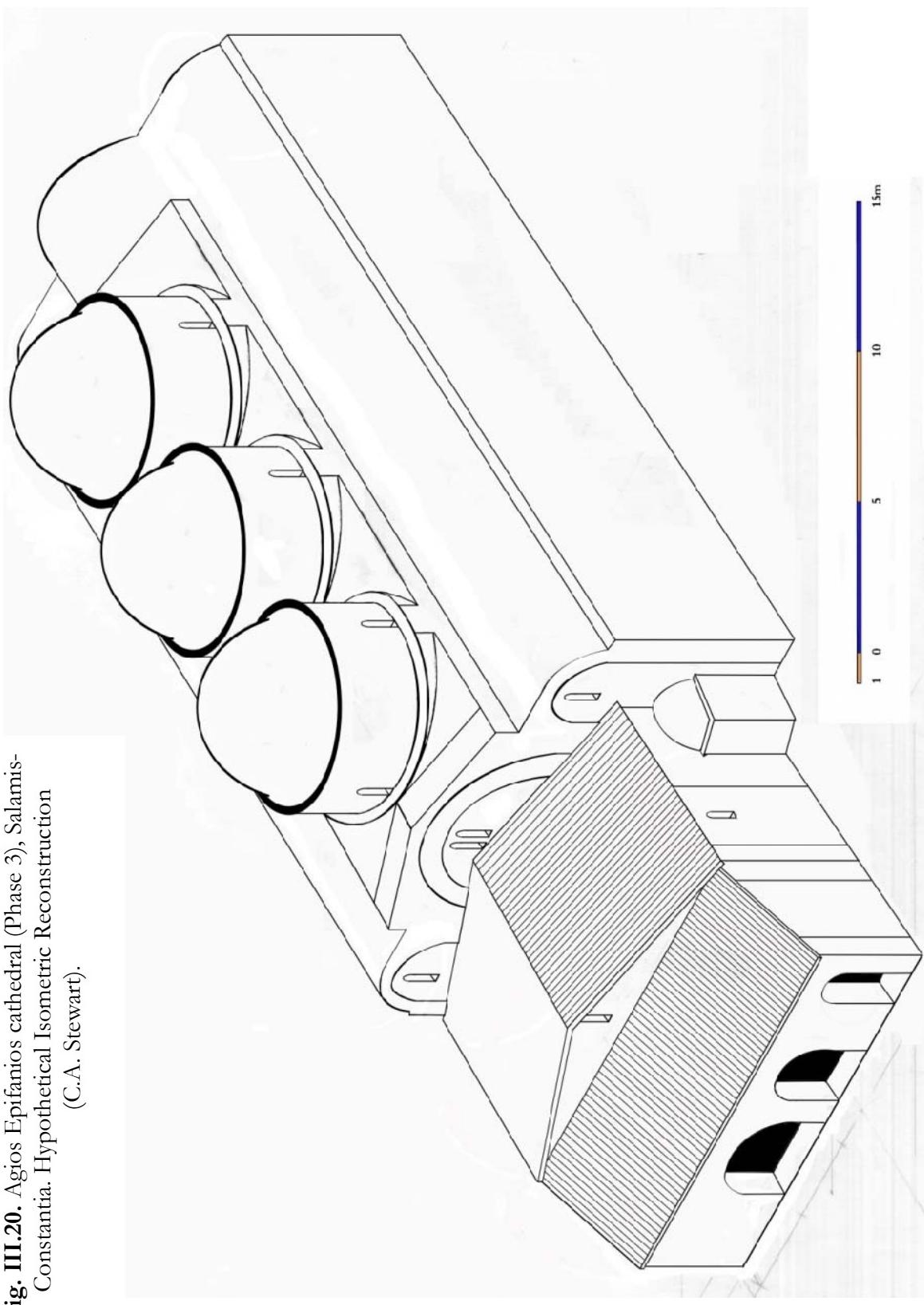
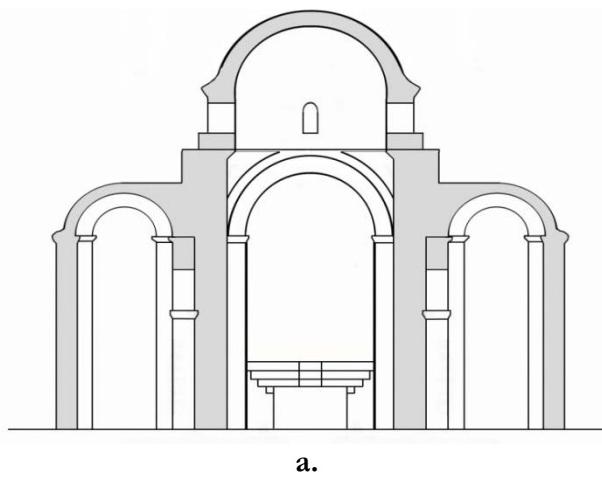
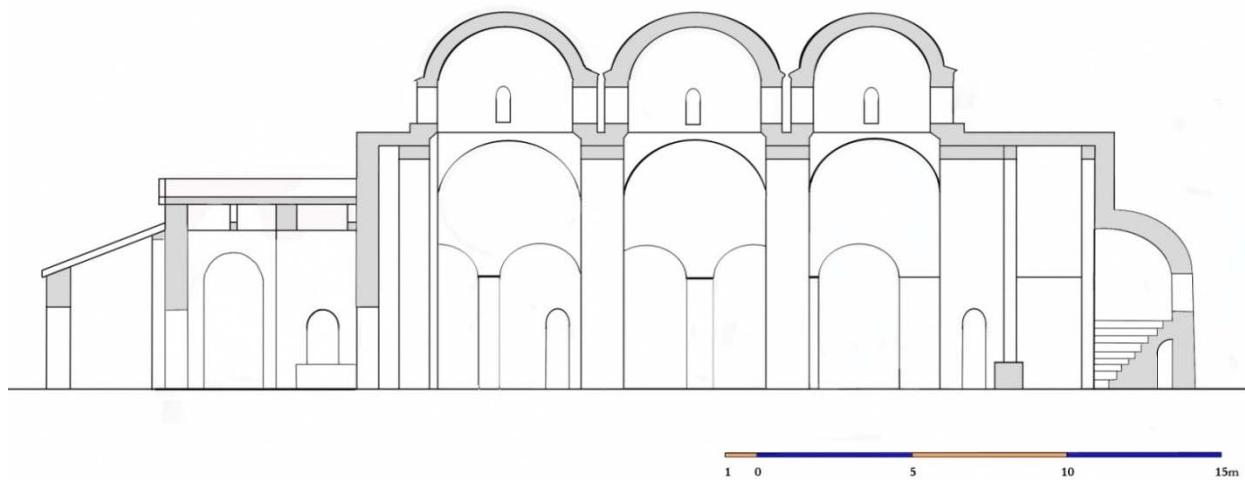


Fig. III.20. Agios Epifanios cathedral (Phase 3), Salamis-Constantia. Hypothetical Isometric Reconstruction (C.A. Stewart).



a.



b.

Fig. III.21. Agios Epifanios cathedral (Phase 3), Salamis-Constantia. Hypothetical Elevation,
a. north-south section, b. west-east section (C.A.Stewart).

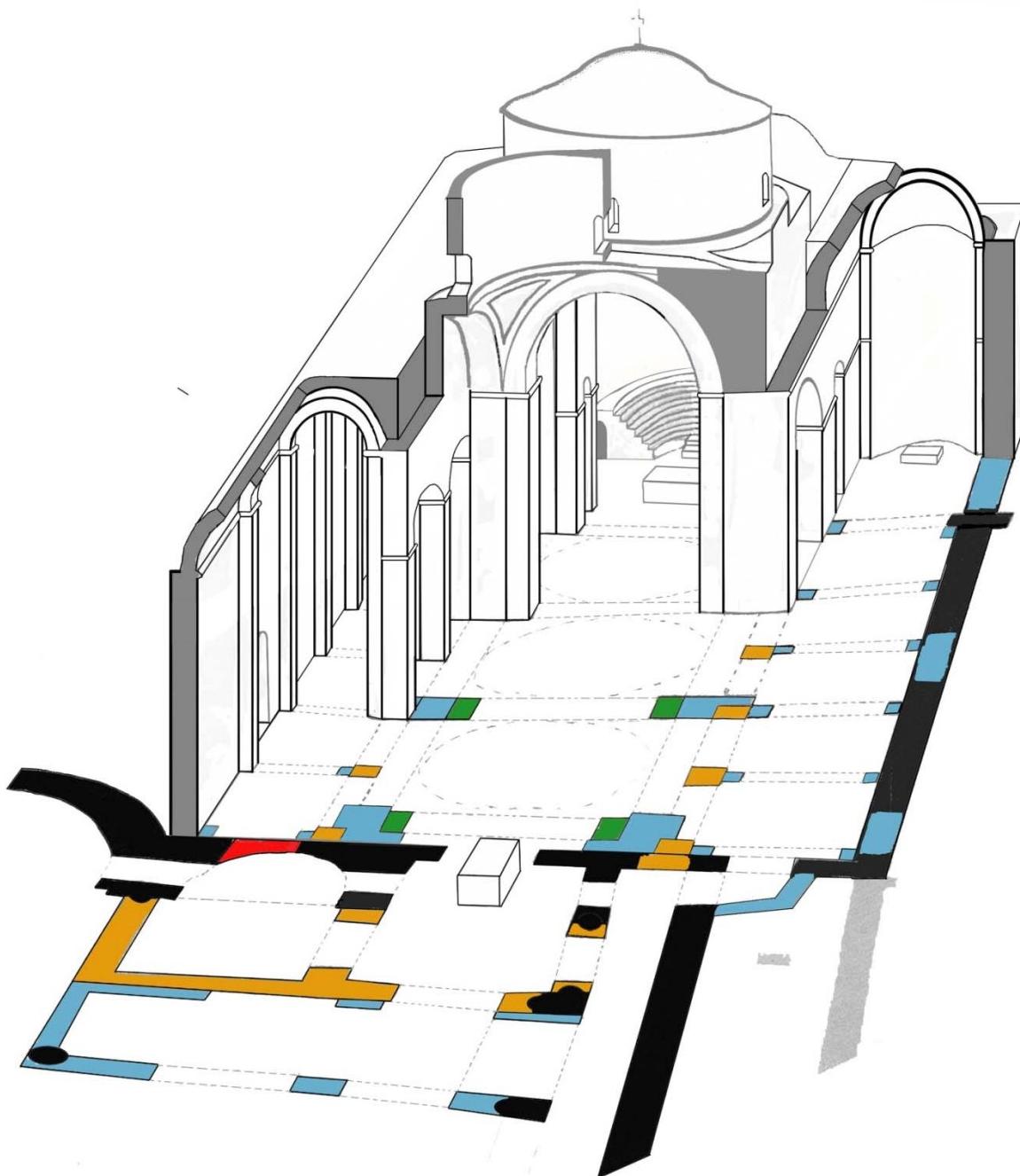


Fig. III.22. Agios Epifanios cathedral (all phases), Salamis-Constantia. Interior perspective reconstruction [not to proportion] (*C.A.Stewart*).



Fig. III.23. Agios Epifanios cathedral (Phase 3), Salamis-Constantia, south aisle entrance
(Photo: C. A. Stewart).

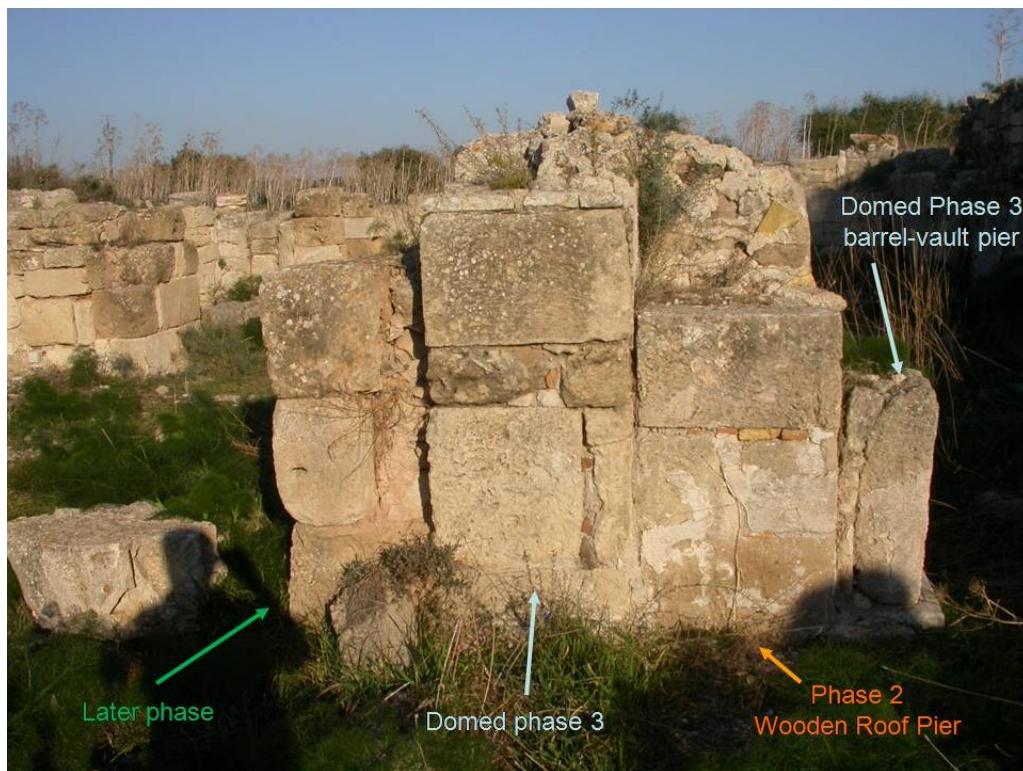


Fig. III.24. Agios Epifanios cathedral, Salamis-Constantia, south westernmost pier group,
looking eastward (Photo: C. A. Stewart).

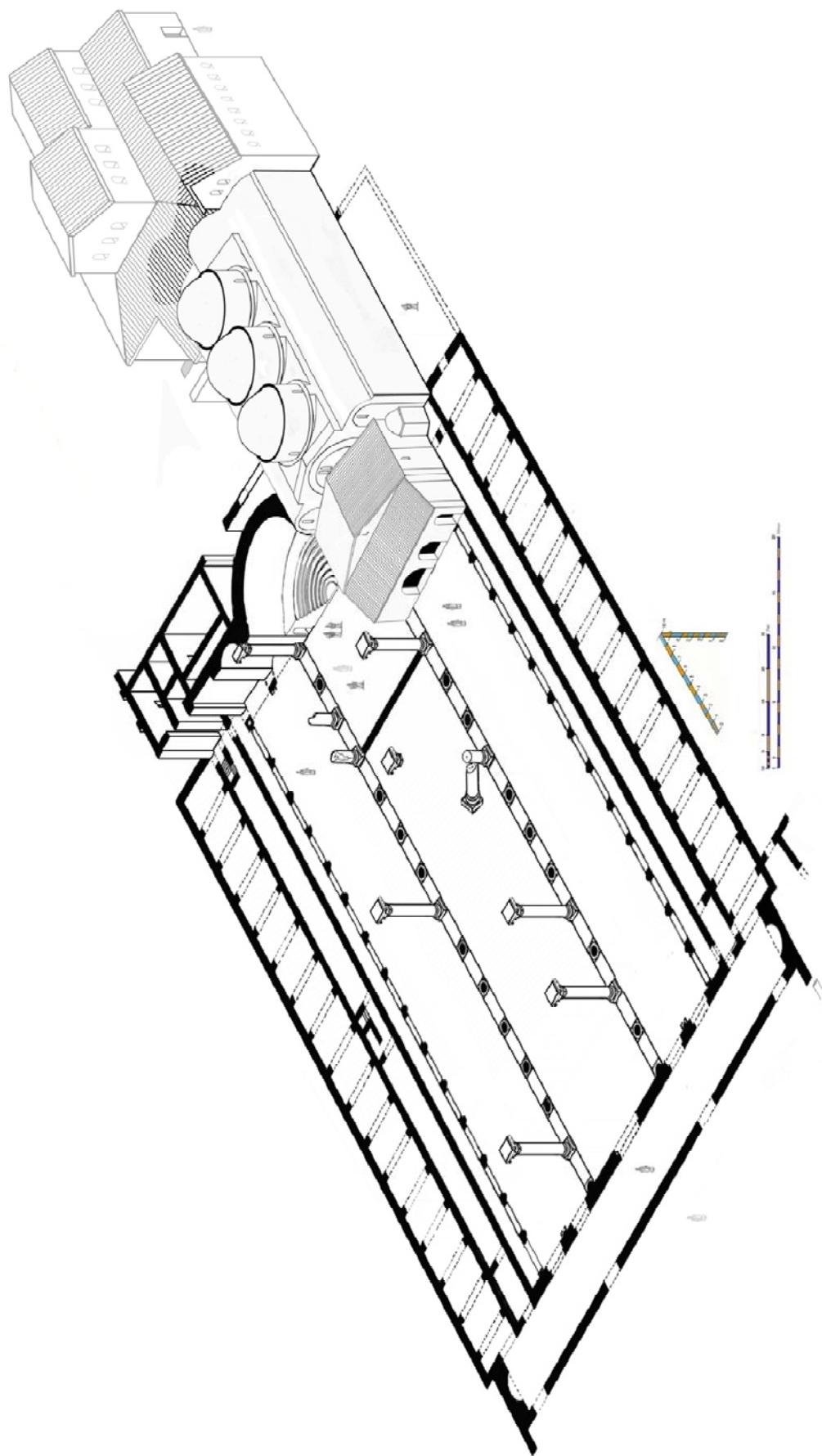


Fig. III.25. Hypothetical perspective of Phase 3 Agios Epifanios cathedral, Salamis-Constantia, in relation with the earlier context. (C. A. Stewart).

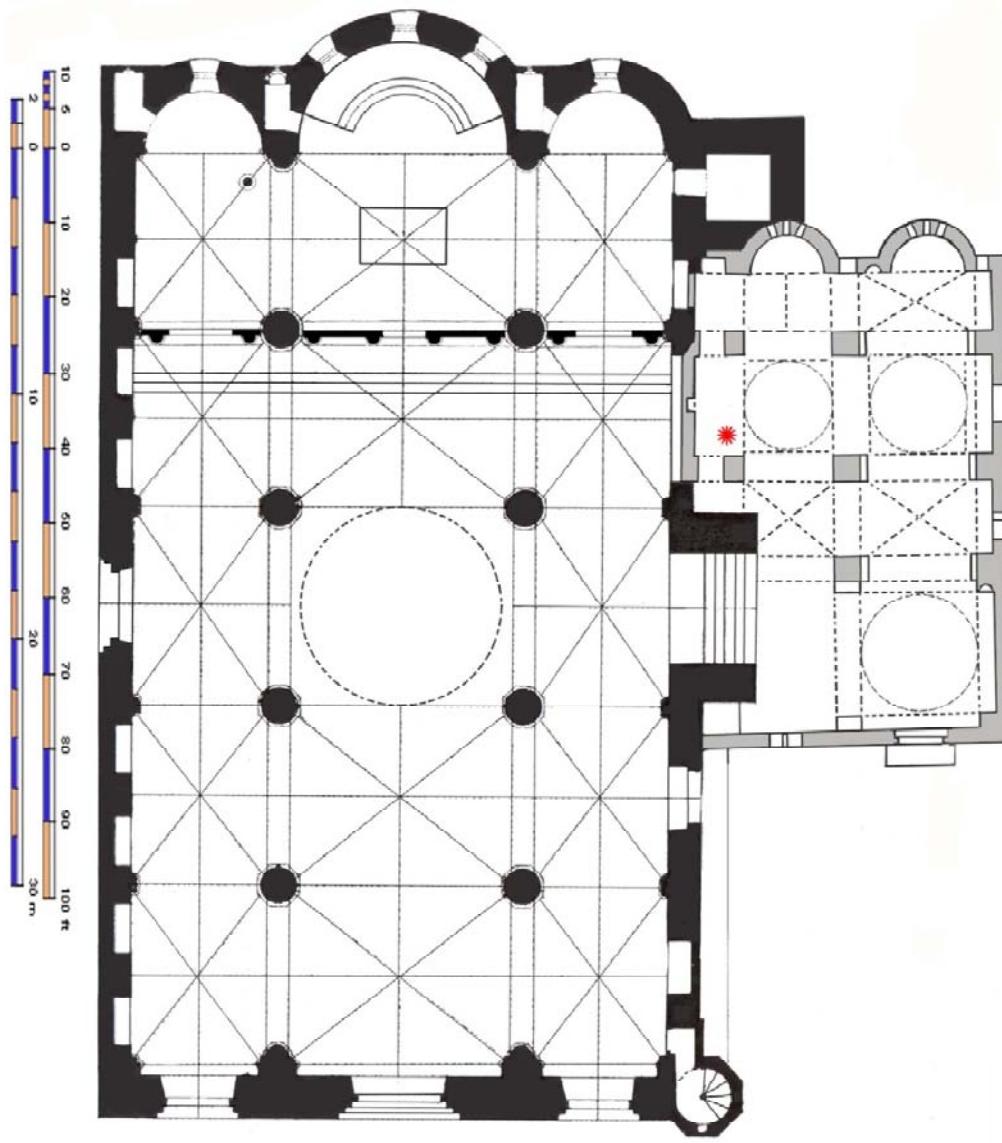


Fig. III.26. Agios Georgios Cathedral (also known as “St. George of the Greeks” or “St. Symeon”), Famagusta. Ground Plan. 13th c. church at right (grey), late 14th c. church at left (black). Central dome later church was not original, but built sometime before the close of the 16th century. Red star indicates location of Epiphanius shrine
 (C.A. Stewart, after C. Enlart via Jeffery 1915-16).



Fig. III.27. Agios Georgios,, Famagusta. Current state of the 13th c. cathedral (Photo: C. A. Stewart).



Fig. III.28. Agios Georgios, Famagusta. Looking eastern towards double apses of the 13th century. To the far left was St. Epiphanius' shine (Photo: C. A. Stewart).



Fig. III.29. Agios Georgios, Famagusta. Looking eastern towards apses of the late 14th century cathedral (Photo: C. A. Stewart).



Fig. III.30. Agios Georgios, Famagusta. Looking towards the 14th century south gallery (Photo: C. A. Stewart).

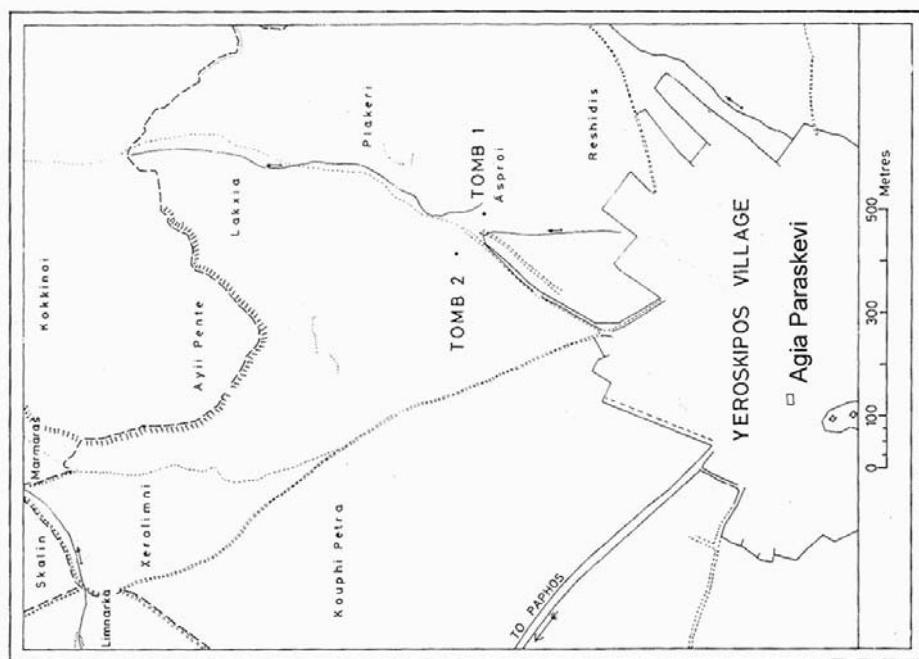


Figure IV.1. Map E. Geroskipou showing Agioi Pente to the North of Agia Paraskevi, which is in the center of the town.



Figure IV.2. Agia Paraskevi (Geroskipou). Capitals from an earlier building. (Photo: C.A. Stewart).



Fig. IV.3. Agia Paraskevi (Geroskipou).
Blocked-in door in south aisle
(Photo: C.A. Stewart).



Fig. IV.4. Agia Paraskevi (Geroskipou).
Central dome and pendentives
(Photo: C.A. Stewart).

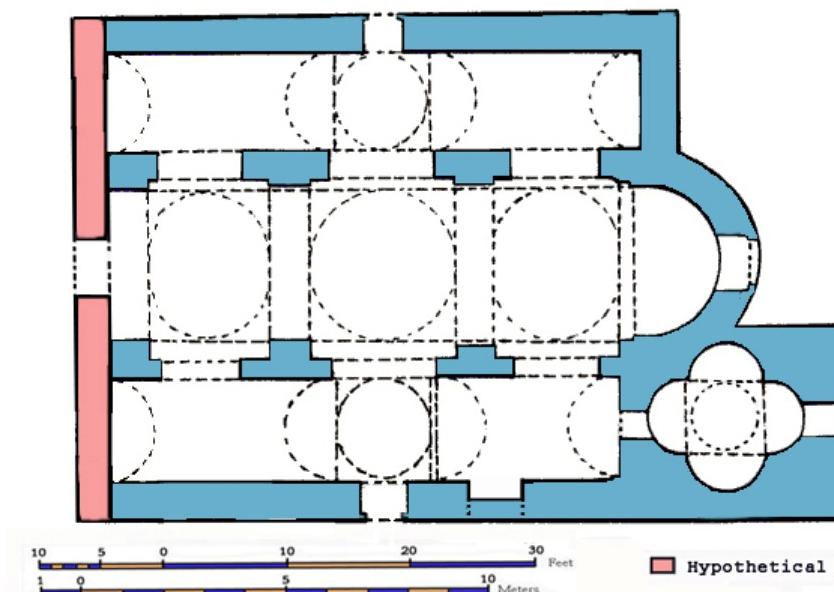


Fig. IV.5. Agia Paraskevi (Geroskipou). Plan of the original church with side domes
(C.A. Stewart).

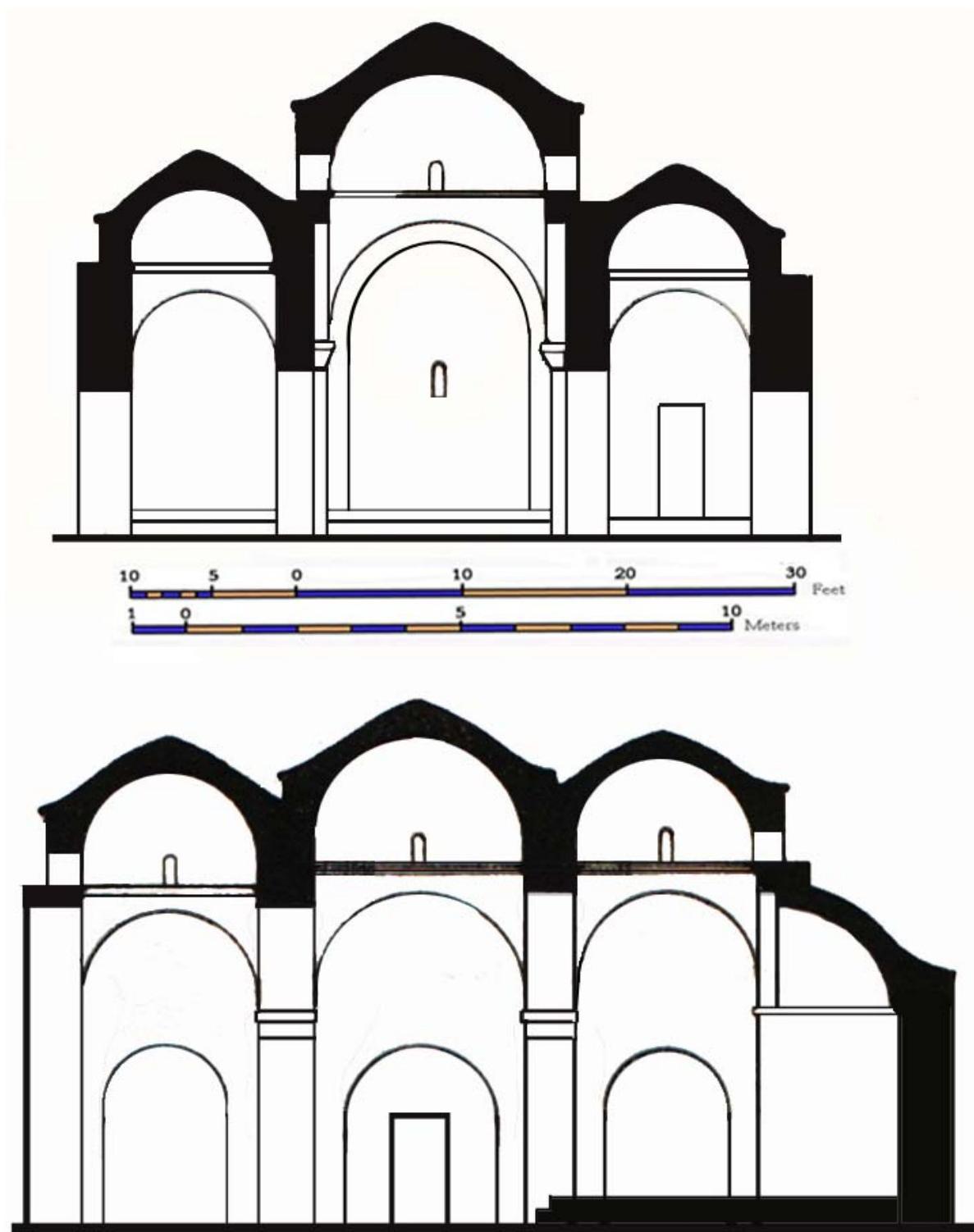


Fig. IV.6. Agia Paraskevi (Geroskipou). Elevation of the original church with domes (C.A. Stewart, after Soteriou 1935).



Fig. IV.7. Agia Paraskevi (Geroskipou). Traces of the original transept arm on north side
(Photo: C.A. Stewart).



Fig. IV.8. Agia Paraskevi (Geroskipou). **a.** Tetrakonch chamber, **b.** south window of Tetrakonch (Photo: C.A. Stewart).

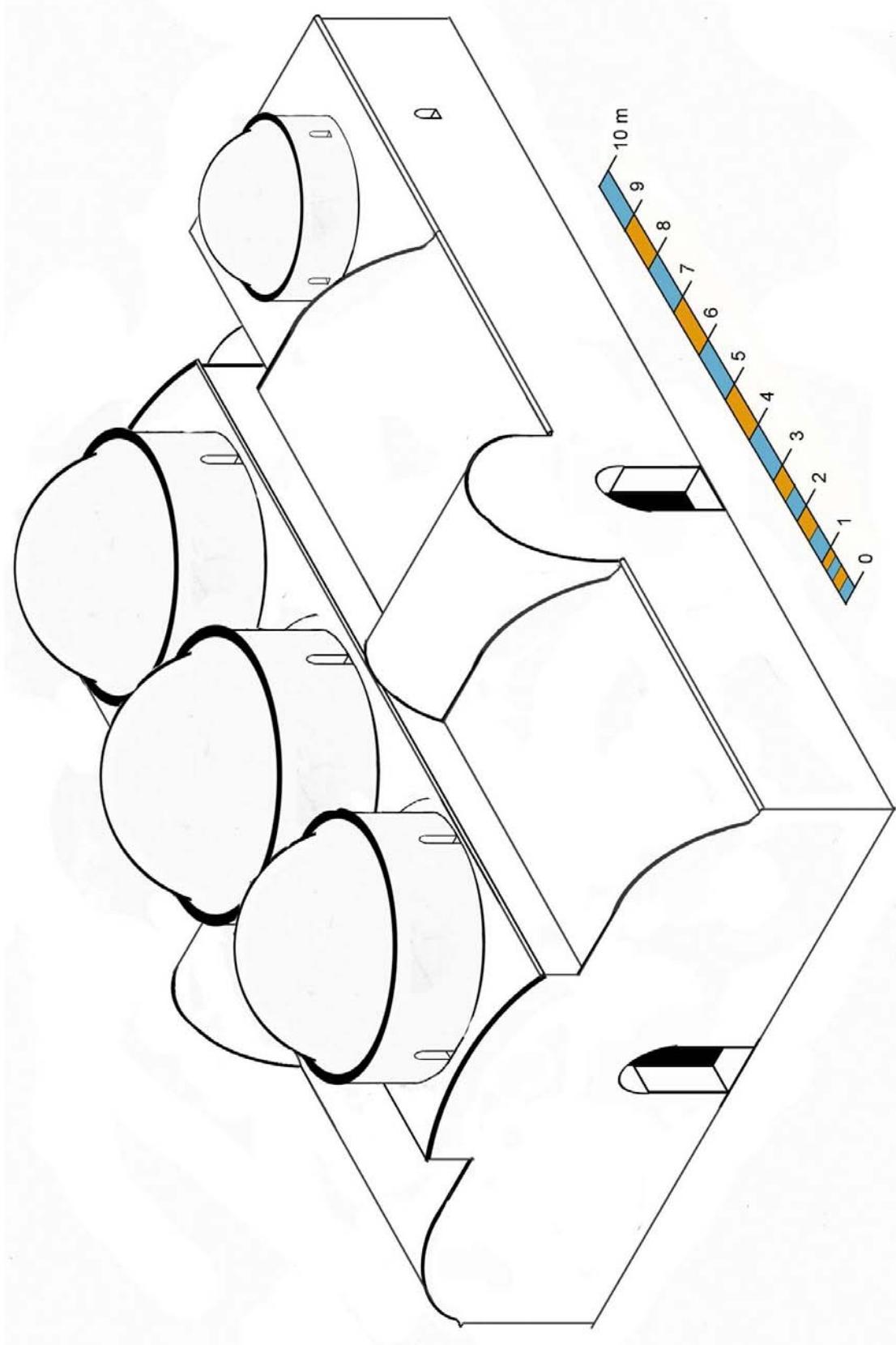


Fig IV.9. Isometric, exterior of Agia Paraskevi (Geroskipou), reconstructed with original barrel-vaulted transept arms (C.A. Stewart).

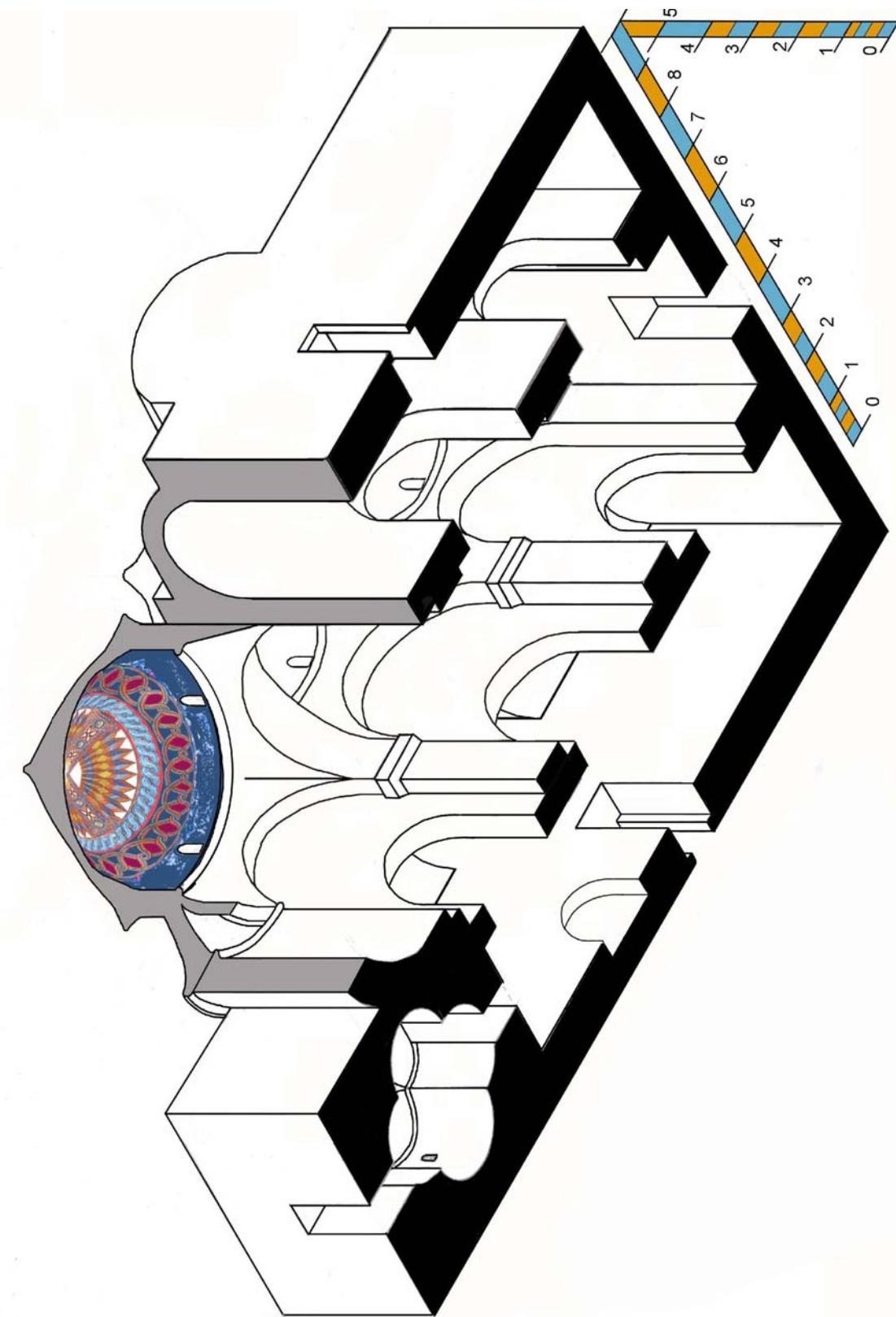
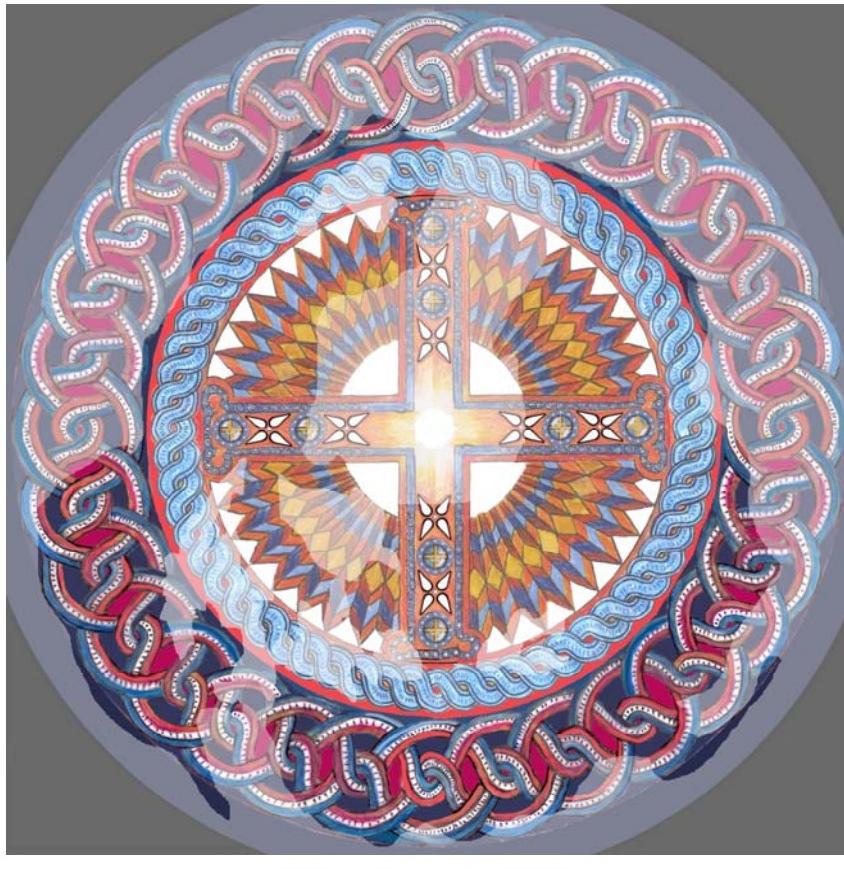
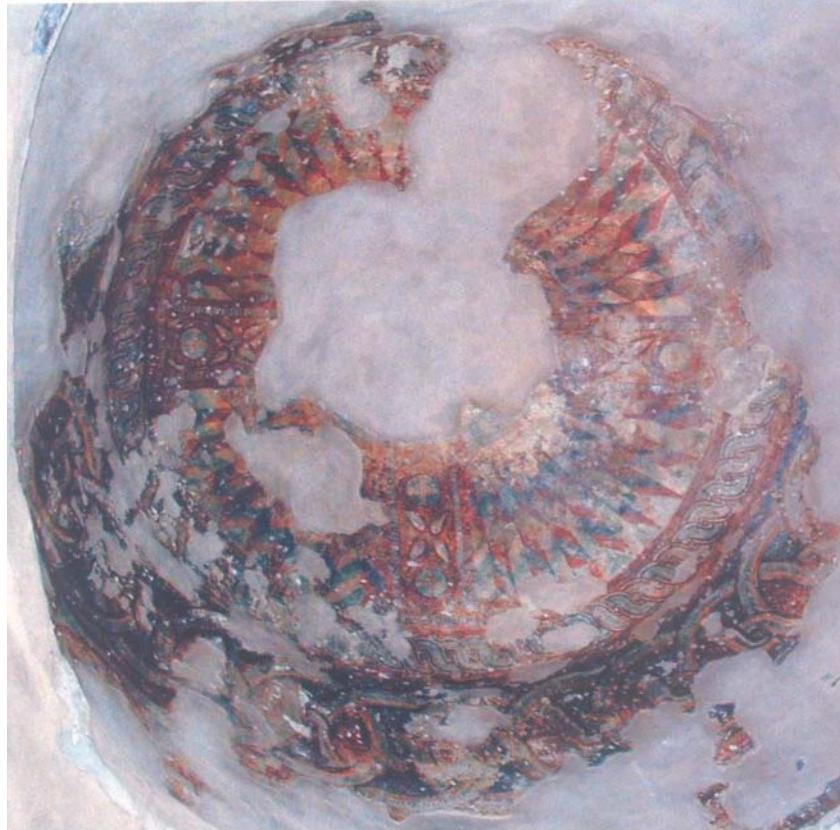


Fig.IV.10. Isometric, cutaway illustration of Agia Paraskevi (Geroskipou), showing aniconic fresco painting in the bema (C.A. Stewart).



b.



a.

Fig. IV.11. Bema Dome aniconic fresco Agia Paraskevi (Yeroskipou, Cyprus), **a.** photograph (C.A. Stewart); **b.** reconstruction, faded areas restored, “wheel interlace” outermost band (C.A. Stewart).

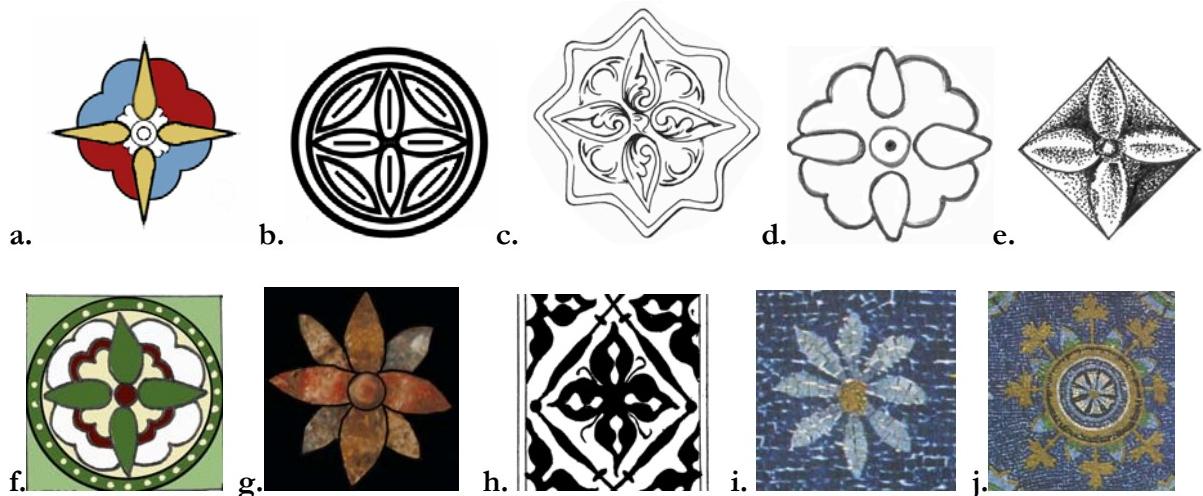


Fig. IV.12. Reconstructions of almond rosettes from various contexts: (a) Umayyad Palace Qasr el-Heir el Gharbi, Syria; (b) “Cathedra of Moses” Chorazin synagogue, Palestine; (c) Agia Sophia, Thessaloniki; (c) Sassanid glass bowl; (e) cornice from Agora, Salamis (Cyprus); (f) Agios Artemios, Naxos; (g) Late Roman fresco, Anatolia; (h) Church of Theotokos Pammakaristos, Constantinople (11th c.?); (i. and j.) Stars on Galla Placidia Mausoleum Vault, Ravenna (C.A. Stewart, except for h. Mango and Hawkins 1964).



Fig. IV.13. Soloi Cathedral. 6th century floor mosaics. Cross/Almond rosette, center.
(Photo: C.A. Stewart)



Fig. IV.14. Floor Mosaic at an excavated church in Nahariya (Israel); cross-rosette in center
(Photo: Tsafrir 1993).

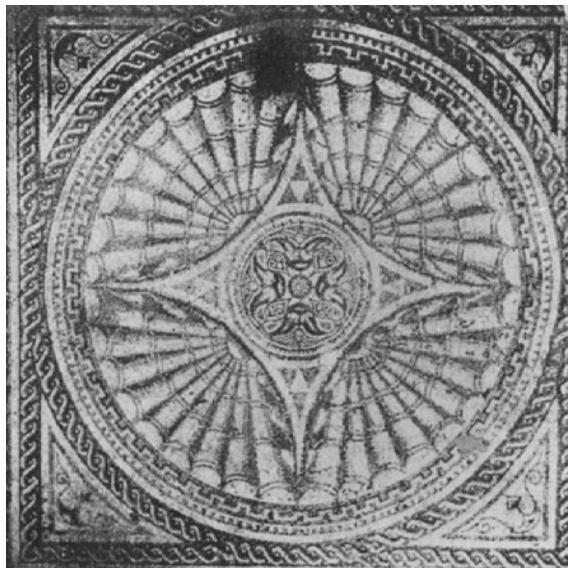


Fig. IV.15. Mosaic Floor, Trier (Germany).
3rd/4th century (Lehman 1945).



Fig. IV.16. KTISIS floor mosaic
in the frigidarium (House of Eustolios) at
Kourion, 4th c. (Photo: C.A. Stewart).



Fig. IV.17. Vault mosaic, Gymnasium/bath complex of Salamis-Constantia. Canopy and vegetal motif, 6th c. restorations (Photo: C.A. Stewart).

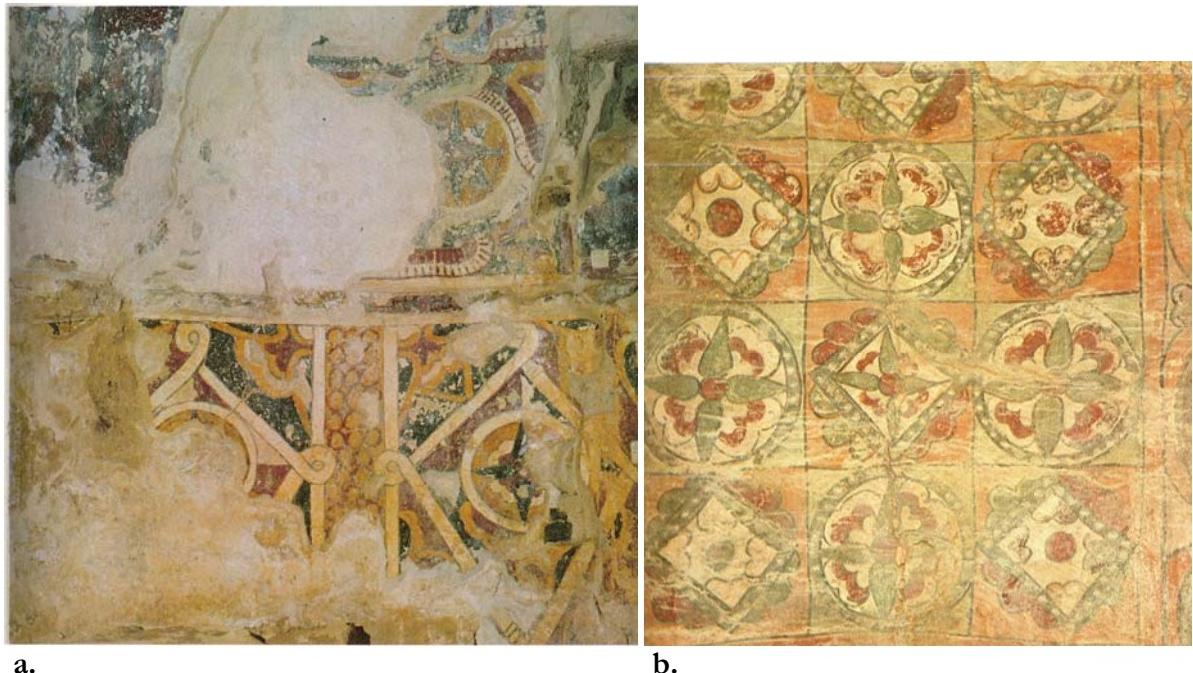


Fig. IV.18. Naxos: **a.** Agios Iannos Theologos (Adisarou), aniconic frescos in the apse; **b.** Agios Artemios (Stavros) bema decoration with almond rosettes (Chalzikides et al. 1989).

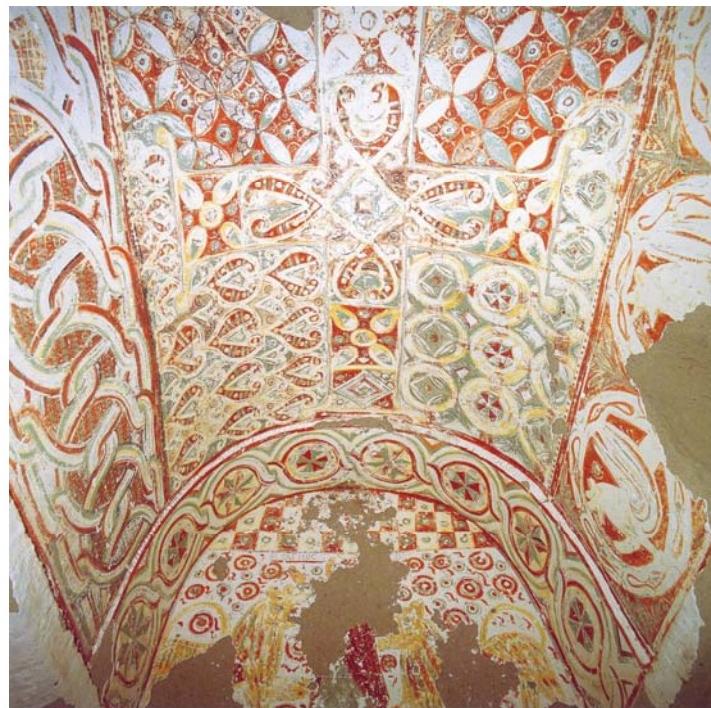


Fig.IV.19. Ağaç altı Kilisi (Ihlara, Cappadocia), aniconic fresco painting on ceiling, “wheel-interlace” to the left, and almond rosettes in the end of the ceiling cross. Notice the Sassanid simorg design at the right (Thierry 2002).



Fig.IV.20. Umayyad-period floor mosaics with “wheel interlace” at the Panagia Madaba (Jordan), inscription dated 767. Cross-rossette design in top corners. (Piccirillo 1993).

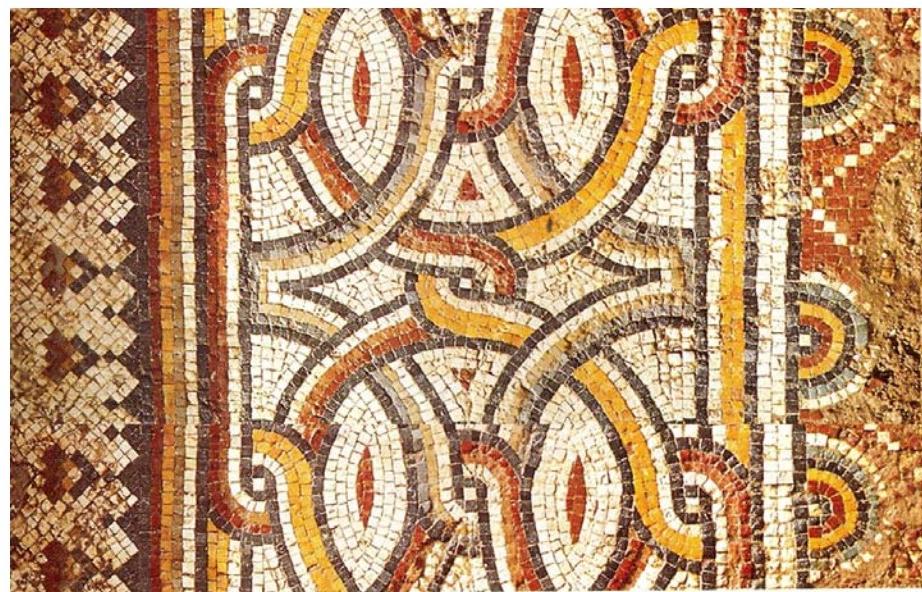


Fig.IV.21. Umayyad-period floor mosaics with “wheel interlace,” Qastal palace (near Amman, Jordan) (Piccirillo 1993).



Fig. IV.22. Agia Paraskevi (Geroskipou), Pilgrim graffito (Photo: C.A. Stewart).



Fig. IV.23. Apse mosaic, Hosios David, Thessaloniki (Photo: W.E. Kleinbauer).

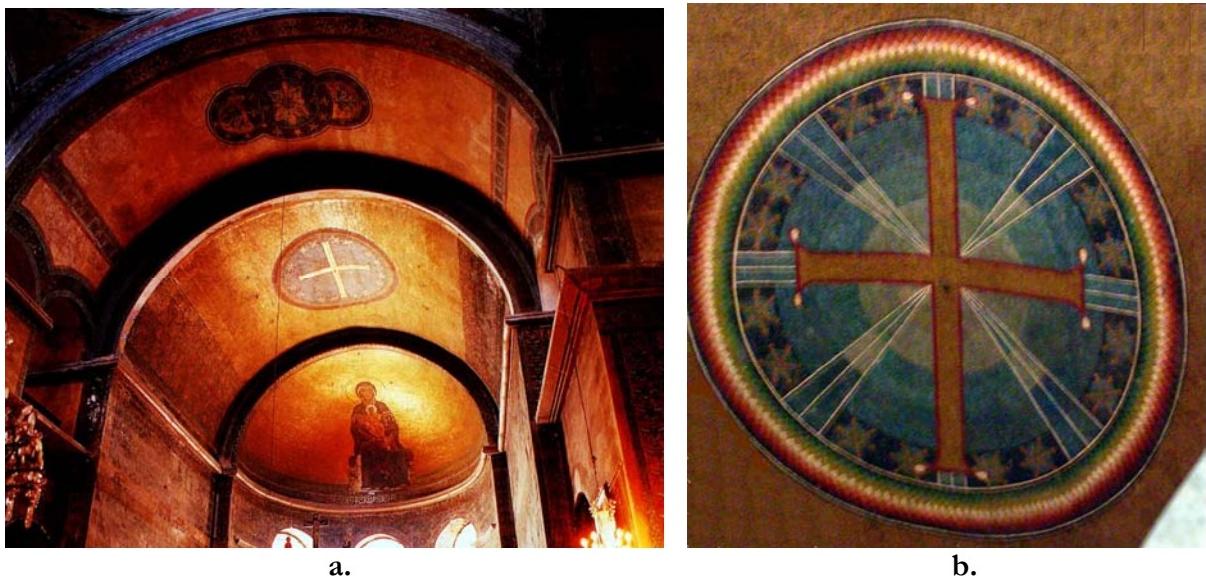


Fig. IV.24. Barrel-vaulted bema mosaic, Agia Sophia, Thessaloniki, a. interior, bema and apse, b. cosmic cross mosaic, surrounded by a double rainbow (Photo: C.A. Stewart).

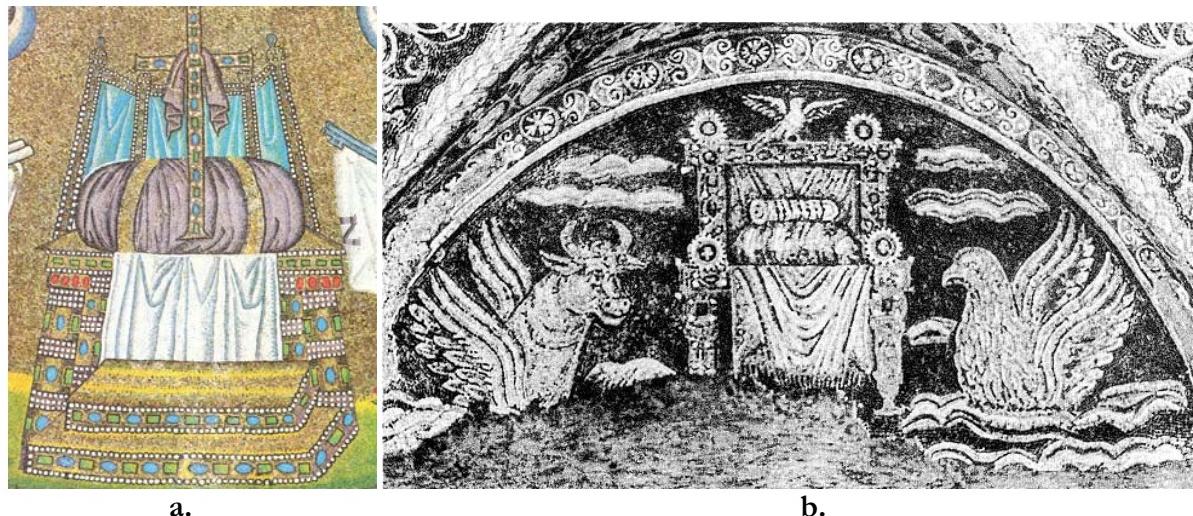


Fig. IV.25. Hetoimasia: **a.** Cross Enthroned, triumphal arch, Arian Baptistry, Ravenna(Photo: C.A.Stewart) **b.** Scroll ("Word") Enthroned, S. Maria Capua Vetere (Italy) Grabar 1969).



Fig. IV.26. Harbaville Triptych (10th c.), ivory. (Photo: C.A. Stewart).



Fig. IV.27. Stars/Almond-rosettes. Ceiling fresco, Grotto of Gethsemane (Jerusalem,) 7th-8th c.
(Photo: C.A. Stewart).



Fig. IV.28. Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion (Peristerona), south aisle exterior (Photo: C.A. Stewart).

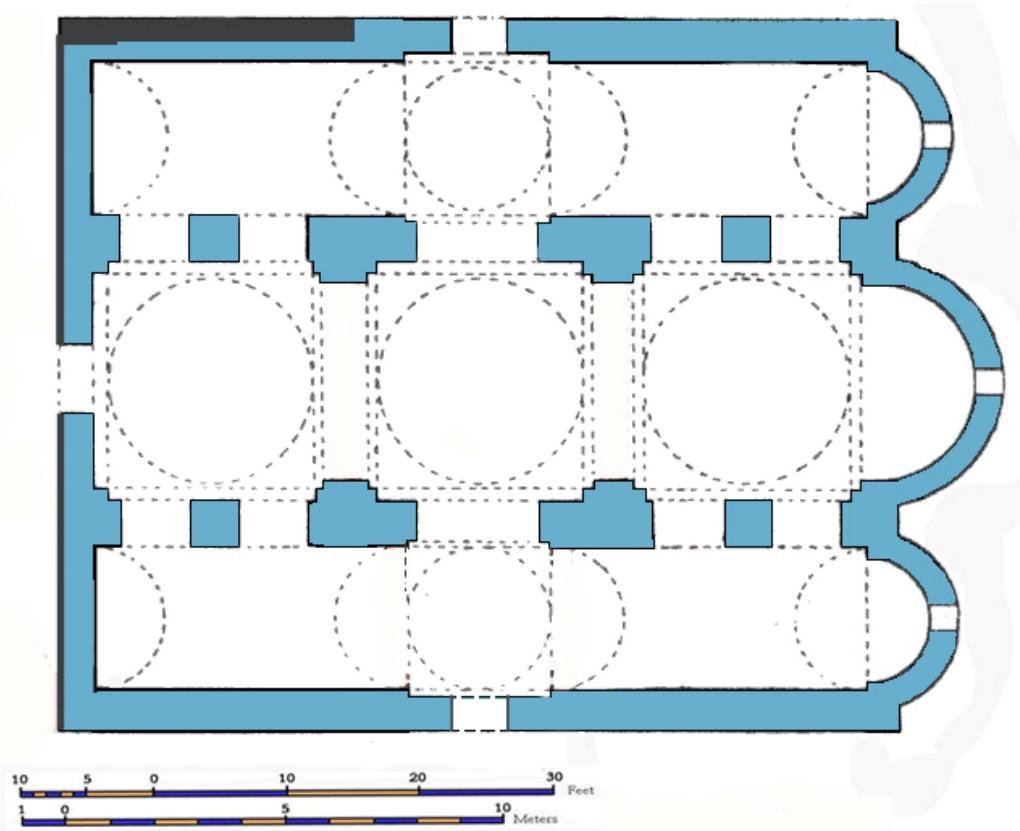


Fig. IV.29. Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion, plan; black=previous foundations; blue=multiple-dome church's foundations (C.A. Stewart).

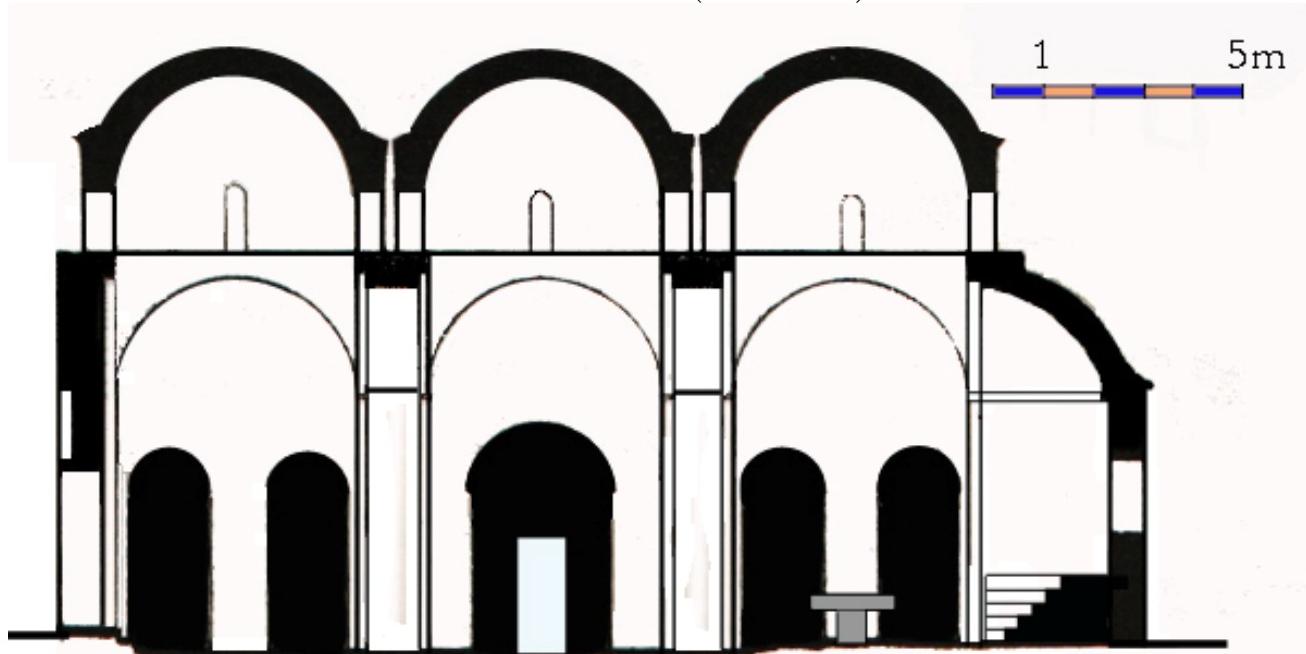


Fig. IV.30. Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion elevation, south to north (C.A. Stewart).

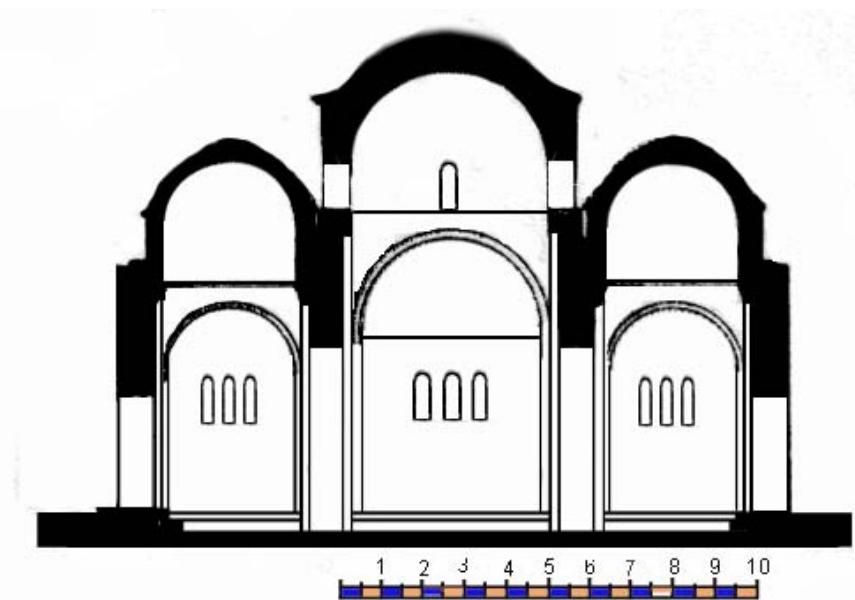


Fig. IV.31. Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion elevation, west to east (C.A. Stewart).

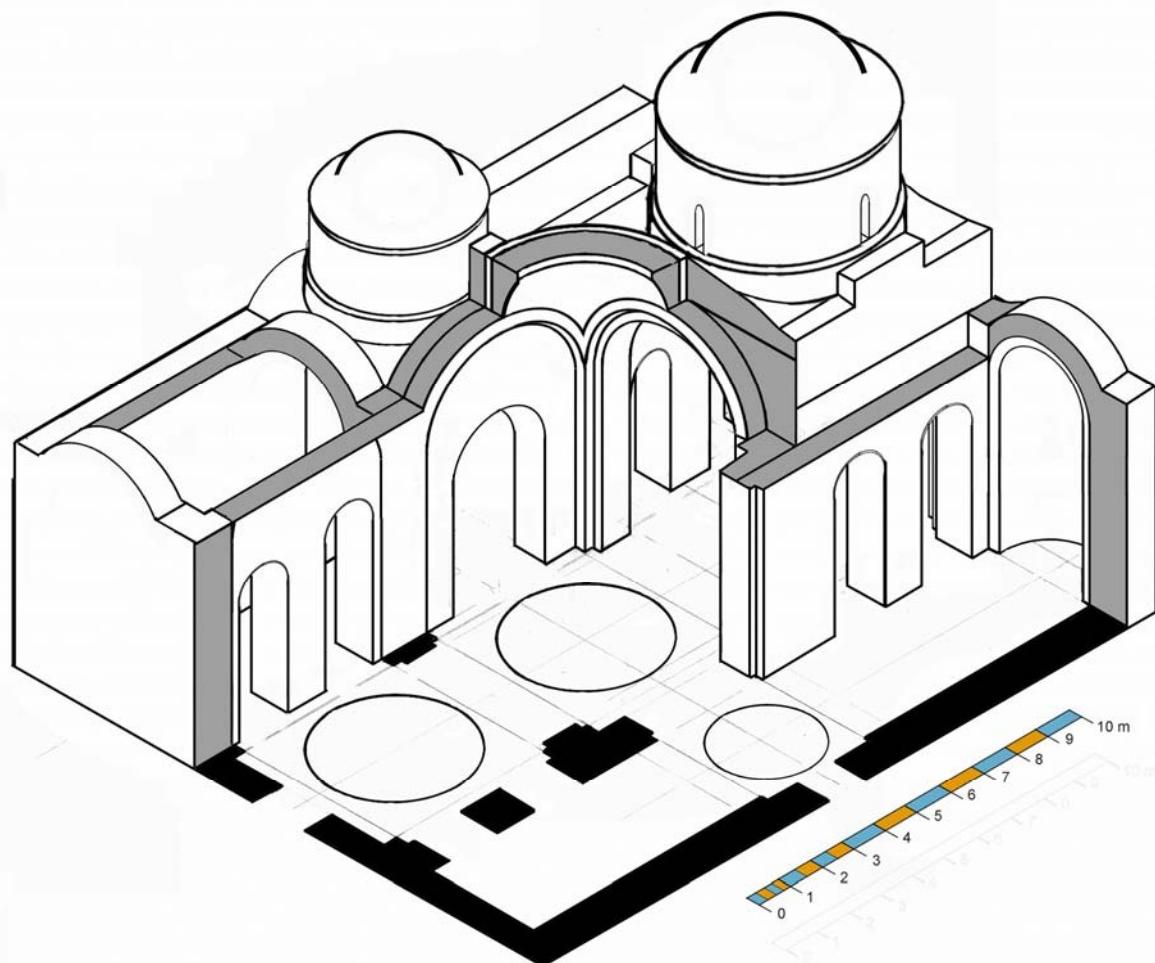


Fig. IV.32. Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion elevation, Isometric interior reconstruction (C.A. Stewart).



Fig. IV.33. Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion elevation, Westernmost dome. Notice ribs forming a cross. Original west facade windows to the left (Photo: C.A. Stewart).



Fig. IV.34. Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion elevation, remains of synthronon in under modern altar (Photo: C.A. Stewart).



Fig. IV.35. Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion elevation, nave domes (Photo: C.A. Stewart).



Fig. IV.36. Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion elevation, south aisle side dome (Photo: C.A. Stewart).



Fig. IV.37. Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion elevation, chancel screen carving undercovered in 2005 excavation. Notice the interlace and almond-rosette pattern (Photo: C.A. Stewart).



Fig. IV.38. Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion elevation, exterior facing west. The Peristerona River in foreground (Photo: C.A. Stewart).



Fig. IV.39. Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion elevation, north wall with earlier rubble-masonry foundations (Photo: C.A. Stewart).

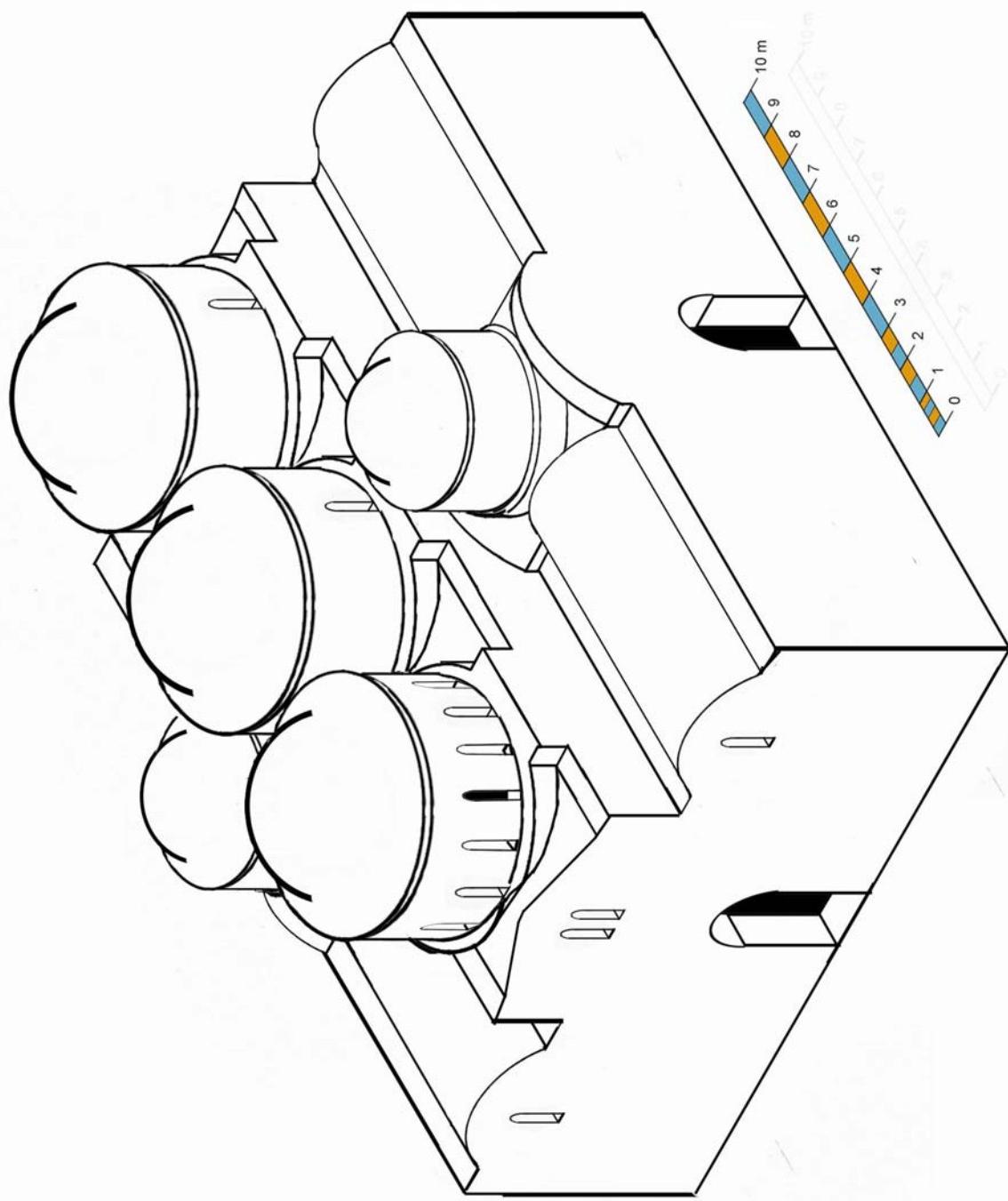


Fig.IV.40. Isometric exterior, Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion (Peristerona) (C.A. Stewart).

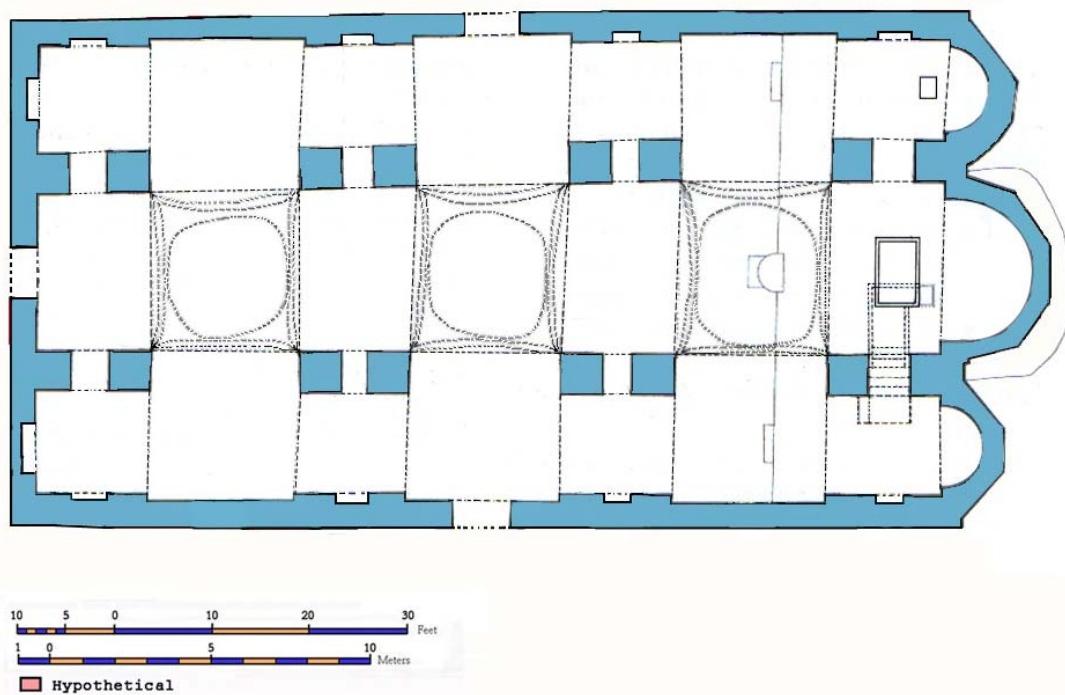


Figure V.1. Agios Lazaros, original ground plan (C.A. Stewart, after Papageorghiou 1998).

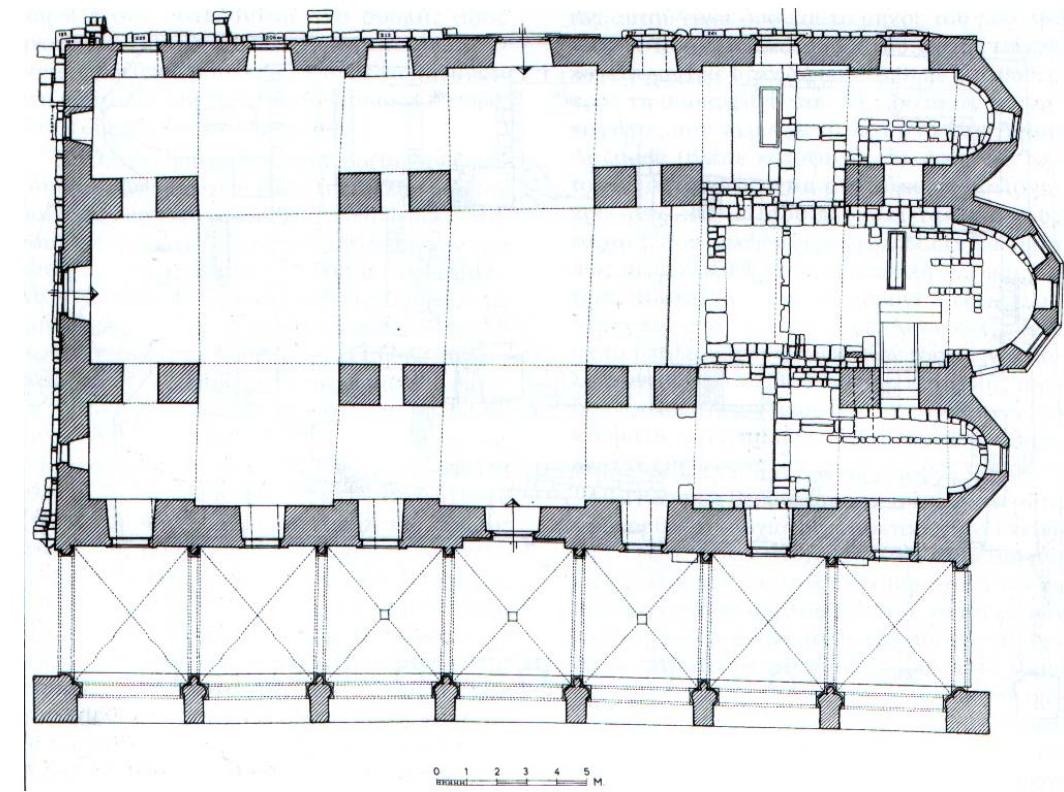


Fig.V.2. Agios Lazaros, current ground plan, with Gothic porch (Papageorghiou 1998).

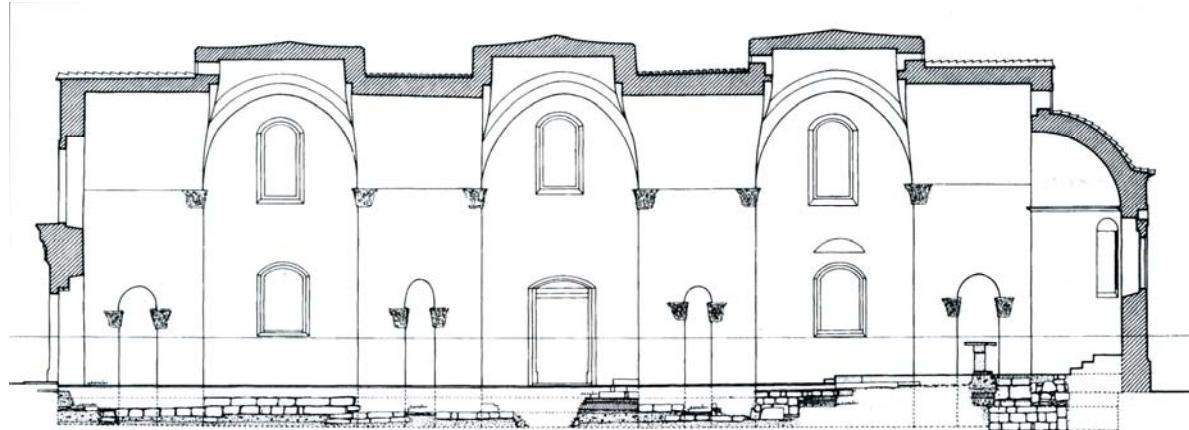


Fig.V.3. Agios Lazaros, Larnaka, south-north elevation (Papageorghiou 1998).

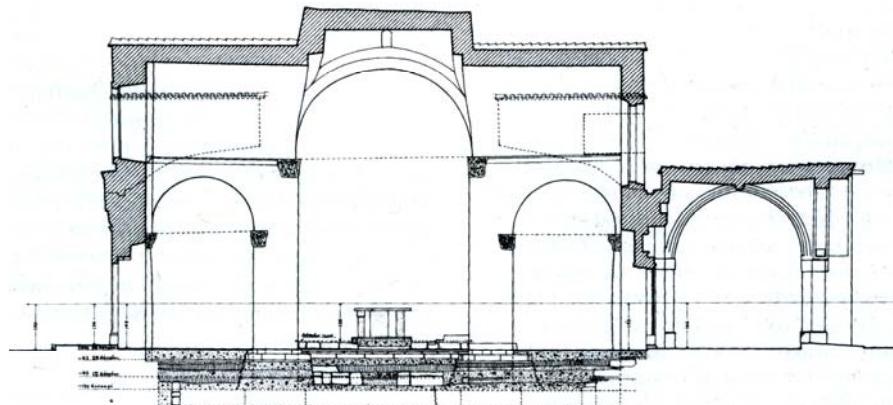


Fig.V.4. Agios Lazaros, Larnaka west-east elevation (Papageorghiou 1998).



Fig.V.5. Agios Lazaros, crypt with “Lazarus” sarcophagus (Photo: C.A. Stewart).



Fig.V.6. Agios Lazaros, interior, north aisle pier-portal (Photo: C.A. Stewart).



Fig.V.7. Agios Lazaros, interior, nave looking east (Photo: C.A. Stewart).

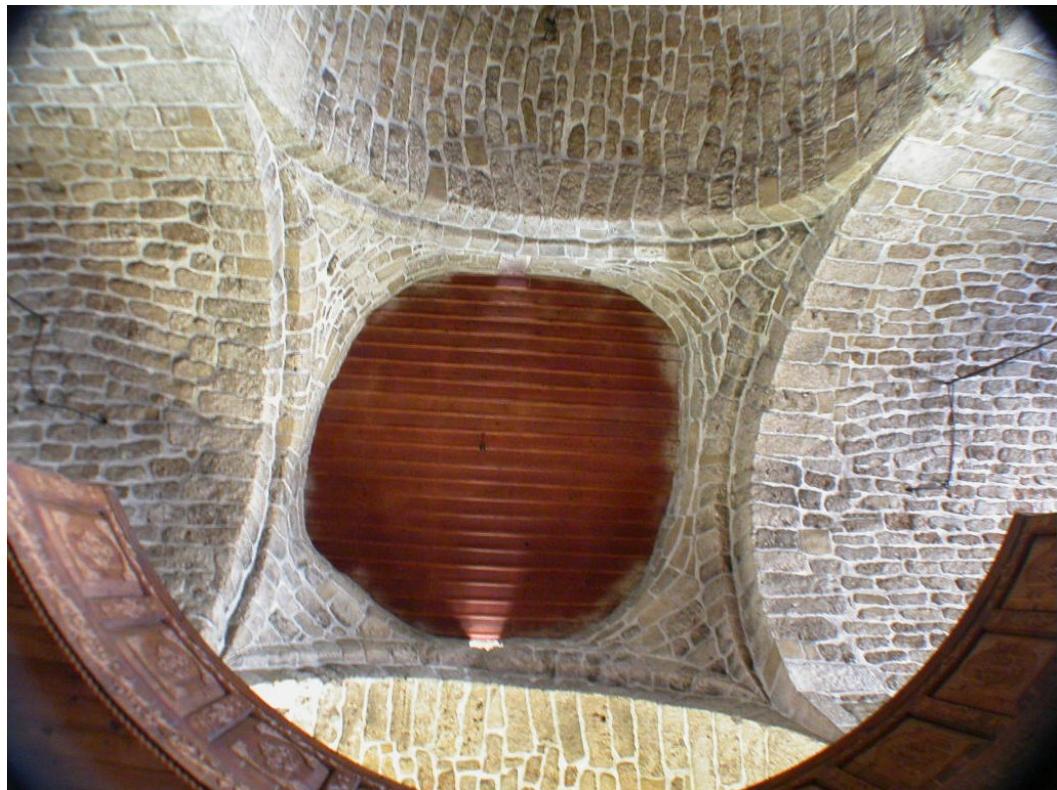


Fig.V.8. Agios Lazaros, interior, westernmost dome aperture (Photo: C.A. Stewart).

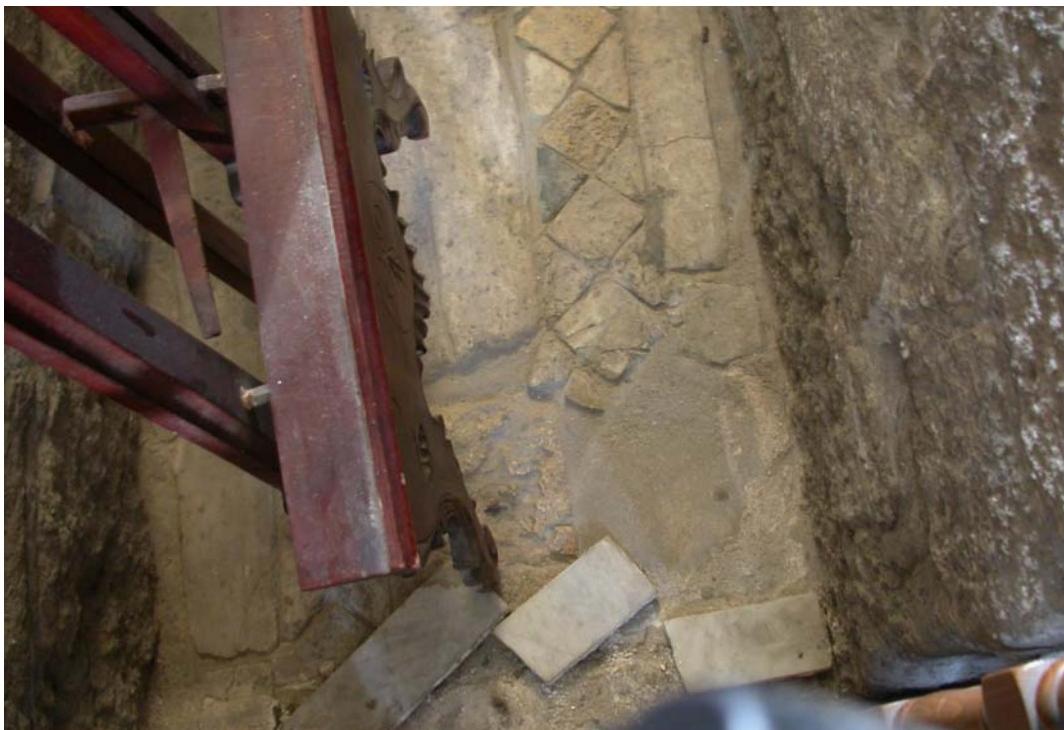


Fig.V.9. Agios Lazaros, interior, opus sectile between pier-portals (Photo: C.A. Stewart).

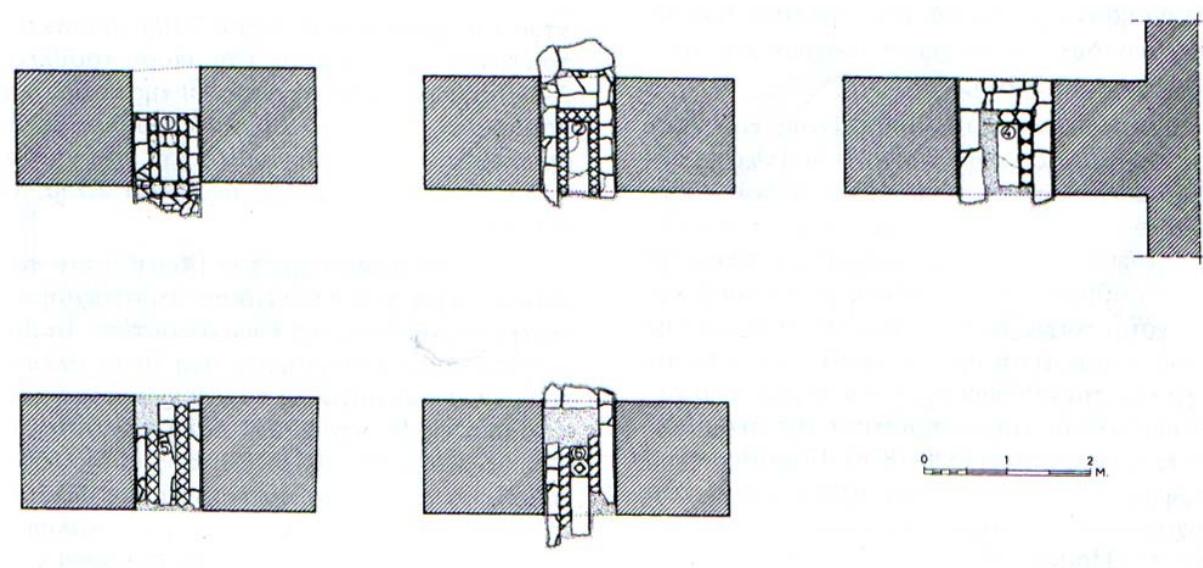


Fig.V.10. Agios Lazaros, Larnaka, diagram showing surviving opus sectile between pier-portals (Papageorghiou 1998).

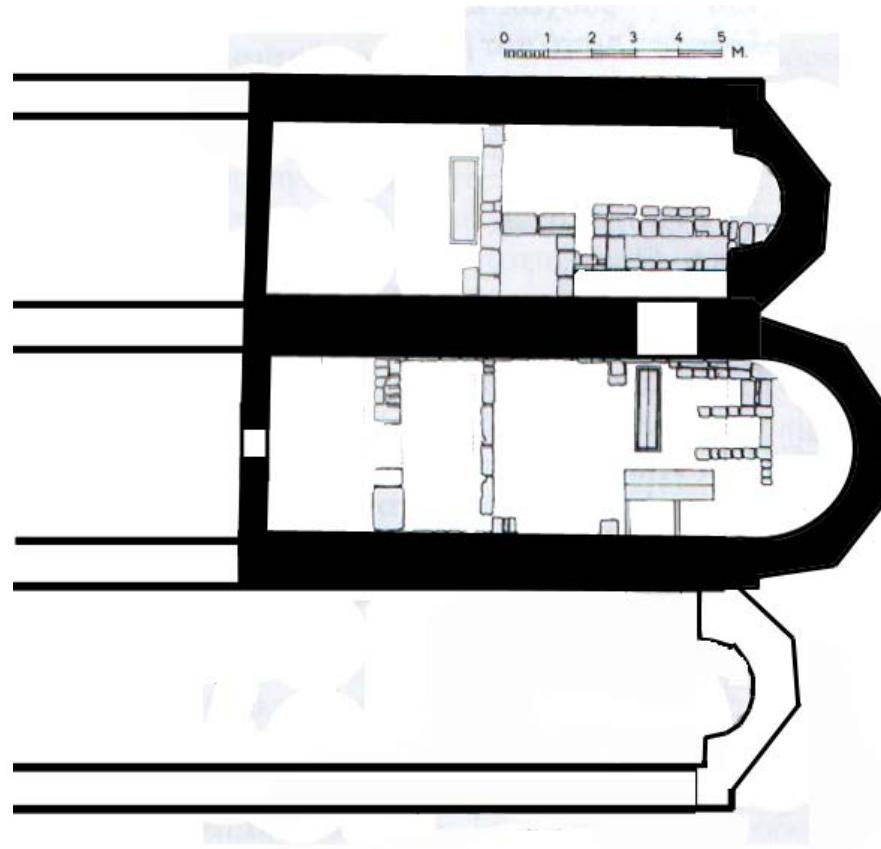


Fig.V.11. Agios Lazaros, Larnaka, plan of Phase 2 chapel (black) over Early Christian Phase (white)(C.A. Stewart, after Papageorghiou 1998).

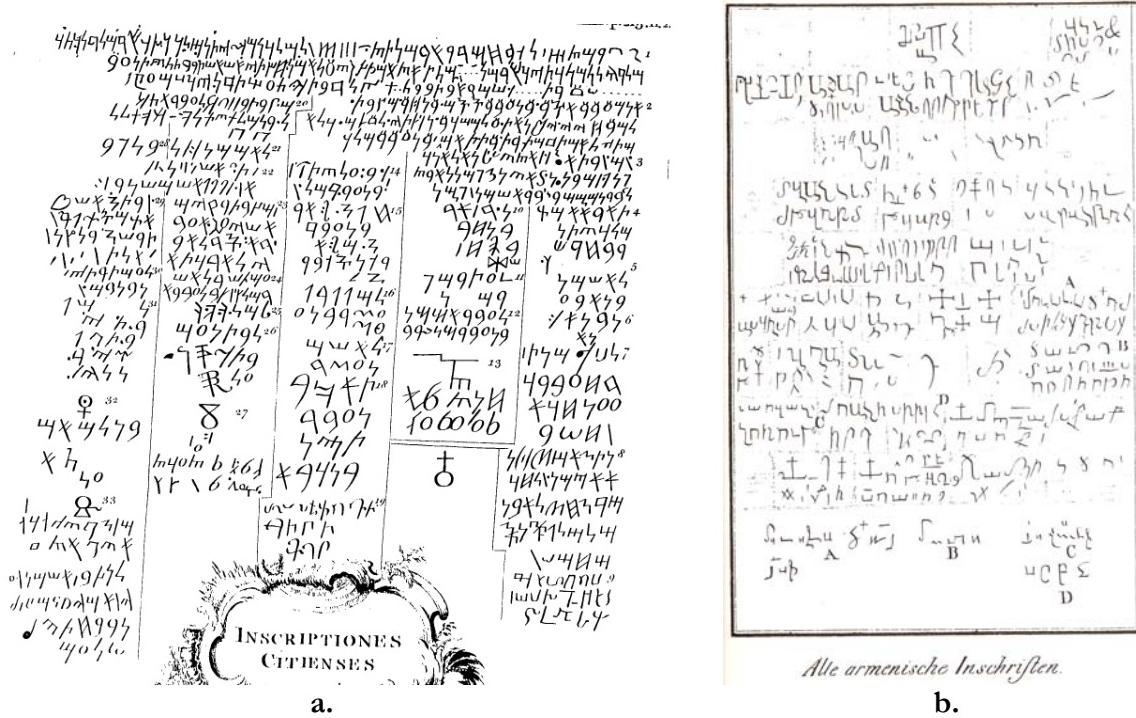


Fig.V.12. Agios Lazaros, “Armenian Inscriptions” on pier plaster, **a.** Pococke 1738,
b. Niebuhr 1766.



Fig.V.13. Larnaka, drawing by Vasileios Barsky in 1727 (Meadows 1989).

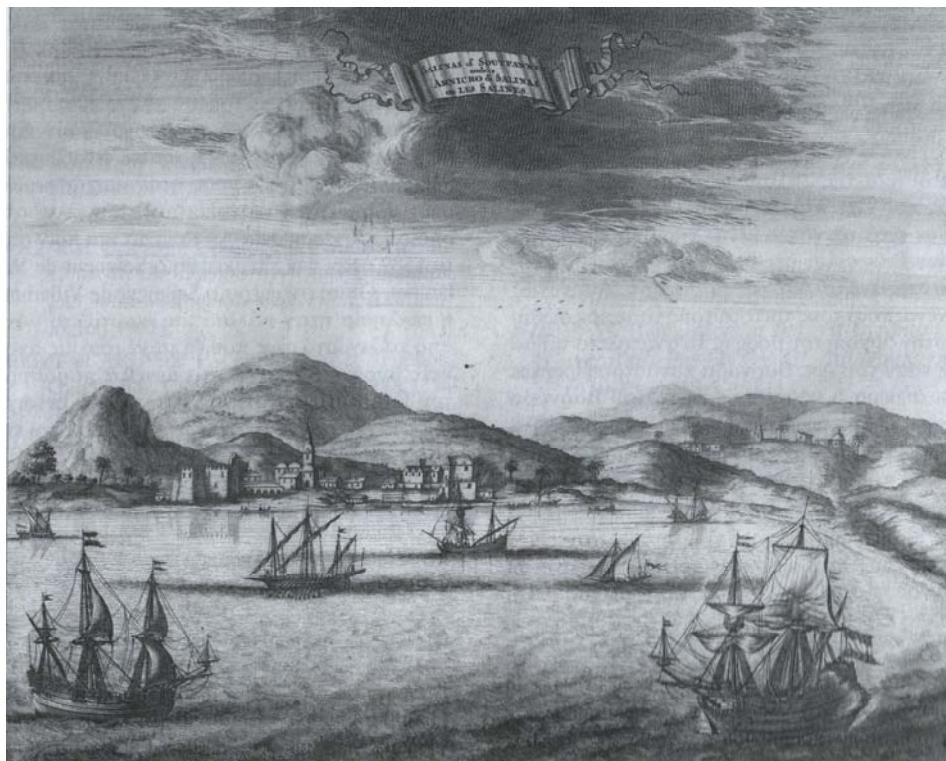


Fig.V.14. Larnaka, drawing by Olfert Dapper in 1730 (Papageorghiou 1998).

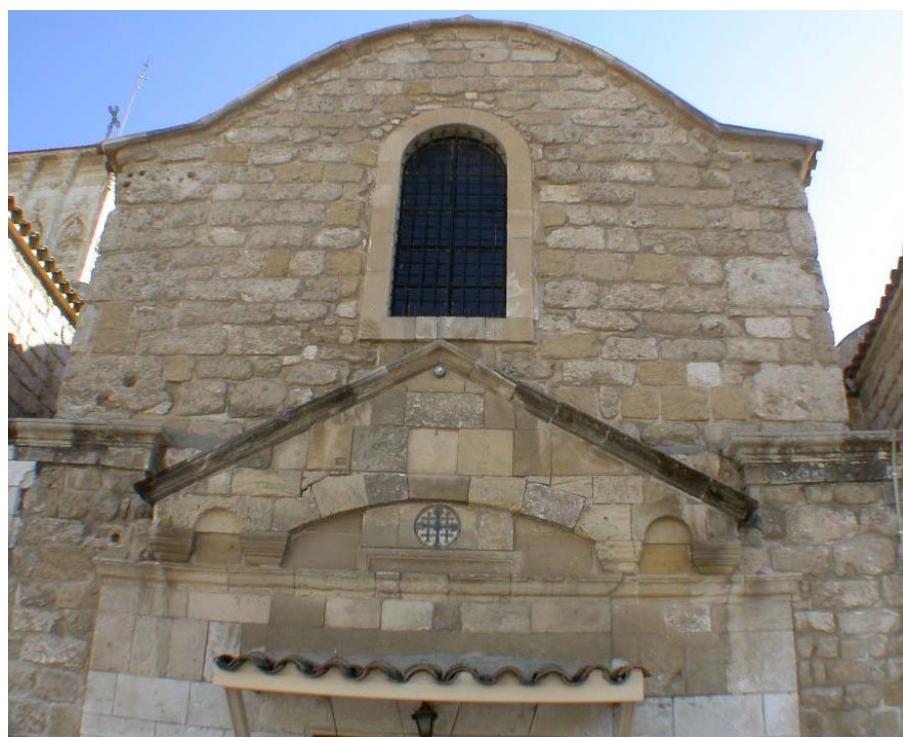


Fig.V.15. Agios Lazaros, exterior, north hyperthryrum and Jerusalem cross (Photo: C.A. Stewart).



Fig.V.16. Agios Lazaros, exterior, eastern end, apses (Photo: C.A. Stewart).

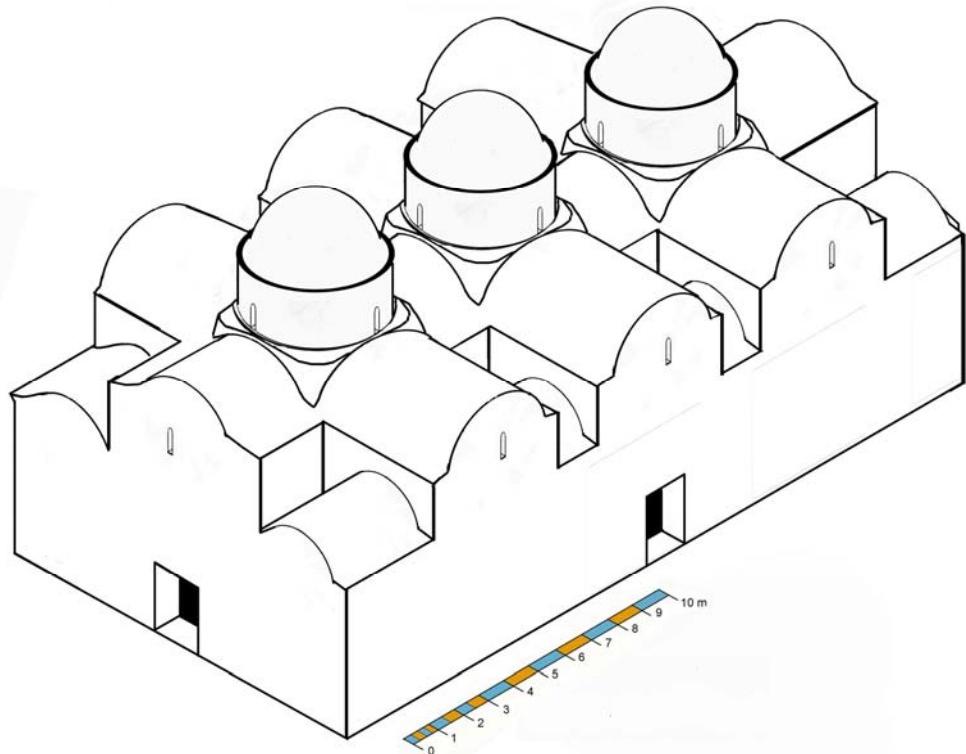


Fig.V.17. Agios Lazaros, isometric reconstruction, exterior (Photo: C.A. Stewart).

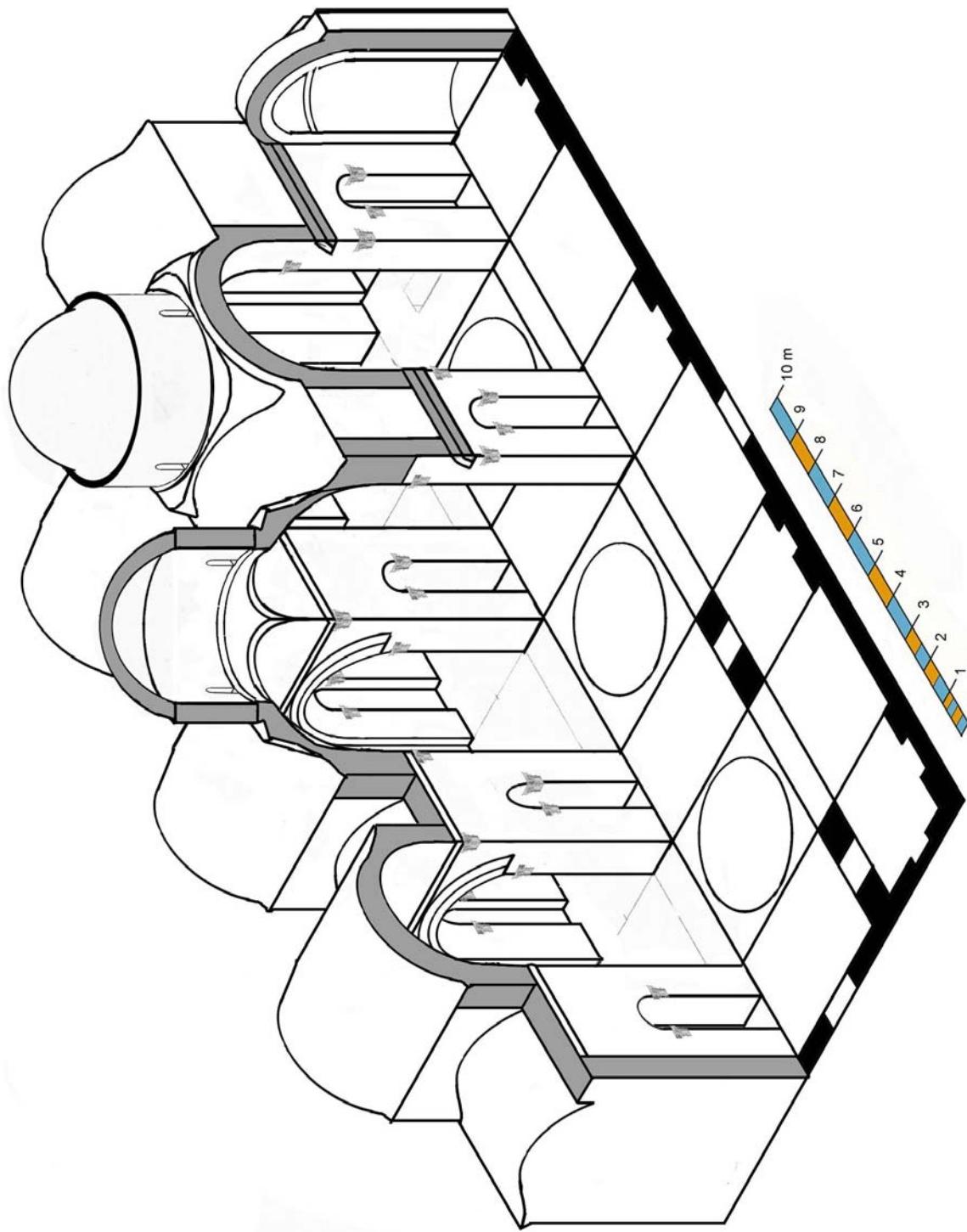


Fig. V.18. Agios Lazaros, isometric reconstruction, interior cutaway (Photo: C.A. Stewart).



Fig.V.19. Agios Varnavas monastery, satellite image (Google 2007).

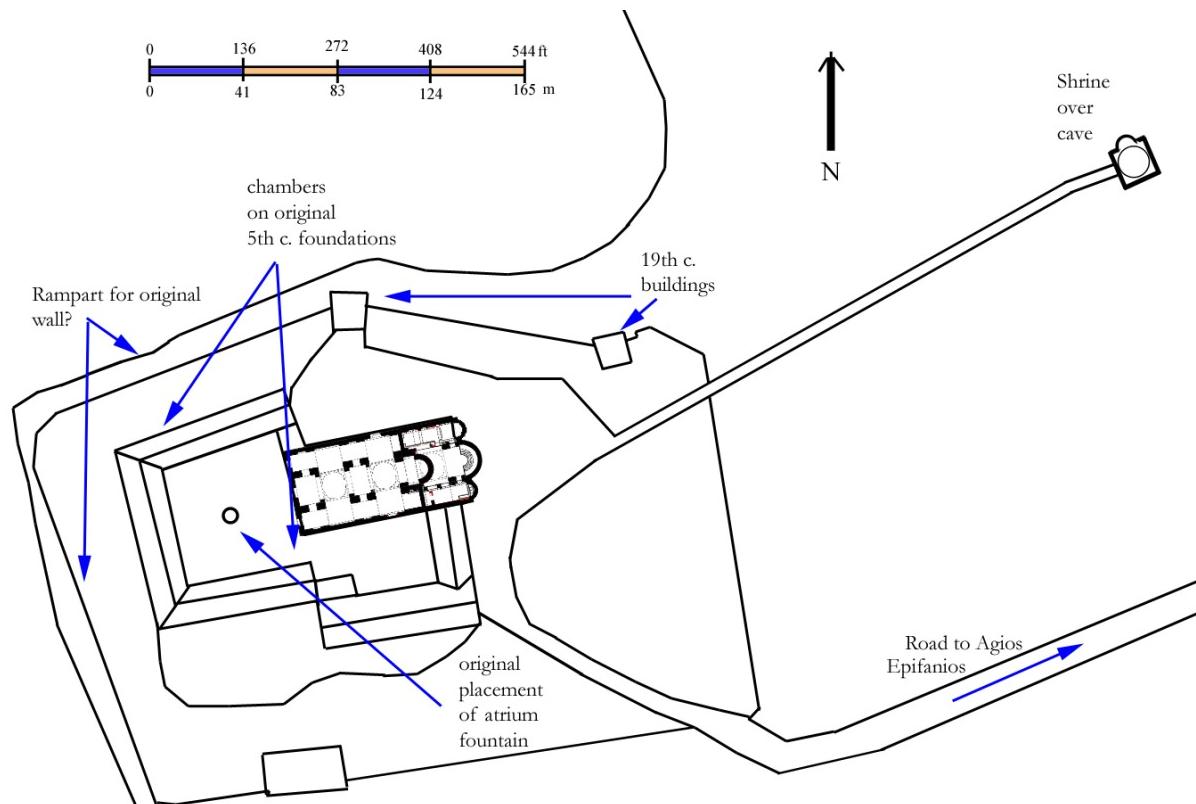


Fig.V.20. Agios Varnavas monastery, plan of complex (C.A. Stewart 2007).



Fig.V.21. Main road connecting Agios Varnavas (lower left) and Agios Epifanios (upper right), satellite image (Google 2007).



Fig.V.22. a,b. Cave of Barnabas with modern pilgrims (Photo: C.A. Stewart)



Fig.V.23. Shrine over Barnabas' Cave, built in the 1950s, over a previous Early Christian structure (Photo: C.A. Stewart).

Fig.V.24. Agios Varnavas, Hellenistic and Roman graves between shrine and church. These were revealed during illegal excavations in 2006 (Photo: C.A. Stewart).

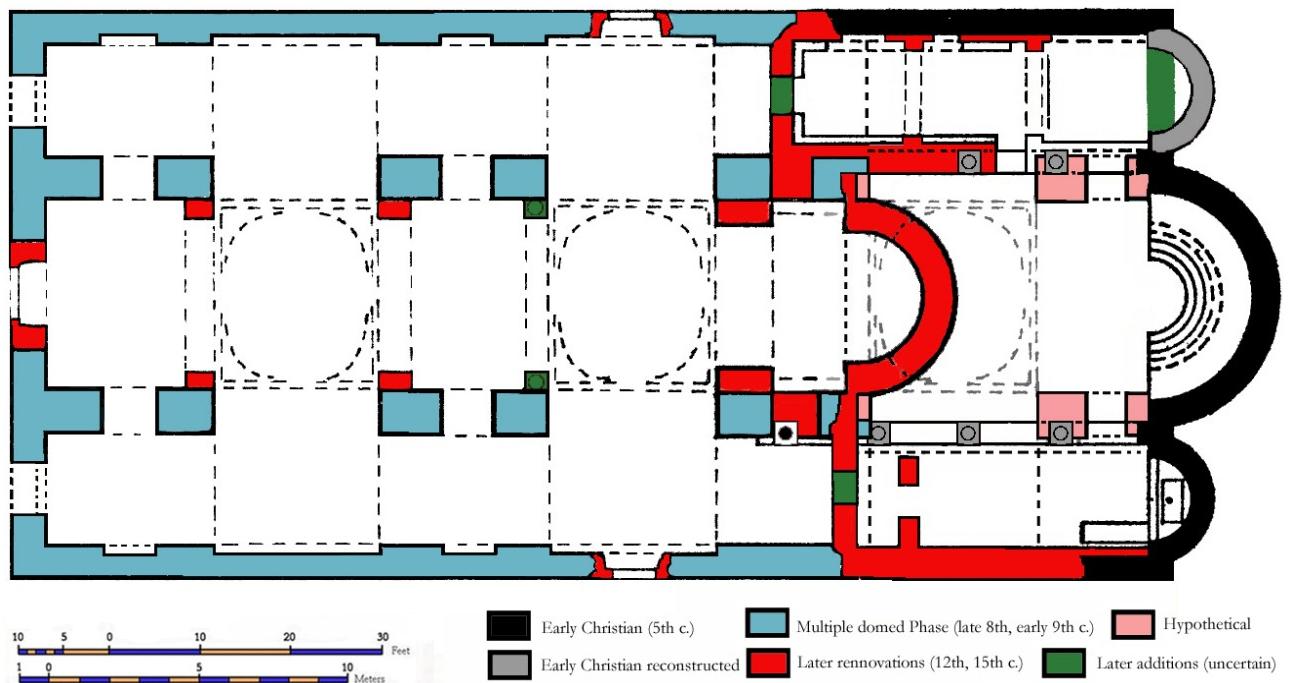


Fig.V.25. Agios Varnavas, ground plan with various phases (C.A. Stewart)



Fig.V.26. Agios Varnavas, reconstructed Early Christian south aisle, *mensa martyris* in apse
(Photo: C.A. Stewart)



Fig.V.27. Agios Varnavas, **a.** pier-portal in southern aisle, **b.** recess nich in north aisle (Photo: C.A. Stewart)



Fig.V.28. Agios Varnavas, **a.** nave looking west, **b.** nave looking east (Photo: C.A. Stewart)



Fig.V.29. Agios Varnavas, interior, central dome (Photo: C.A. Stewart)



Fig.V.30. Agios Varnavas, a. reused marble capitals, b. Early Christian green spiral column *in situ*, southern aisle of domed church (Photo: C.A. Stewart)

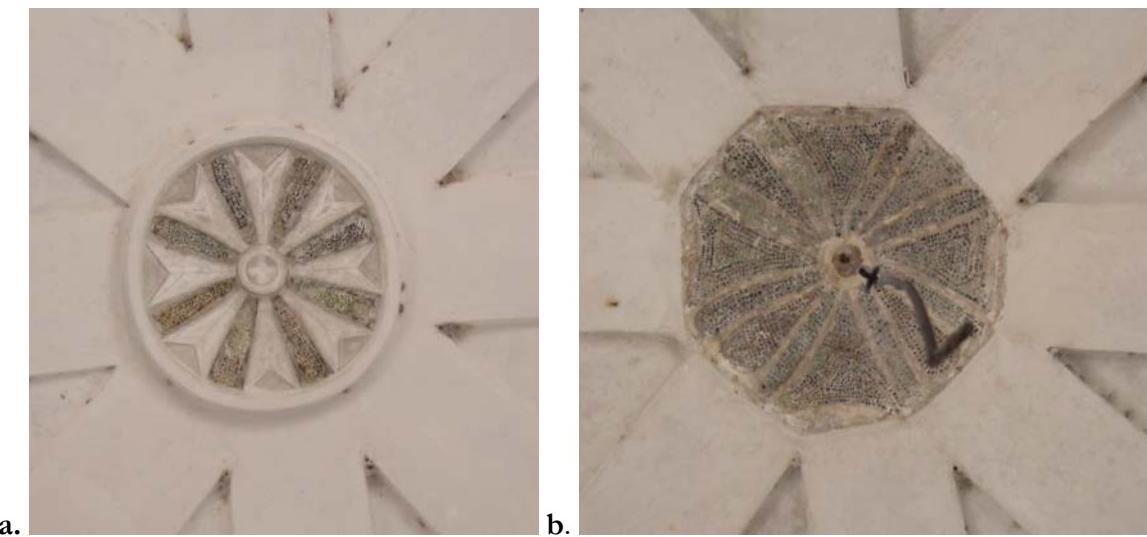


Fig.V.31. Agios Varnavas, **a.** center dome mosaic, **b.** western dome mosaic (Photo: C.A. Stewart)

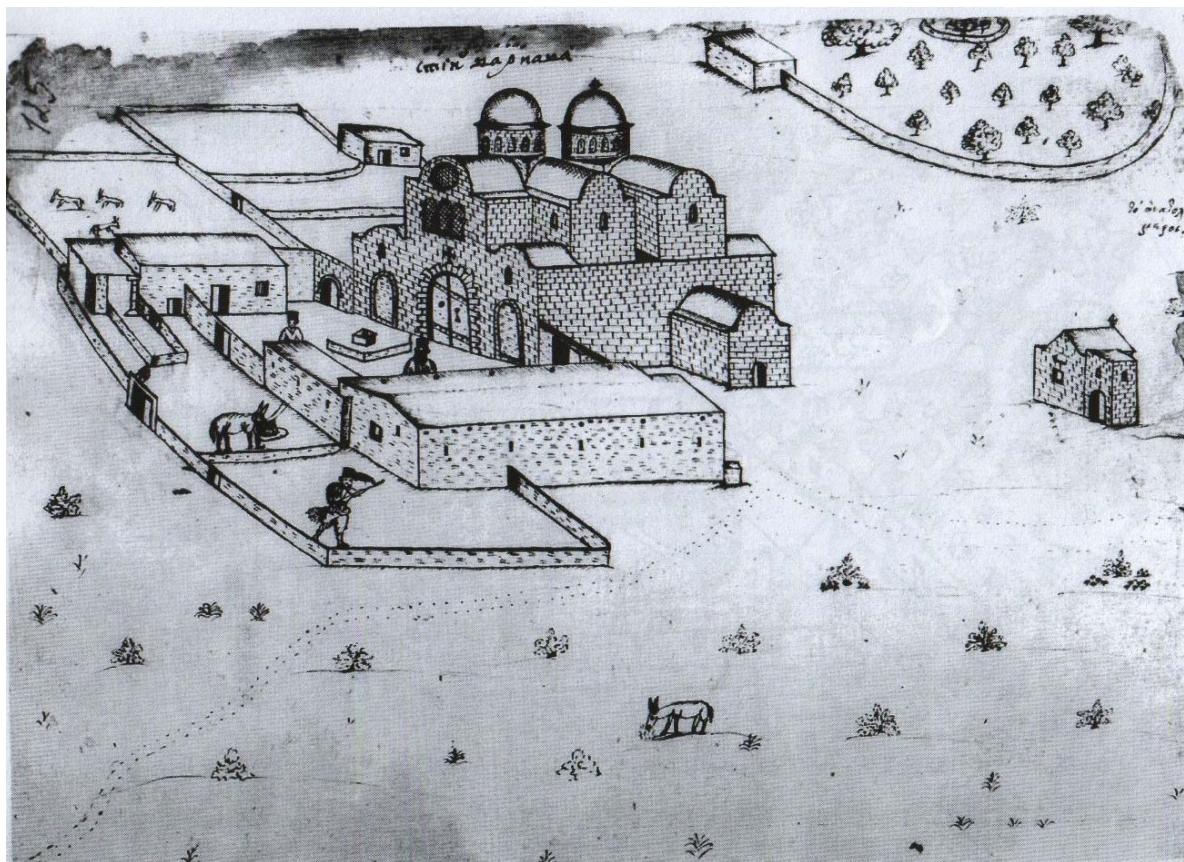


Fig.V.32. Agios Varnavas, drawing by Vasilij Barsky in 1727 (Meadows 1989).

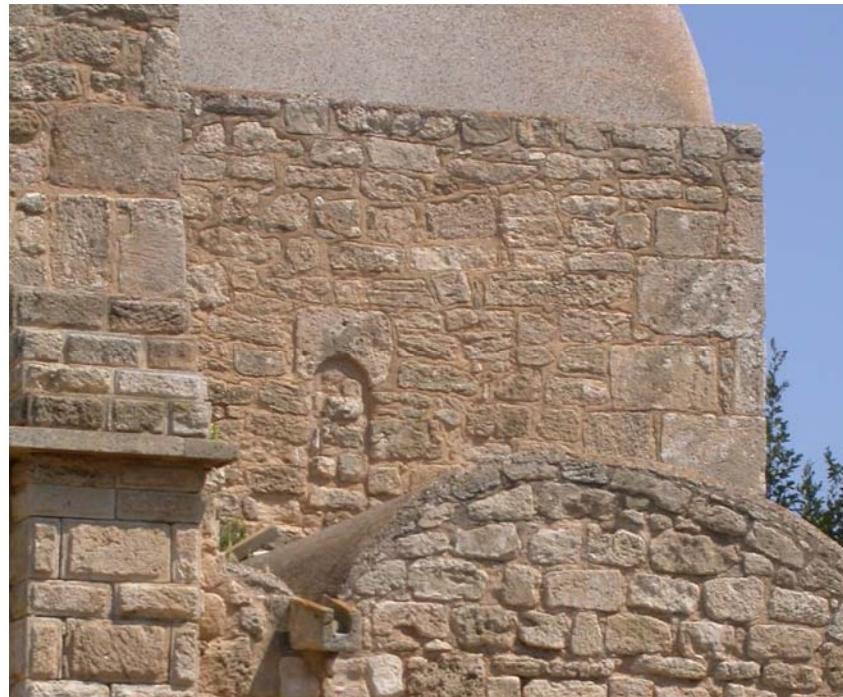


Fig.V.33. Agios Varnavas, original window in western transept, now blocked (Photo: C.A. Stewart)



Fig.V.34. Agios Varnavas, original window in western transept, now blocked (Photo: C.A. Stewart)



Fig.V.35. Agios Varnavas, **a.** south aisle with remains showing continuity of vaulting, **b.** north aisle with remains of barrel-vaulting (Photo: C.A. Stewart).



Fig.V.36. Agios Varnavas, eastern end showing rebuilt apse. Foreground has the reconstructed Early Christian apse (Photo: C.A. Stewart).

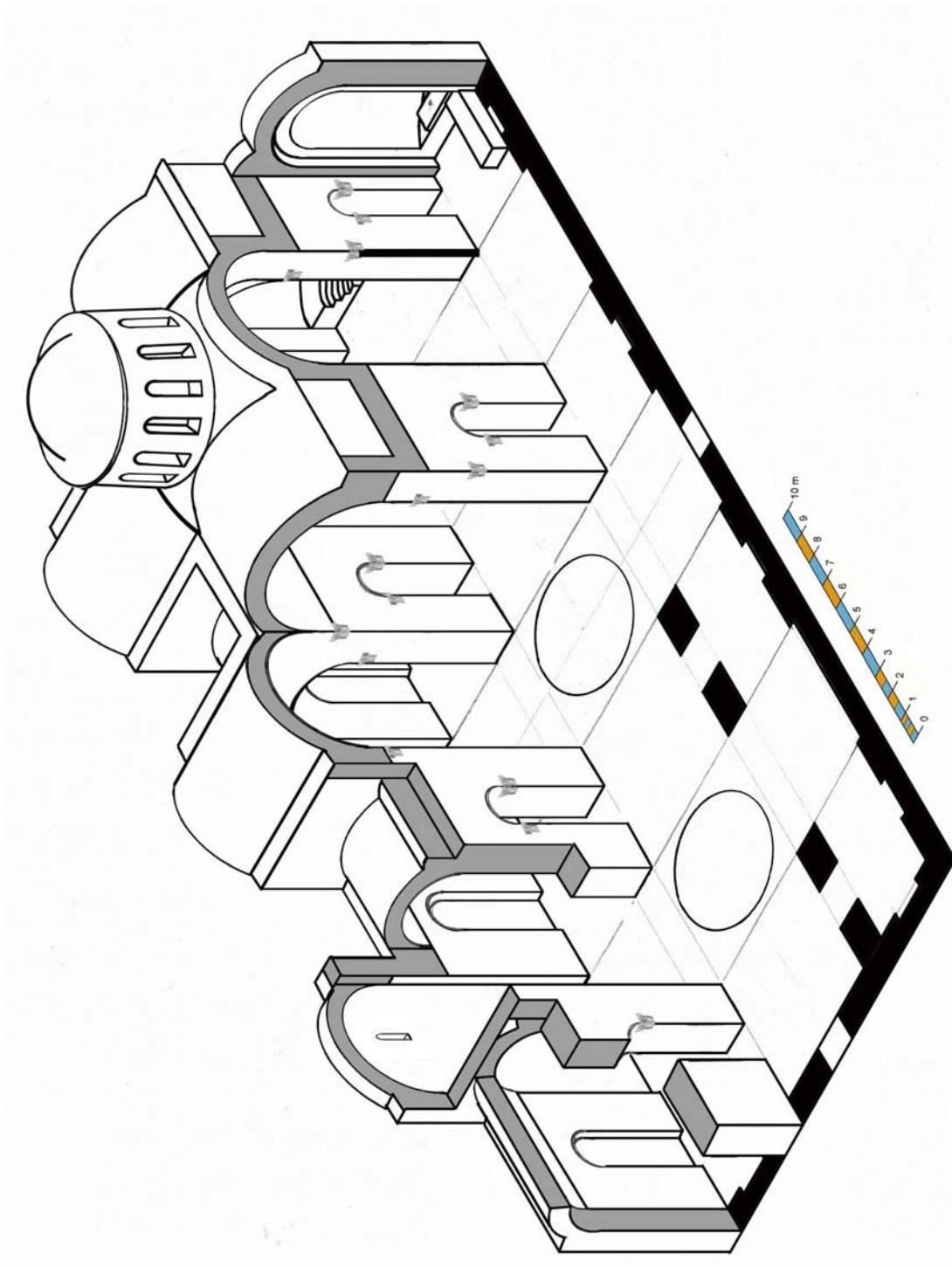


Fig. V.37. Agios Varnavas, isometric reconstruction, interior cutaway (Photo: C.A. Stewart).

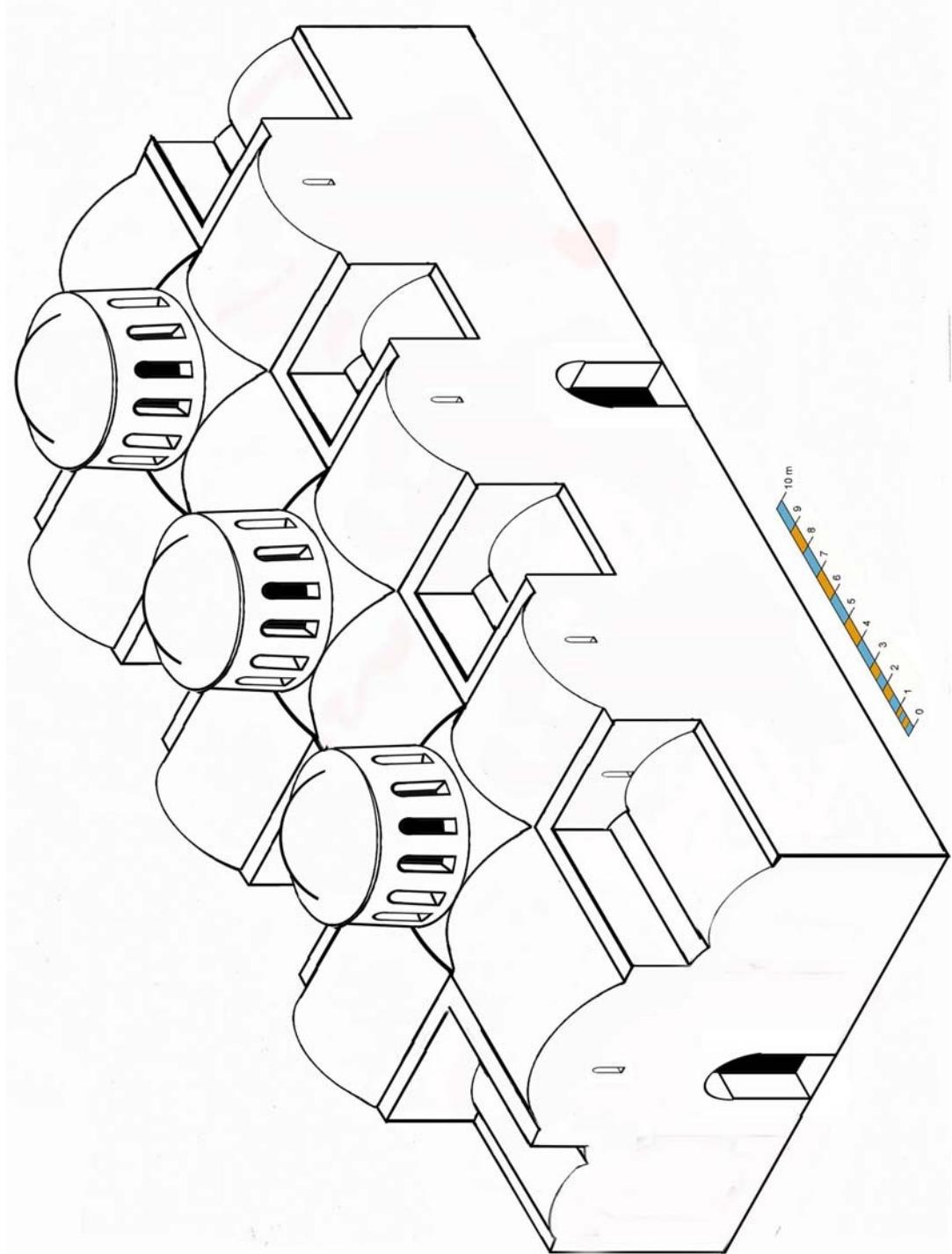


Fig. V.38 Agios Varnavas, isometric reconstruction, exterior (Photo: C.A. Stewart).



Fig. V.39. Agios Lazaros, patchwork masonry under ground-floor windows (Photo: C.A. Stewart).

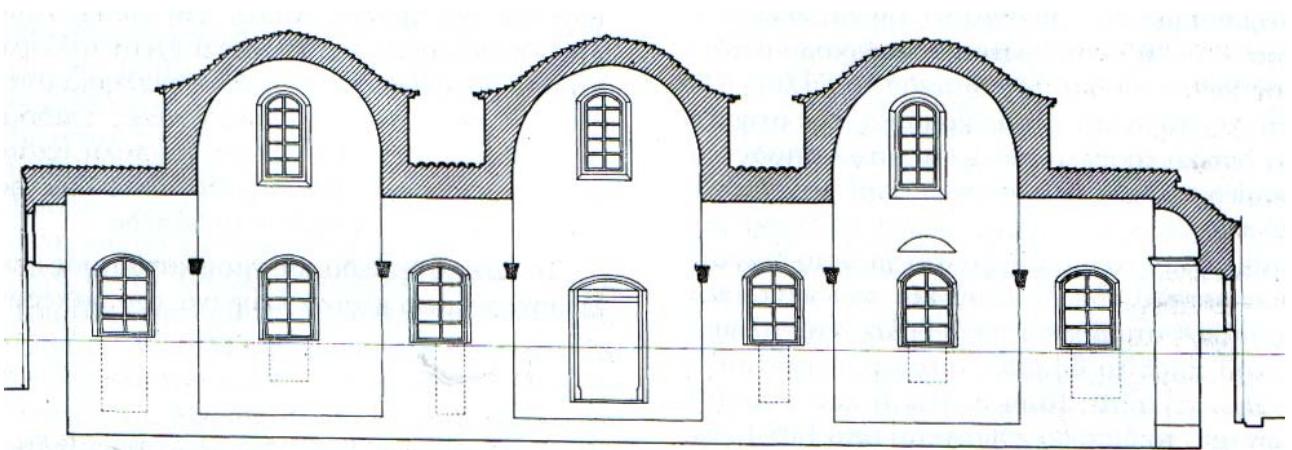


Fig. V.40. Agios Lazaros, Larnaka, south-north aisle elevation, showing patchwork, which Papageorghiou believes were original windows (Papageorghiou 1998).

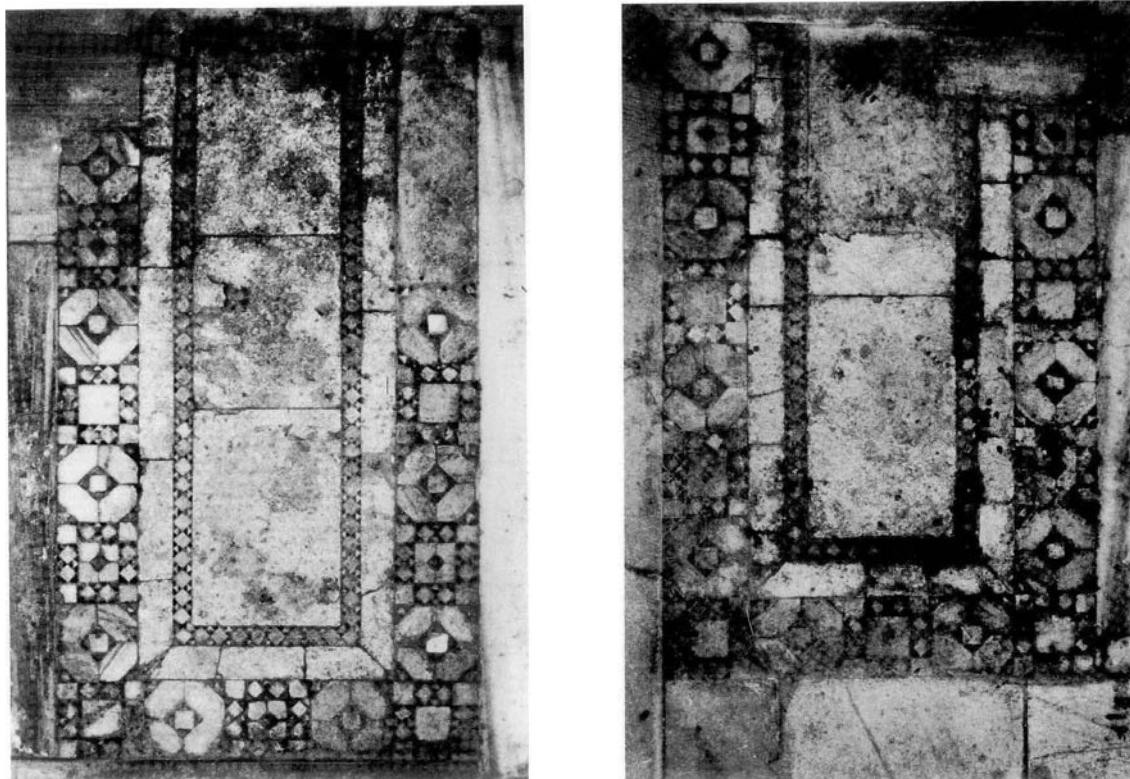


Fig.V.41. Cypril Mango's photographs of opus sectile flooring at Agios Ioannos Chrysostom, Koutsovendis (Michaelides 1993)



Fig.V.42. Agios Lazaros, Pier-portal opus sectile flooring (Michaelides 1993).

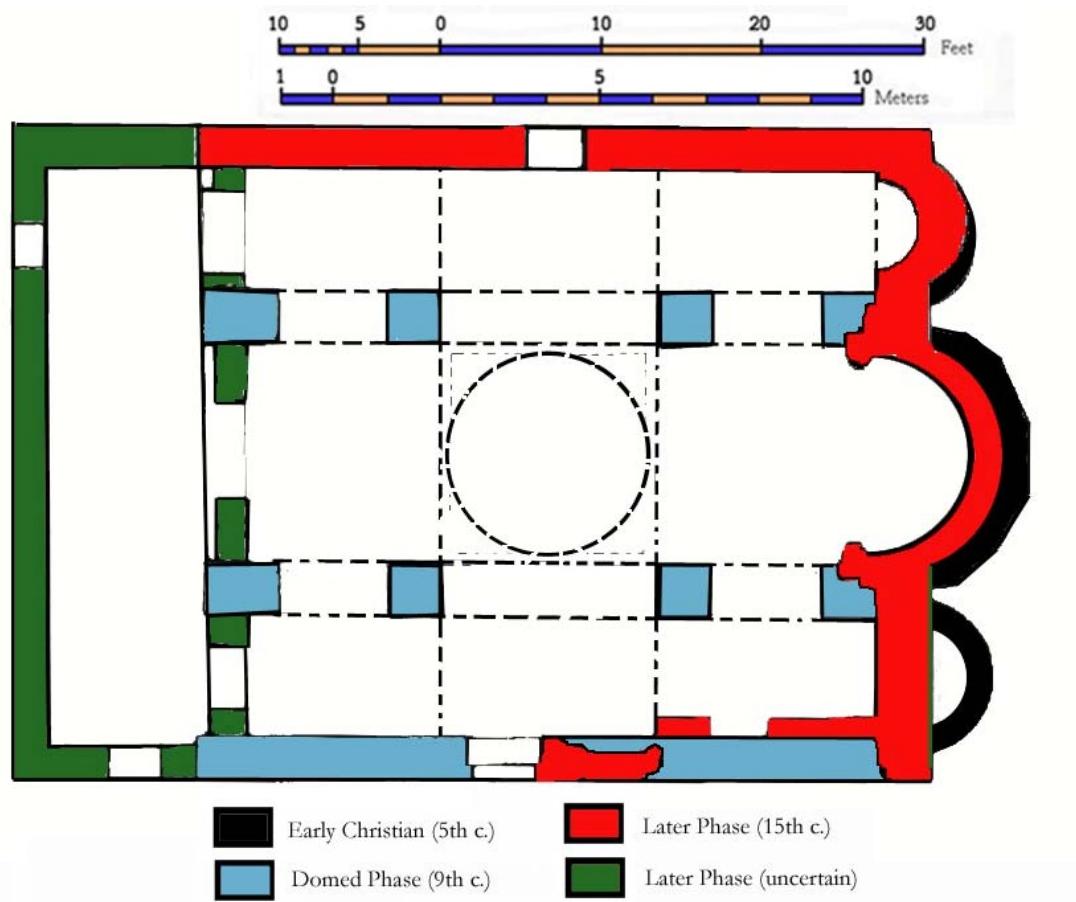
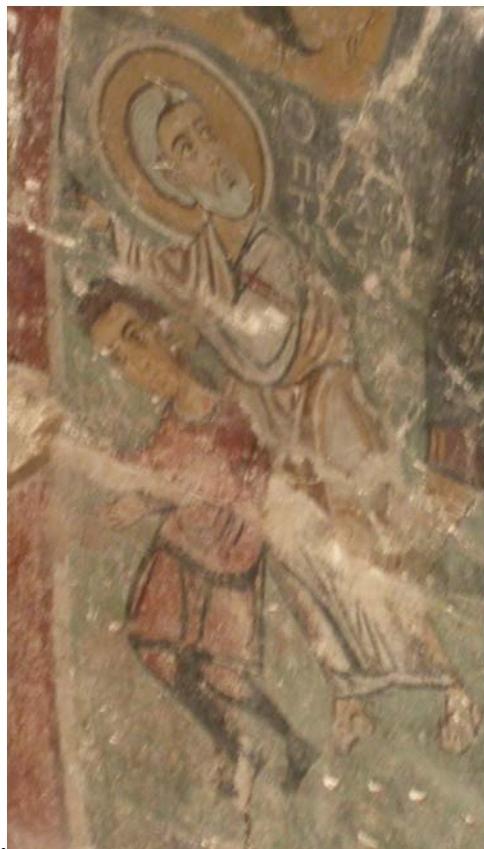


Fig.V.43. Agios Antonios, Kellia, ground plan (C.A. Stewart).



Fig.V.44. Agios Antonios, Kellia, exterior looking east (Photo: Alexis Clark).



a.



b.



a.



b.

Fig.V.46. *Sacra Parallelia*, a. Benaiah killing Adonijah, b. Rebekah sending out Jacob (Weitzman 1979).

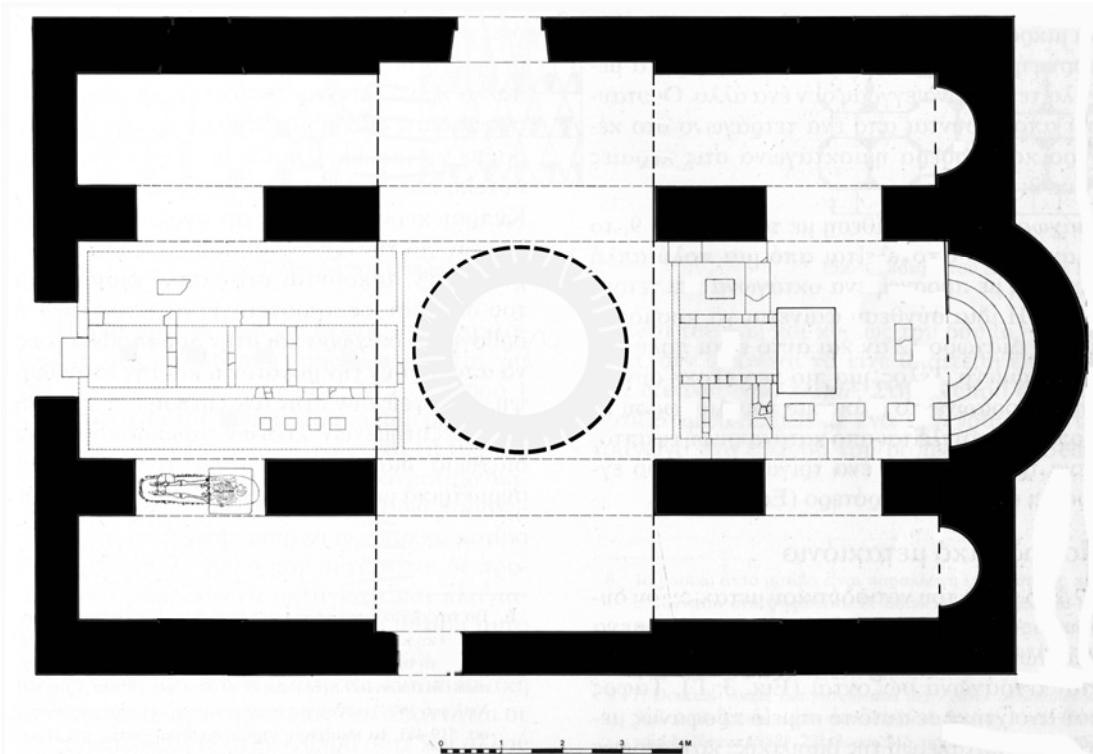


Fig.V.47. Agios Prokopios, Syncrase, ground plan (C.A. Stewart, after Chatzechristophe 1997).

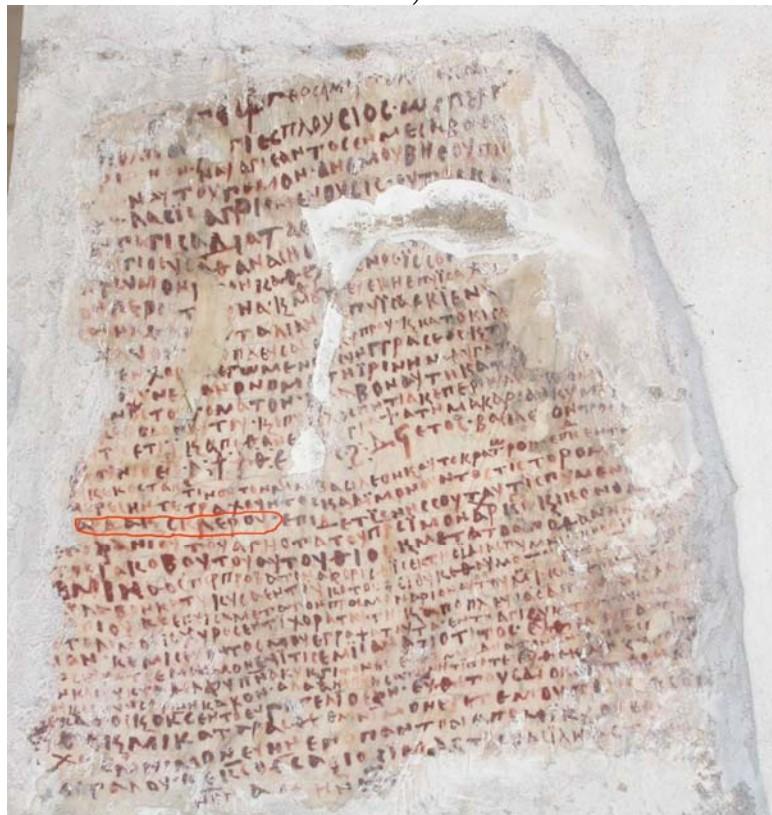


Fig.V.48. Agios Prokopios, Syncrase, inscription, “Bardas Skleros” circled (Photo:C.A. Stewart).



Fig.V.49. Agios Prokopios, Syncrase, ribbed dome (Photo: C.A. Stewart).



Fig.V.50. Agios Prokopios, Syncrase, exterior, north side (Photo: Alexis Clark).

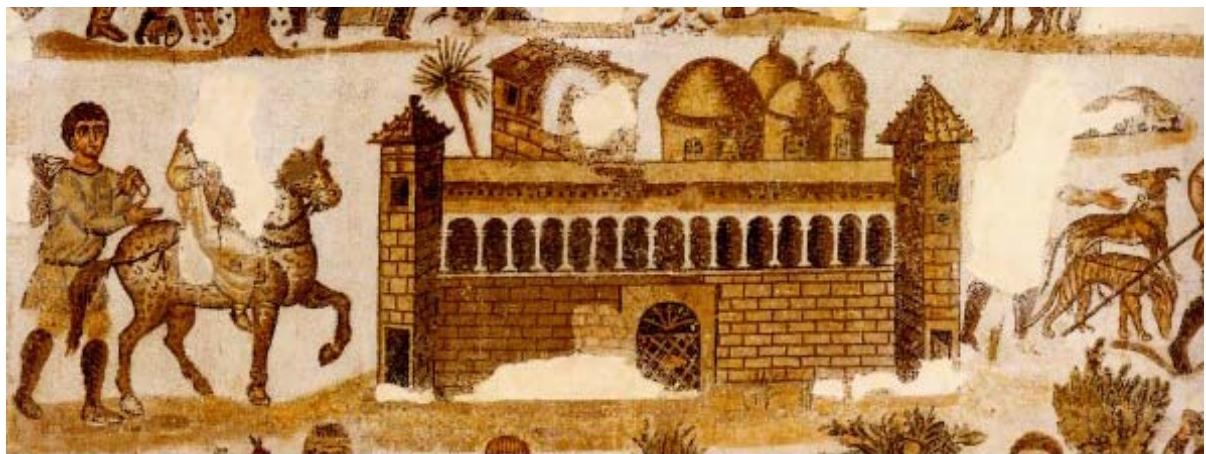


Figure VI.1. Floor mosaic representing the Villa of Dominus Julius, now housed in the Bardo Museum, Tunis, 4th c.



Fig.VI.2. Byzantine Bath House, Paphos, exterior, 11th c. (Photo: C.A.Stewart)



Fig.VI.3. Byzantine Bath House, Paphos, interior, dome apertures, 11th c. (Photo: C.A.Stewart)



Fig.VI.4. Agios Nicholaos tis Stegis, Kakopetria, fresco depicting a three-domed Byzantine bath house and its dome apertures, 11th c. (Photo: C.A.Stewart)

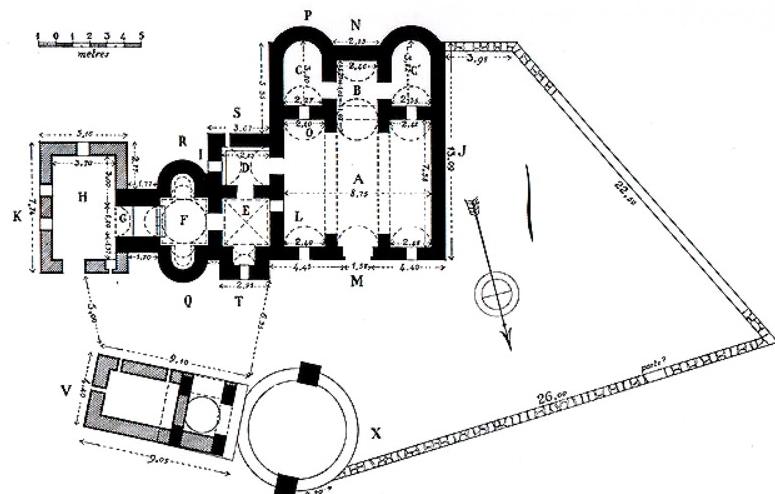


Fig.VI.5. Umayyad baths at Qusayr 'Amra in Jordan, ground plan, 8th c.

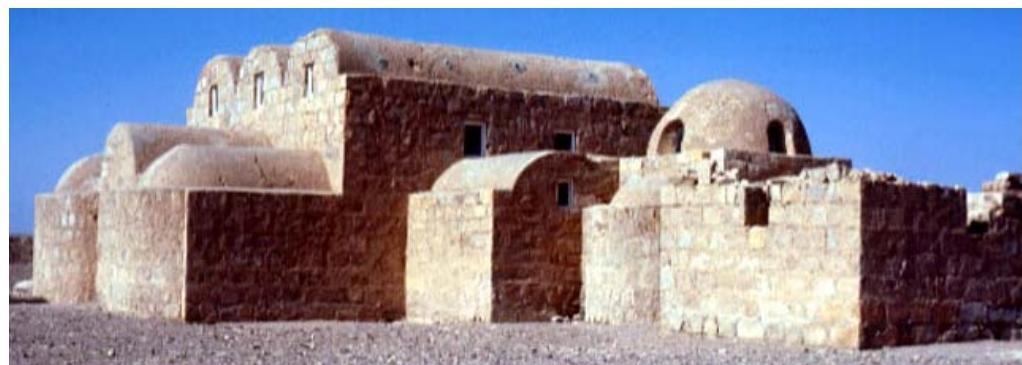


Fig.VI.6. Umayyad baths at Qusayr 'Amra in Jordan, exterior, 8th c.

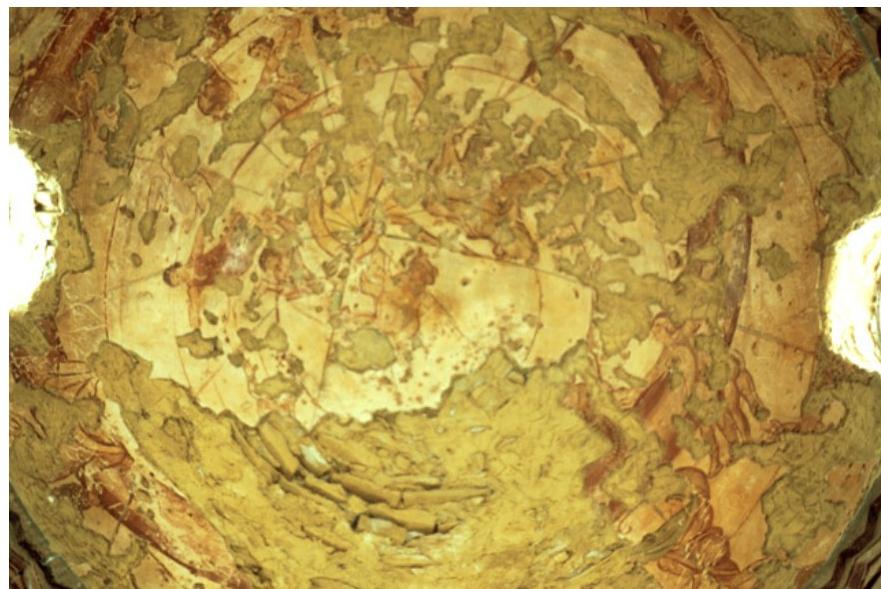


Fig.VI.7. Umayyad baths at Qusayr 'Amra in Jordan, dome zodiac decoration, 8th c.

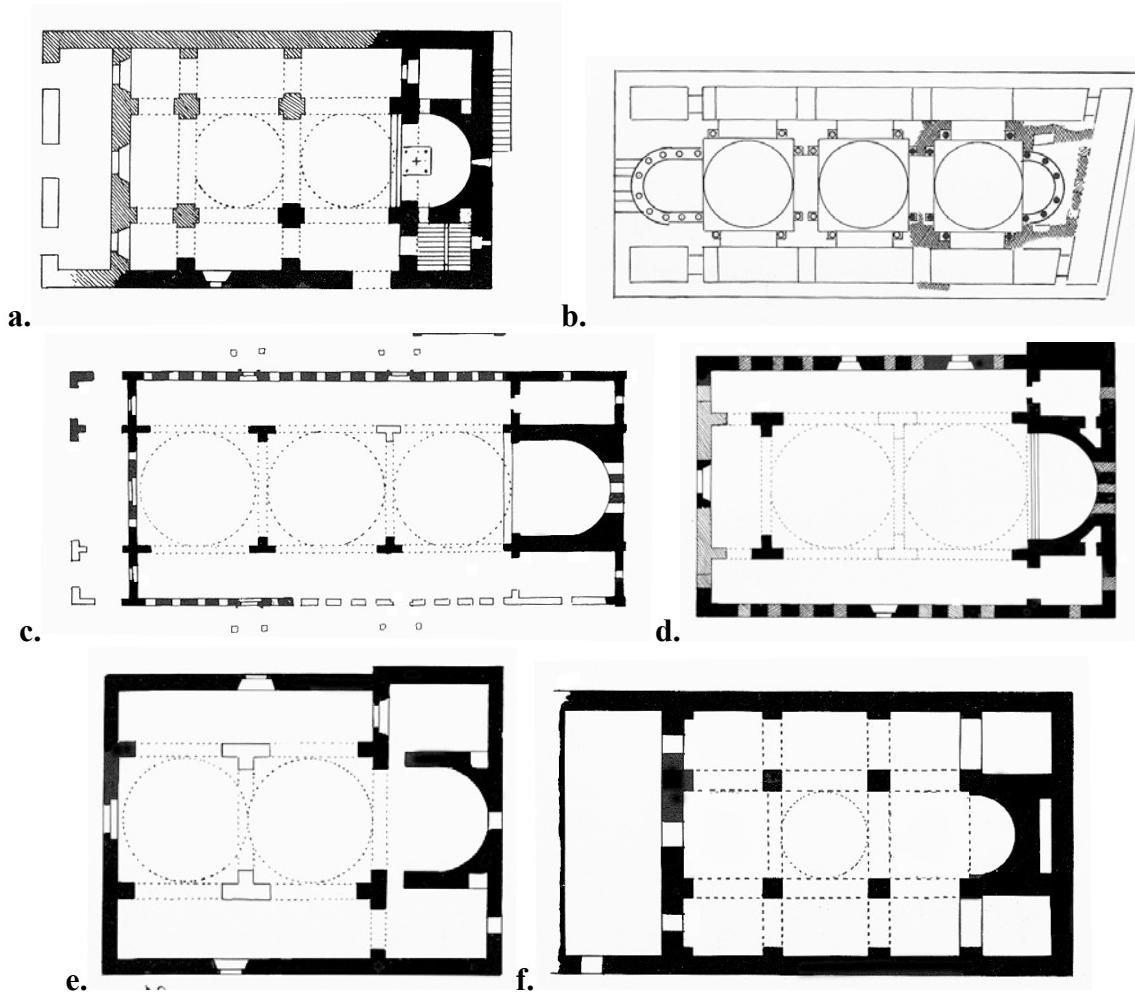


Fig.VI.8. Syrian “multiple-domed churches,” hypothetical plans drawn by Baldwin Smith: (a) it-Tuba dated to 582/3 AD, (b) Madrasa al-Halawiyah Cathedral in Aleppo, (c) Bizzos Church in Ruweha, (d) South church at il-Anderin, (e) Church No. 8 at il-Anderin, and (f) the Cloister church in Jericho (Smith 1950)



Fig.VI.9. Golden Gate, interior, coloured etching by David Roberts, 1839.



Fig.VI.10. Golden Gate, Jerusalem, looking eastward from within the Temple Mount (al-Haram al-Sharīf) (Photo: C.A.Stewart).

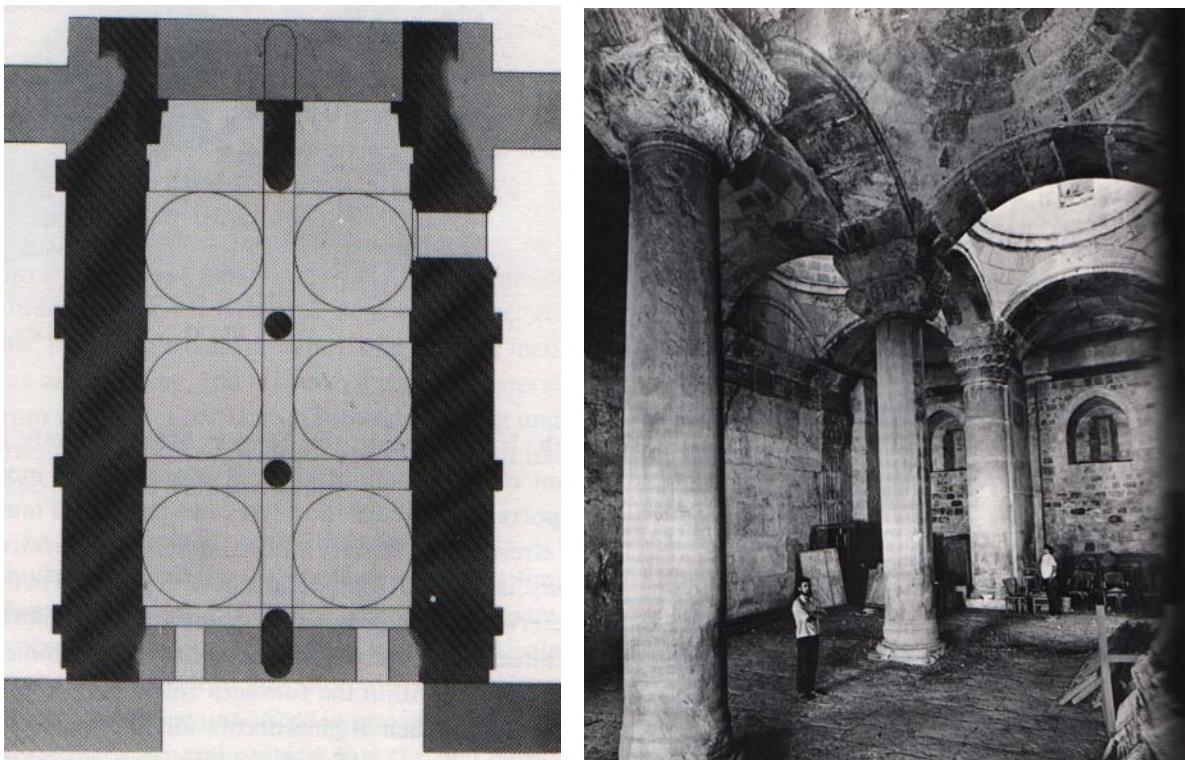


Fig.VI.11. Golden Gate, Jerusalem, **a.** plan, **b.** interior photograph (Rosen-Ayalon 1989).

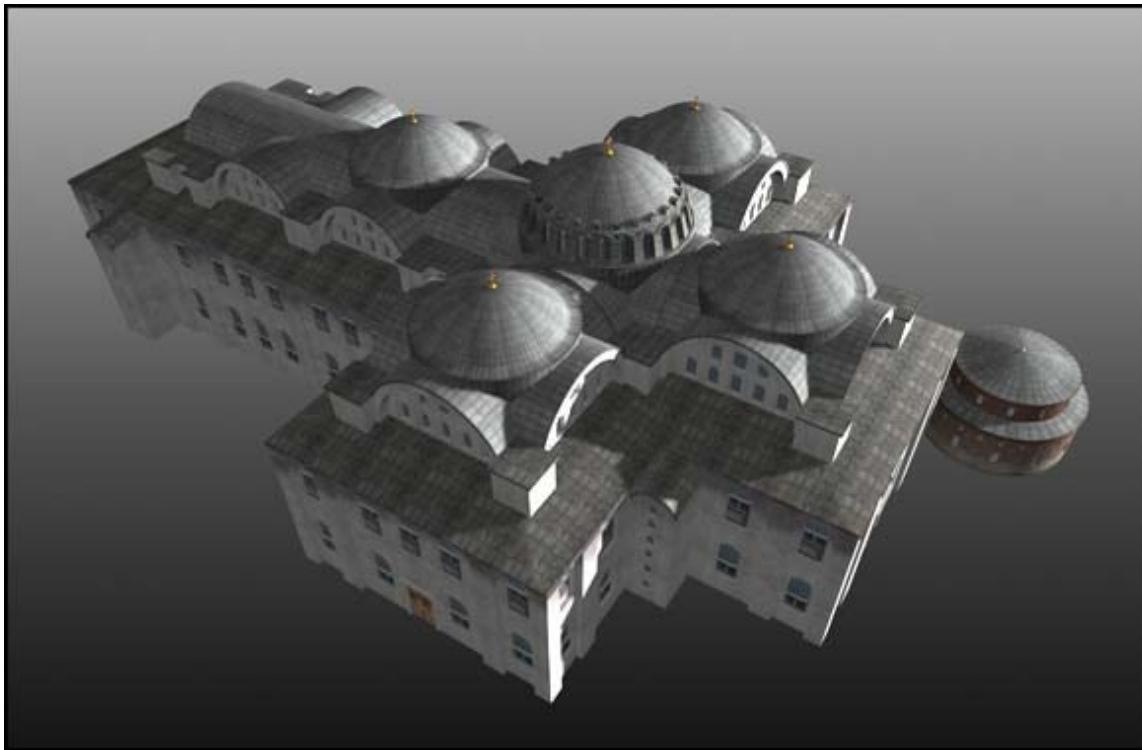


Fig.VI.12. Holy Apostles, exterior, digital reconstruction 6th c. (© Byzantium 1200)



Fig.VI.13. St. John of Ephesus, 6th century, model on display currently in Efes, Turkey (based on the isometric drawing by Keil and Hörmann 1951; for a more recent reconstruction, see Büyükkolancı 1982: 236-57)

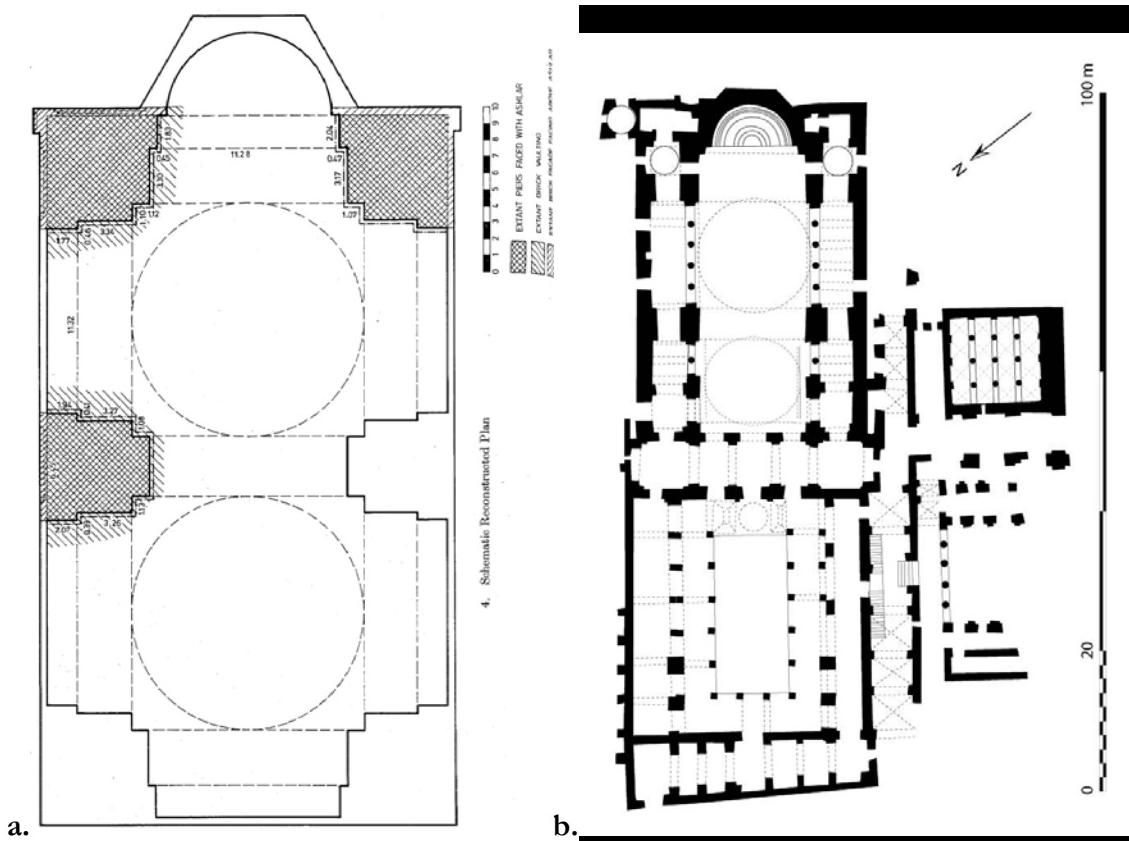


Fig.VI.14. Ground Plans: **a.** St. John the Theologian in Philadelphia (Alaşehir) (Buchwald 1981); **b.** Agia Eirene (Constantinople).

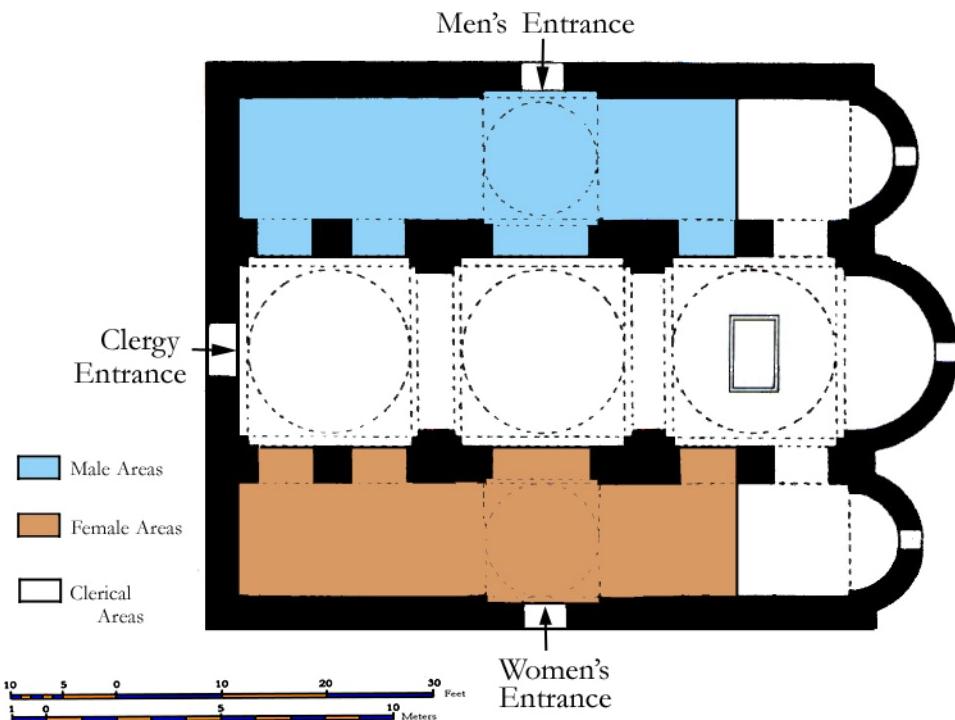


Fig.VI.15. Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion, diagram illustrating division of space (C.A. Stewart).



Fig.VI.16. Acheiropoietos Church, Thessaloniki, arch soffit mosaic, 5th c. (Photo: C.A. Stewart)



Fig.VI.17. Agia Sophia, Constantinople, star located in an soffit, mosaic, 6th c. (Photo: C.A. Stewart)



Fig.VI.18. Agia Sophia, Constantinople, vault mosaic, 6th c.(Photo: C.A. Stewart)



Fig.VI.19. San Vitale, Ravenna, mosaics at the apex of the arches' soffits in : a. bema, b. presbytery. Notice the rainbow encircling both images, conveying the *idea* of Christ (Bustacchini 1984).



Fig.VI.20. Agia Sophia, Thessaloniki, dome mosaic showing the ascension of Christ on a rainbow, notice the star/almond-rosette under his feet. Late 8th c. (Photo: C.A. Stewart)

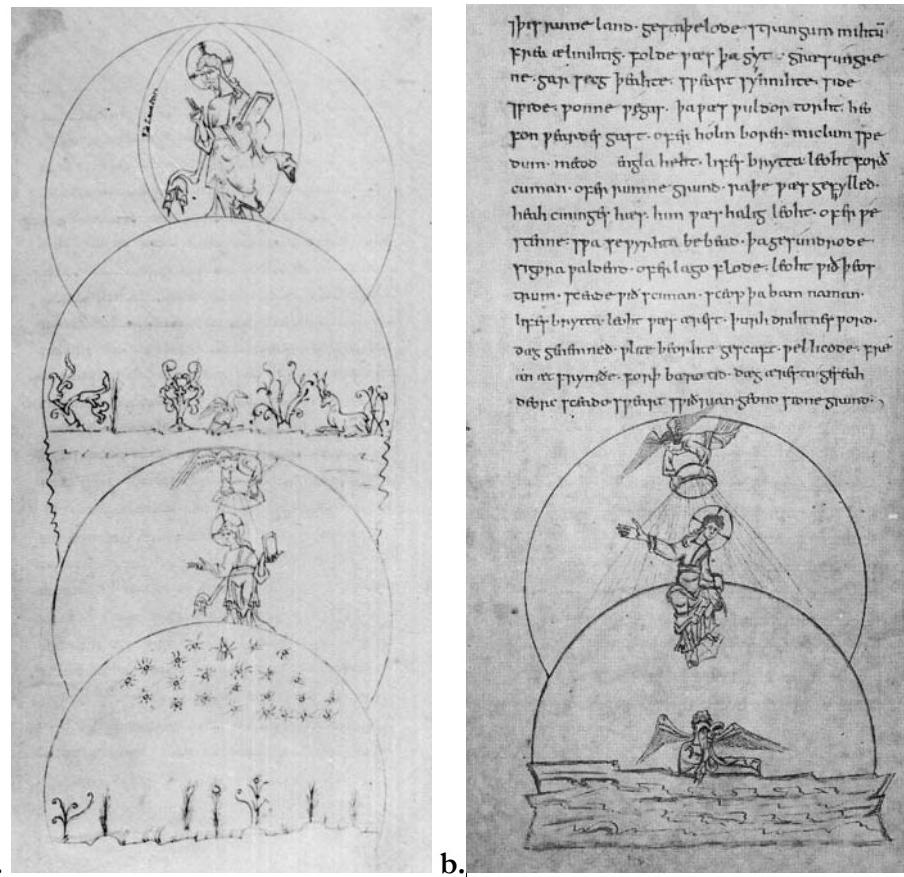


Fig.VI.21. “Day 3 and 4” in the *Genesis poem*, Bodleian MS Junius XI B, pages 6 and 7; 10th c.
(Robertson 1975:70-72).

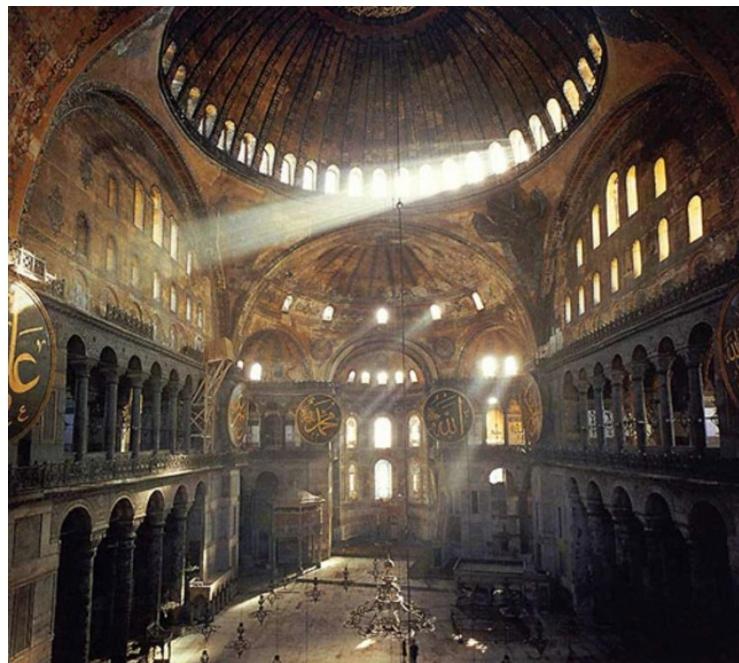


Fig.VI.22. Agia Sophia, Constantinople, interior with light.

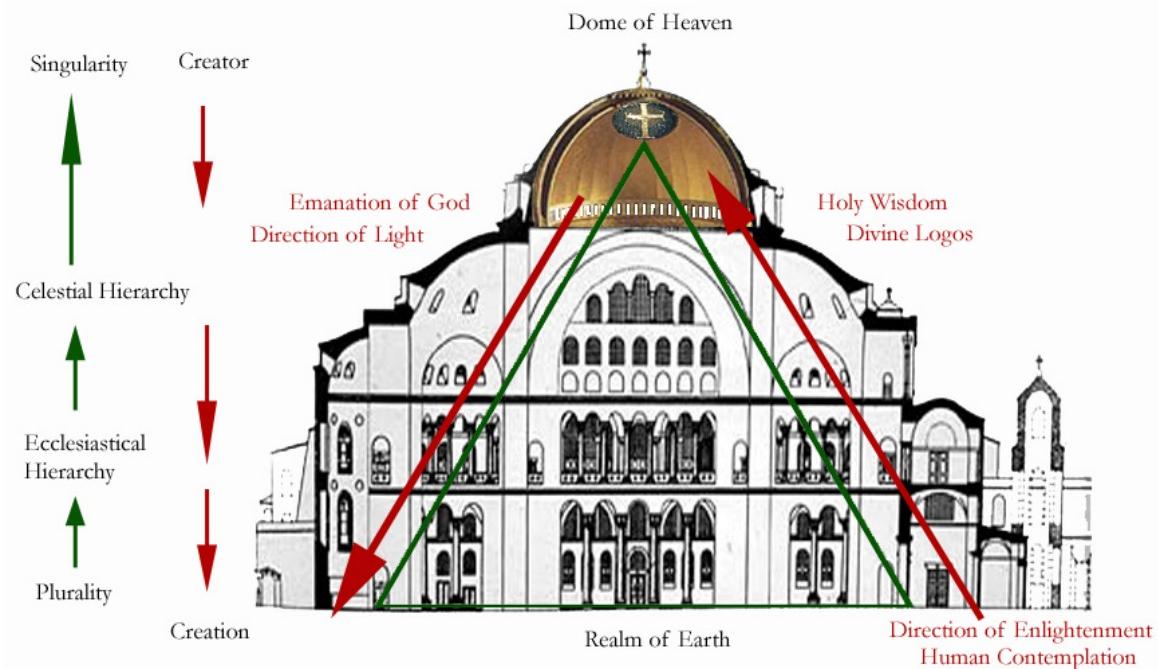


Fig.VI.23. Pseudo-Dionysian scheme applied to a single-domed church (C.A.Stewart)

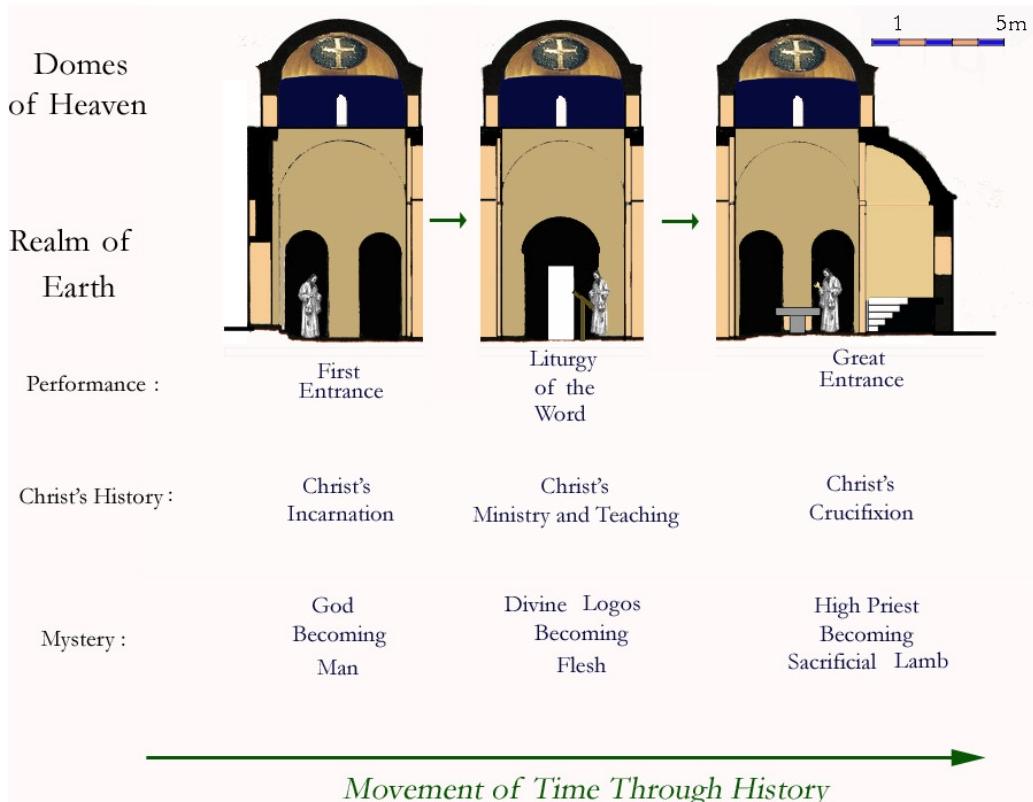


Fig.VI.24. A synthesis of Pseudo-Dionysian and Maximian scheme, applied to Agioi Varnavas and Hilarion, Peristerona (C.A.Stewart)



Fig.VI.25. Lead seals: **a.** Auxentios, Archon of Cyprus, late 9th c.?; **b.** Epiphanios, Illoustrios, with an image of St. Epiphanius, 9th c.?; **c.** Theodoros, Archbishop of Cyprus, with an image of St. Epiphanius, 8th c.? (Metcalf 2004).



Fig.VI.26. **a.** Tyche Chalice, Cyprus side, from Vrap Treasure (Albania), located now at the Metropolitan Museum of New York (Chotzakoglou 2005), **b.** Tyche from Salamis-Constantia, 6th c. (Megaw 1974).

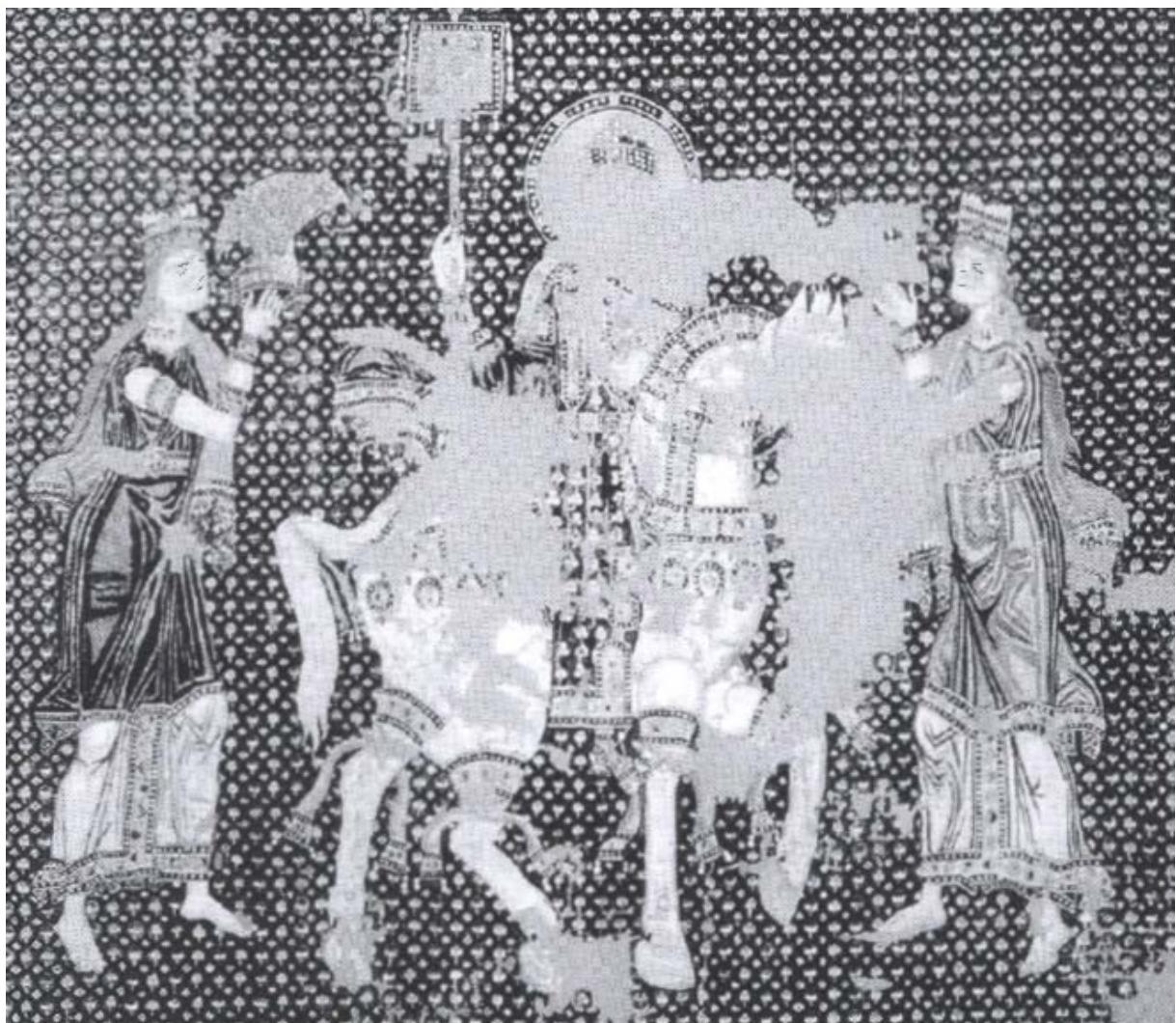


Fig.VI.27. Bamberg Tapestry, Emperor Nicephoras Phocas flanked by the Tyches of Cyprus and Crete, late 10th c. (Papamastorakis 2003)

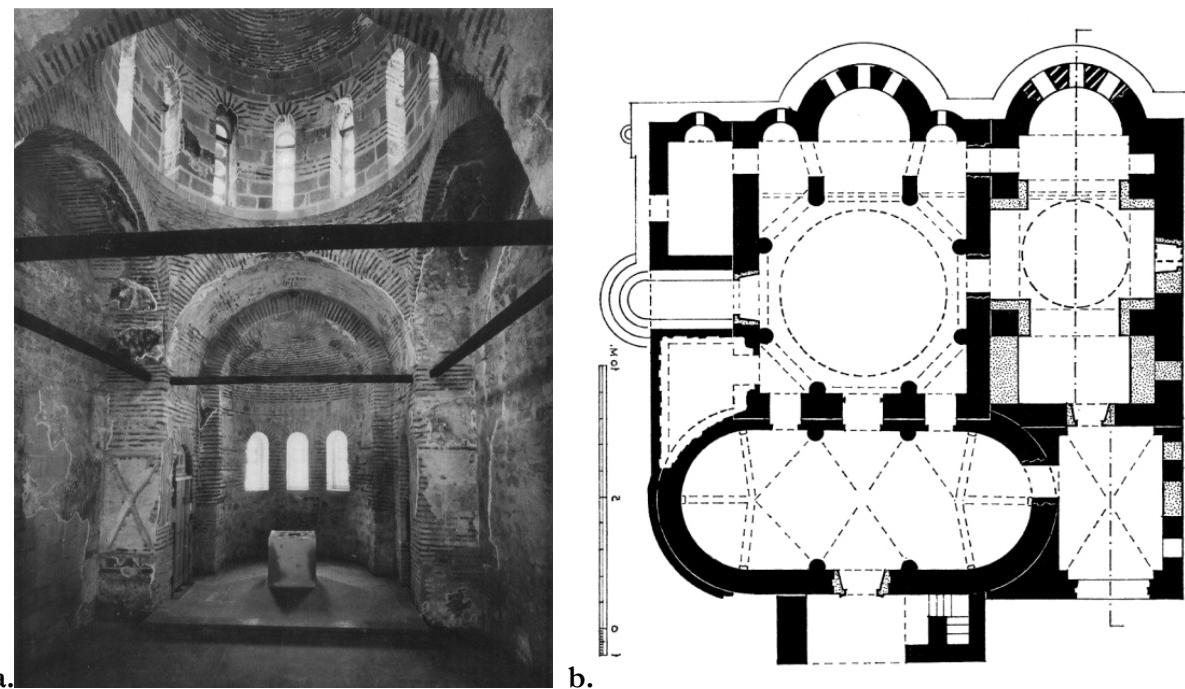


Figure VII.1. Agios Ioannos Chrysostom (Koutsovendis), **a.** interior of Holy Trinity (Photo: Mango et al. 1990); **b.** Plan Katholikon at the left, 1090, Holy Trinity at the right ca. 1100 (Megaw 1974)

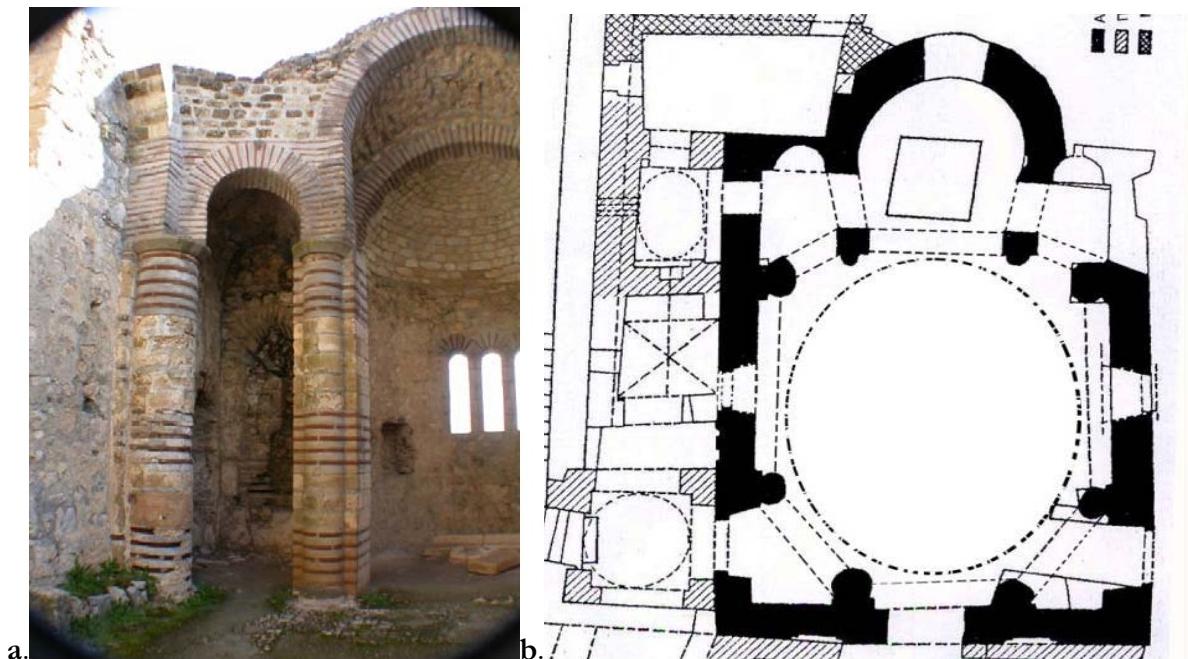


Fig. VII.2. Agios Hilarion(near Kerynia), 11th c., **a.** interior (Photo: C.A.Stewart), **b.** plan (Papageorghiou 1982b)

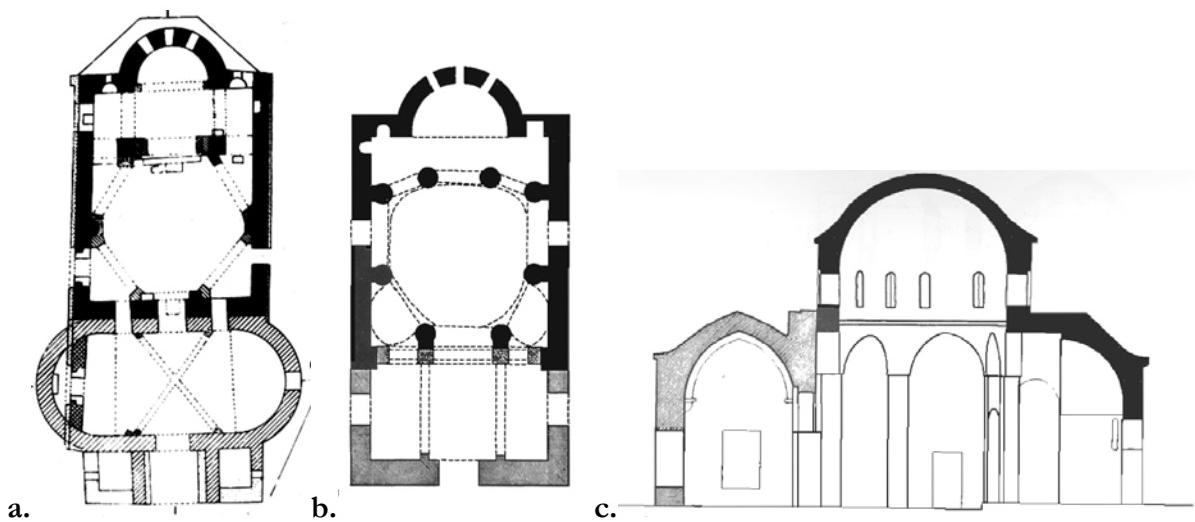


Fig. VII.3. a. Theotokos Apsinthiotissa, 11th c. (Papageorgiou 1964); Christ Antiphonetes, a. plan, b. elevation (Ćurčić 2000).

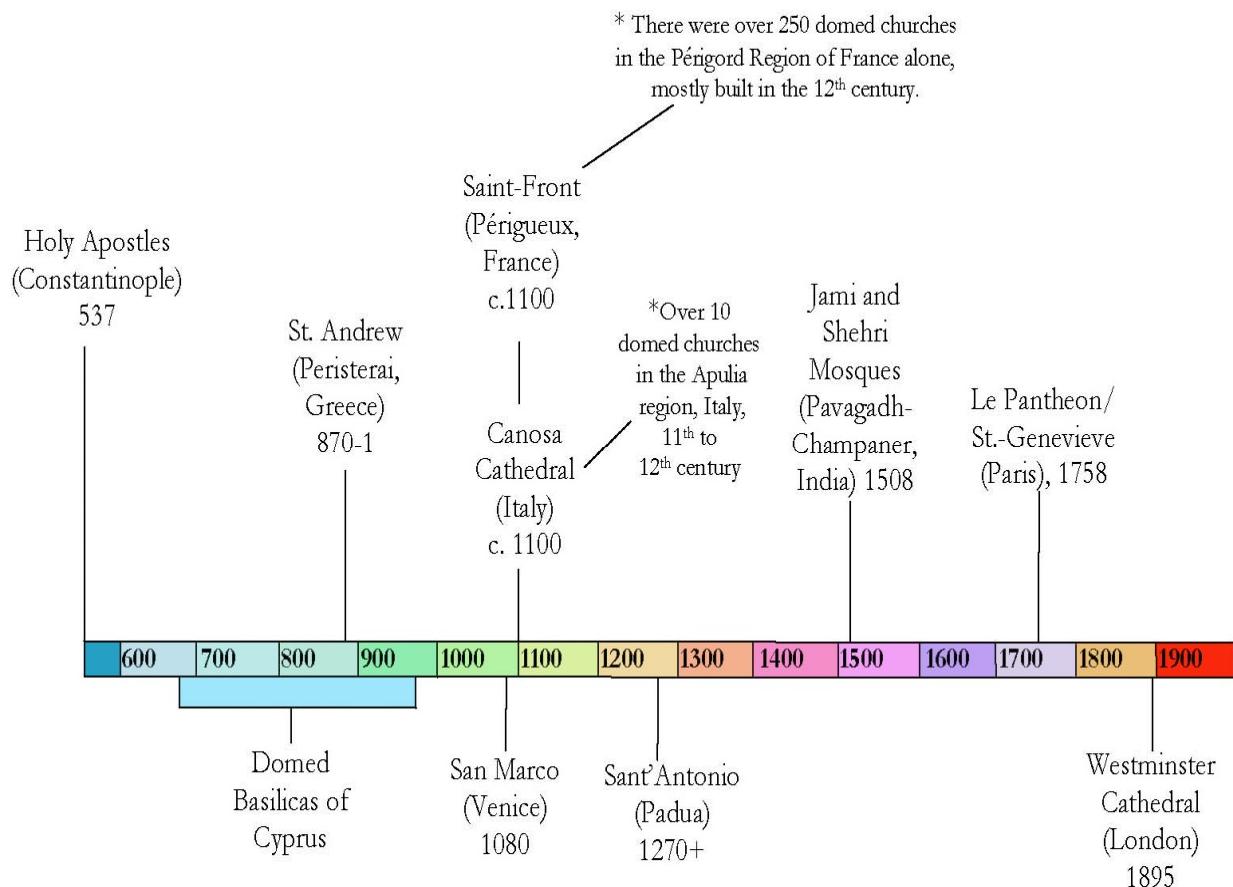


Fig. VII.4. Timeline showing multiple-domed churches/mosques (C.A. Stewart).



Fig. VII.5. Holy Cross Monastery (Anogyra), exterior looking north (Photo: Alexis Clark)



Fig. VII.6. Agios Philon (Karpasia), exterior looking west (Photo: Alexis Clark)

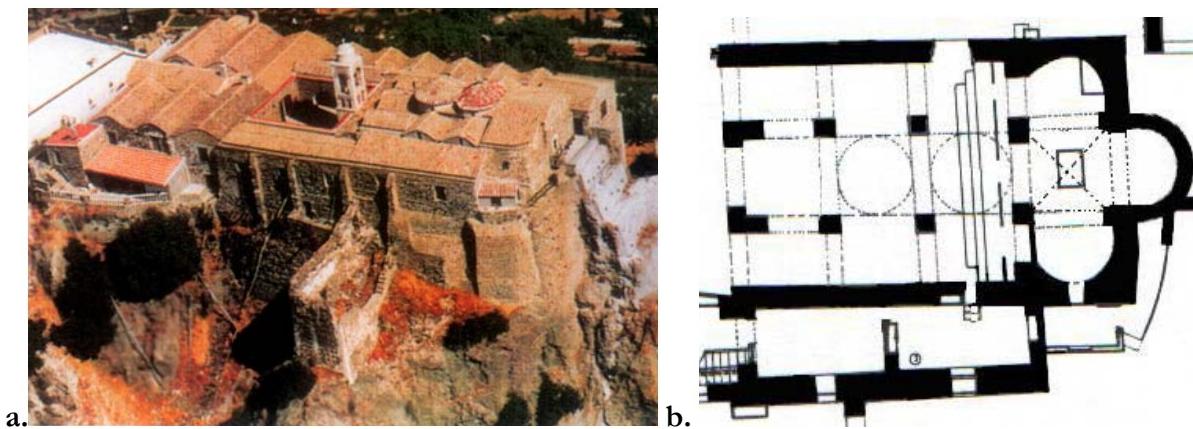


Fig. VII.7. Stavrovouni Monastery, **a.** aerial photo, **b.** ground plan (Chotzakoglou 2005)



Fig. VII.8. Agios Synesios (Rizokarpaso), exterior, looking south west (Photo: Alexis Clark)

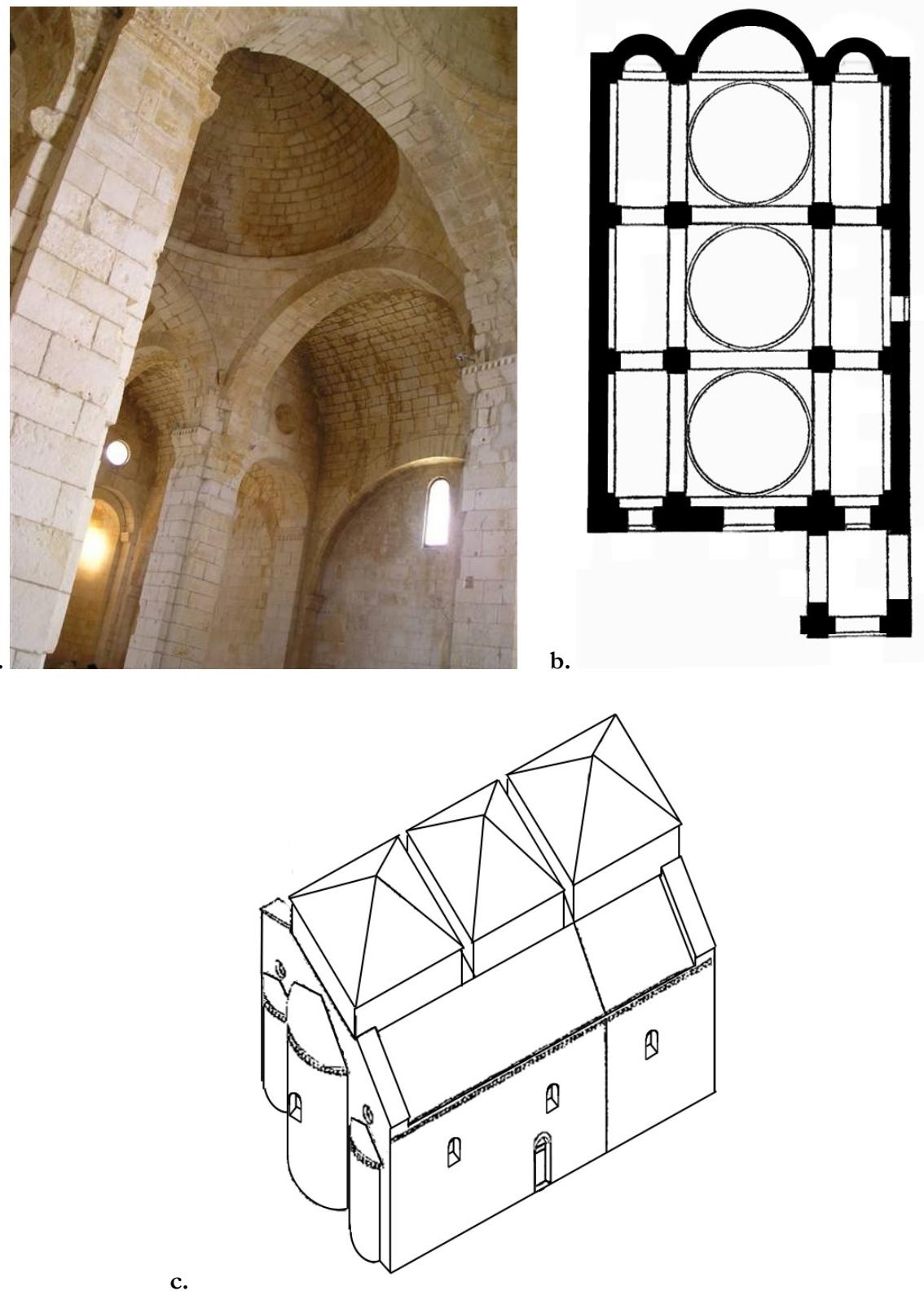


Fig. VII.9. Ognissanti di Cuti, Valenzano (Apulia, Italy) **a.** interior photograph, **b.** ground plan, **c.** isometric exterior study (Photo: C.A. Stewart, study after Ludes 1985).

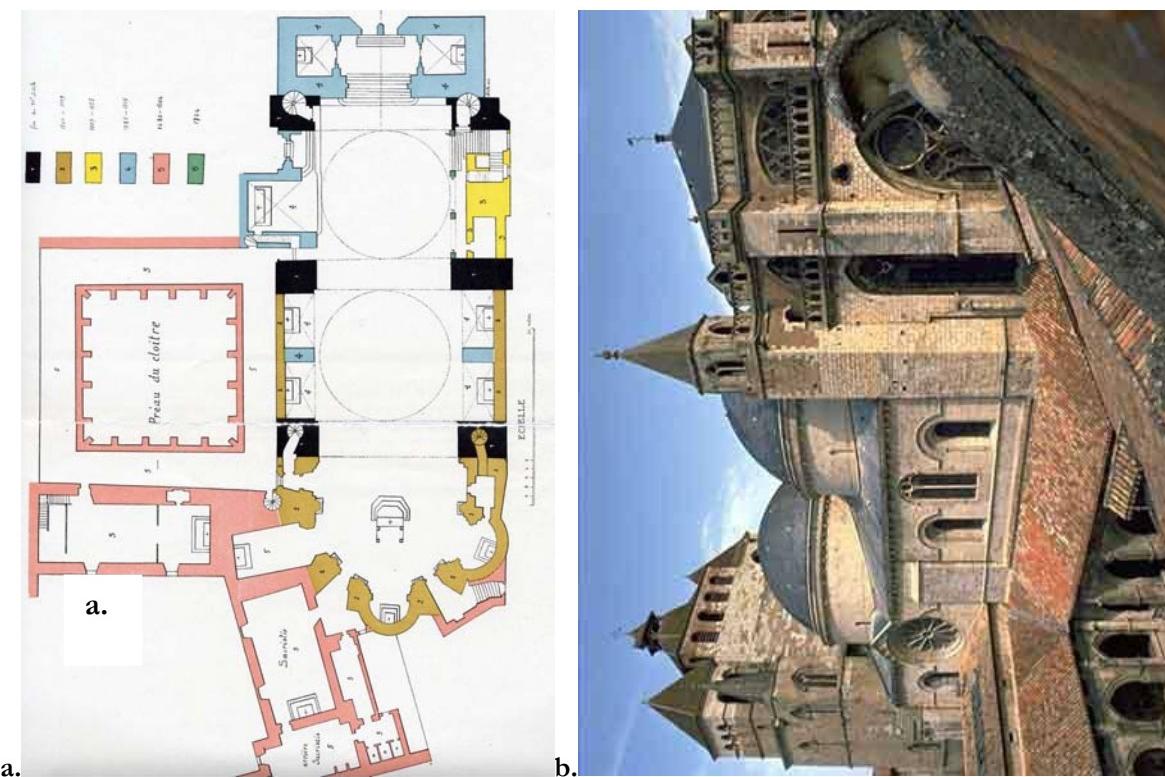


Fig. VII.10. Cahors Cathedral, **a.** Ground plan, **b.** exterior (Plan: Rey 1925)



Fig. VII.11. Agios Andreas (Peristerai), near Thessaloniki (Photo: C.A. Stewart)

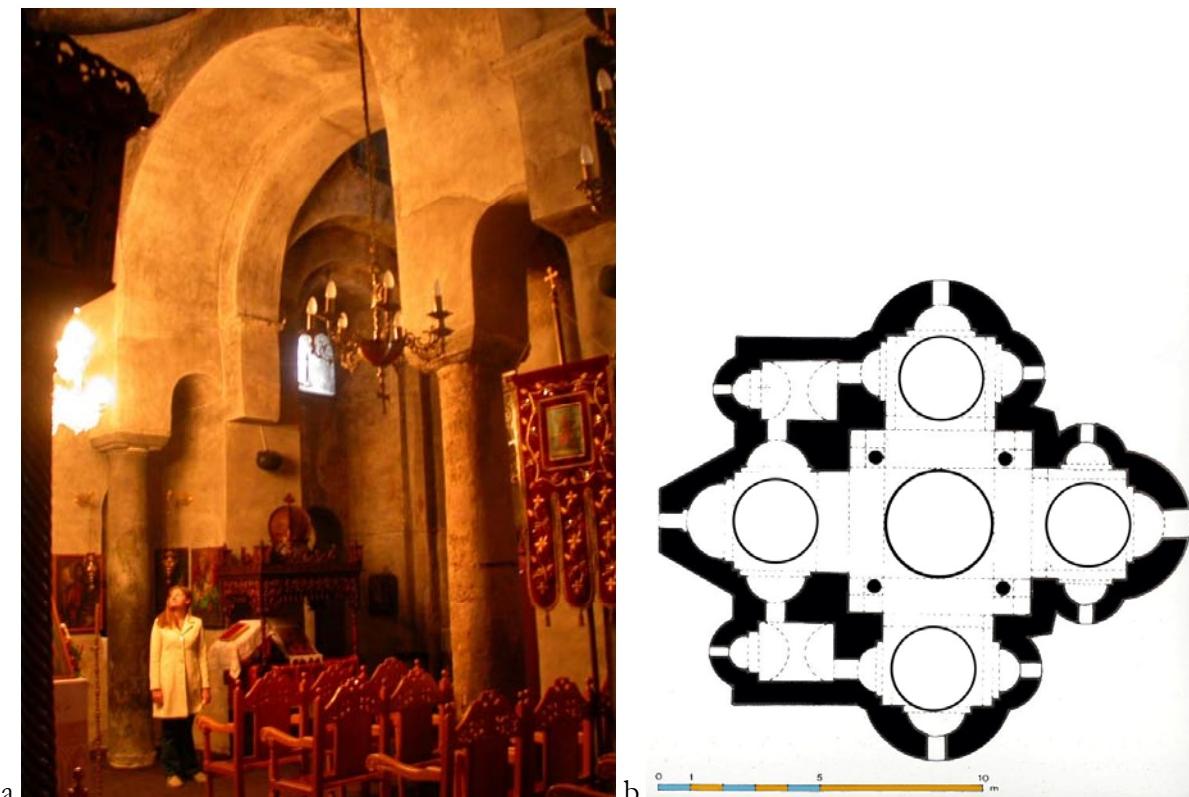


Fig. VII.12. Agios Andreas (Peristerai), a. interior looking southeast, b. ground plan
Thessaloniki (Photo: C.A. Stewart, plan after Orlando 1935)



Fig. VII.13. Ss. Barnabas and Hilarion on the current Cypriot £5 note.
The mosque of Peristerona is in the background.

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Vita

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Education

- Ph.D. 2008 Indiana University—Bloomington, Art History
Thesis Title: “Domes of Heaven: The Domed Basilicas of Cyprus.”
- M.A. 1999 University of York (England), Medieval Archaeology
Thesis Title: “Medieval Loopholes: Their Origins and Transformations.”
- B.A. 1997 University of Missouri–Columbia, Art History & Archaeology,
minor in Fine Art (painting)
- 1995-6 University of Manchester (England), study abroad, Classical Archaeology

Teaching Experience

- Fall 2006—Current Instructor, Indiana University—Bloomington,
School of Continuing Studies: *Ancient to Medieval Art and Architecture*
- Fall 2005 Associate Instructor; Indiana University—Bloomington,
History of Art Department: *Art Appreciation*
- Fall 2004 Instructor of Record; Indiana University—Bloomington,
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Work Experience

- 2005—2006 Provenance Researcher, Indiana University Art Museum, Indiana University Bloomington. Researched collection history.
- Fall 2003 Visual Resource Assistant, Department of Art History, Indiana University—Bloomington. Various tasks assisting professors and students with Digital and online media.
- Spring 2002 Fine Arts Slide Library, Indiana University—Bloomington. Digitized images for online database DIDO.
- 1998 -1999 Intern (Placement) at the Archaeology Resource Centre (ARC), York, England. Exhibit preparation and teaching.
- 1998 Intern, Missouri State Museum, Jefferson City, MO. Textile Conservation. Cataloguing, accessioning, & photographing artifacts. Exhibition set-up and Design. Assistant to the Curator of Collections in other various duties.

Awards and Honors

- 2008 College Art Association Professional Development Fellowship (Honorable Mention)
- 2007 Samuel H. Kress Foundation Dissertation Fellowship (Society of Architectural Historians)
- 2007 Louise McNutt Research Fellowship (College of Arts and Sciences, Indiana University)
- 2006 William Fulbright Foreign Fellowship (Cyprus Fulbright Commission and IIE)
- 2006 Anita O'Donovan Fellowship (Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute)
- 2006 Hope Emily Allen Dissertation Research Grant (Medieval Academy of America)
- 2005 Ulrich A. Middeldorf Fellowship (Indiana University Art Museum)
- 2005 Doctoral Student Grants-in-Aid of Research Award (Indiana University)
- 2004 Friends of Art/History of Art Department Research Fellowship (Indiana University)
- 2003 Foreign Language & Area Studies Fellowship (FLAS) (US Department of Education)
- 2002 Friends of Art/History of Art Department Research Grant (Indiana University)
- 2002 Graduate & Professional Student Organization Travel Grant (Indiana University)
- 1998 Thomas E. Ward Fund, Scholarship (British Schools & Universities Foundation, Inc.)
- 1998 Richard A. & Kathleen B. May Fund, Scholarship (BSUF, Inc.)
- 1996 Arthur Langmeier Scholarship (University of Missouri)

Articles

“The Barrel-Vaulted Basilicas of Cyprus,” *Proceedings of the 4th International Cyprological Congress, Lefkosia, 29 April–3 May 2008* (Nicosia: Etaireīa Kypriakōn Spoudōn, forthcoming)

“The Nail Trade in Missouri: Archaeological Evidence at the Hickman House,” *Missouri Folklore Society Journal* 22 (2000):1-12.

Other Publications

“Domes of Heaven,” *Bulletin of British Byzantine Studies* 34 (forthcoming 2009)

“The Churches of St. Barnabas and St. Lazarus in Cyprus,” *Byzantine Studies: 34th Annual Conference Abstracts* (Rutgers University) (forthcoming)

“The Barrel-Vaulted Basilicas of Cyprus,” *Περιλήψεις Ανακοινώσεων: Abstracts of the 4th International Cyprological Congress, 29 April–3 May 2008* (Nicosia: Etaireīa Kypriakōn Spoudōn, 2008):182-184.

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Edited Work

2007. English translation. *The Church of St. George, Paralimni, Cyprus* by Sophocles Sophocleus (Nicosia: Centre of Cultural Heritage, forthcoming)

2002-2004. Various articles. *Oculus: Journal for the History of Art* (Indiana University)

Works In Preparation

“The Cathedral of St. Epiphanius in Salamis-Constantia” Monograph.

“Eighth and Ninth Century Fresco painting in Cyprus,” Long article.

“Ancient Precursors to the Pantokrator,” Long article.

Invited Lectures

“Domes of Heaven: The Domed Basilicas of Cyprus,” Annual research fellow’s lecture, Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute, Nicosia, Cyprus (04/25/07)

“After the Plunder: The Arab invasion of Salamis and the Catalyst of Architectural Innovation,” Monthly lecture series, WSBA Archaeological Society, British Western Sovereign Base Area, Episkopi, Cyprus (02/22/2007)

“Conformity and Reality in Greco-Roman Sculpture,” Annual lecture on antiquities, International Women’s Association, Pavemar Hotel, Limassol, Cyprus (12/05/06)

“At the Crossroads: Jerusalem’s Architecture in the First Millennium AD,” Keynote address for symposium with same title, Center for Jerusalem Studies (Al-Quds University), Jerusalem (4/25/05)

Selected Papers & Presentations

“The Churches of St. Barnabas and St. Lazarus in Cyprus,” *Byzantine Studies: 34th Annual Conference Abstracts* (Rutgers University) (forthcoming, 10/15/08)

“The Barrel-Vaulted Basilicas of Cyprus,” 4th International Cyprological Congress, The Society of Cypriot Studies, Nicosia, Cyprus (forthcoming, 04/29-05/03/08)

“The Multiple-domed Basilicas of Cyprus: Date and Significance,” 33rd Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, The University of Toronto, Canada (10/11-14/07)

“Reconsidering ‘Mad Martin’: Romantic Rebel or Academic Conformist?” Noon Talk, Indiana University Art Museum, Bloomington, IN (4/19/06)

“Cultivating Antique Culture: the political motivations of Petrarch,” College Art Association 92nd Annual Conference, Seattle, WA (2/20/04)

“The Marriage of *Pictura & Aedificatoria*: the birth of pictorial space,” The 2003 Graduate Student Conference, The Newberry Library Center for Renaissance Studies, Chicago, IL (6/ 13/03)

“Cultivation & propagation of classical tastes in the 14th century,” 13th Annual Sewanee Medieval Colloquium, The University of the South, Sewanee, TN (4/ 4/03)

“Power & Paucity: *The Scottish Castle in Art & Architecture*,” Paper presented for the 14th Annual Medieval Studies Symposium “City, Court, Cloister”, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN (3/22/02)

“Medieval Loopholes: For Light or Life?” Paper presented for the 29th Annual Midwest Art History Society Conference, Milwaukee, WI (4/19/02)

“Nail Manufacturing in the Missouri Frontier,” Paper presented for the 40th Annual Missouri Conference on History, Columbia, MO (4/ 17/98)

“The Nail Trade in Missouri: Archaeological Evidence at the Hickman House,” Annual Meeting of the Missouri Folklore Society, Stockton, MO (10/24/97)

Selected Sessions and Conferences organized

“Cyprus and the Balance of Empires: From Justinian I to the Coeur de Lion,” Co-chair with Professor Annemarie Weyl Carr and Dr. Helena Wylde Swiny. Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute, 30th year anniversary conference (forthcoming, 01/3-6/2010)

“The Historiography of Art History: In Honor of Dr. W. Eugene Kleinbauer, upon his Retirement,” Co-chair and organizer, XVIth Annual Graduate Symposium, Bloomington, IN (4/8/06)

“‘Transcultural’ Bodies.” Co-chair and organizer, XIVth Annual Art History Association Graduate Symposium, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN (3/26-7/04)

“Challenging the Canon.” Co-chair and organizer, XIIth Annual Art History Association Graduate Symposium, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN (3/2/02)

Research & Excavation Experience

- 2006-2007 Research Fellow, Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute, Nicosia (Cyprus). Supplemental research conducted in Greece, Turkey, Egypt and Britain.
- 2005 Research Resident, Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute, Nicosia (Cyprus). Supplemental research conducted in Israel, France, and Britain.
- 2001-2002 Independent Researcher, St. Nazaré Cathédrale Excavations (L'Equipe d'Archéologique) in Autun (Saône-et-Loire) France. Under the direction of Drs. Walter Berry and Sylvie Balcon (Université de Paris IV). Roman and Early Medieval cathedral complex. Supplemental research conducted in Provence, Italy, Germany, and Switzerland.
- 1999 British Castle Survey, University of York. France, England, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland.
- 1999 Dolforwyn Castle Excavations, Montgomery (Gwyneth), Wales. Directed by Dr. Lawrence Butler. 13th century Welsh castle.
- 1998 Tarbat Discovery Programme, Portahomack (Ross), Scotland. Under the direction of Professor Martin Carver. Excavations of a 7th-8th century monastery.
- 1997-1998 Hickman House Excavations, University of Missouri Agroforestry & Horticulture Center, New Franklin, Missouri. Under the direction of Professor Marcus Rautman. 19th century pioneer homestead.

National and International Memberships

- Archaeological Institute of America..... member
- Art History Association [Indiana University, former President 2002-3]..... member
- Byzantine Studies Association of North America..... member
- College Art Association member
- International Center of Medieval Art..... member
- Medieval Academy of America..... member
- Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies [UK]..... member
- Society of Architectural Historians..... member
- Society of Cypriot Studies..... member

Interviews and Press

“2008 College Art Association Awards for Distinction,” *CAA News* 33.2 (forthcoming, March 2008): 12-13.

C. A. Stewart, “Domed Basilicas of Cyprus,” *CAARI News* 34 (Fall 2007): 5.

Thomas Davis, “Director’s Corner,” *CAARI News* 33 (Spring 2007): 3.

Lindsey Landis, “Ph.D. Candidate Solving History’s Mysteries Abroad,” *Indiana Daily Student* (Newspaper) (Thursday, September 28, 2006):4-5.

Thomas Davis, “Director’s Corner,” *CAARI News* 32 (Summer 2006): 7.